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T H E

HISTORY OF AMERICA,

F R O M I T S

DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS

T O T H E

CONCLUSION OF THE LATE WAR.

W I T H A N

A P P E N D I X,

C O N T A I N I N G A N A C C O U N T O F

T H E R I S E A N D P R O G R E S S O F T H E P R E S E N T U N H A P P Y C O N T E S T

B E T W E E N

G R E A T B R I T A I N A N D H E R C O L O N I E S .

BY WILLIAM RUSSELL, ESQ. OF GRAY'S-INN.

V O L U M E I I .

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T H E
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B O O K III.

C H A P. III.

The Spanish Settlements in the West Indies.

THE honour of having discovered the great archipelago of America, and of having formed the first settlements there, is due to Spain. The island most advanced in the range is called Trinidad. Columbus landed on it in 1498, when he discovered the mouth of the Orinoco; but other objects interfering, it was at that time neglected, and has never been treated with any degree of attention, though its extent, the fruitfulness of its soil, and the conveniency of its harbours, would have made it a valuable possession. Its culture hath been confined merely to cacao. But this was produced in such perfection, that it was preferred even to that of Caracca; and the Spanish merchants in order to secure it, strove to anticipate each other by paying for it in advance. Such eagerness may sometimes prove a spur to the industry of a people naturally active, but is certain ruin to those among whom the love of ease has acquired the force of a passion. So it proved to the planters in Trinidad, who having received more money and goods than they could repay with that single commodity, in which their whole produce consisted, fell by degrees into despair; and from the dread of unusual toil, gave over all thoughts of labour. Since the year 1727, there has been no more cacao to be found on the island; which, from that time, hath had no immediate correspondence with the mother-country.

The same negligence had before ruined Margarett. This island enjoyed a momentary prosperity, in consequence of a species of wealth drawn from the bottom

CHAP. III.

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BOOK III.

Ponce de Leon immediately assembled all the Castilians that had escaped, and without loss of time fell upon the natives, who were routed with great slaughter. In proportion as the number of their enemies increased, by reinforcements from Hispaniola, their panic became more violent; and that not merely from the dread inspired by an augmentation of force: they believed that those whom they had killed were again come to life, and eager on vengeance*. Dreading therefore to continue a war with men who had the power of reviving after death, they submitted once more to the Spanish yoke; and being condemned to the mines, which were unfortunately found in their country, fell victims in a short time to the toils of slavery.

These acts of barbarity, however, very little promoted the interests of Spain. The mines soon failed; and an island of considerable extent, fruitful though unequal, enriched by a great number of rivers, and furnished with an excellent port, and coasts of easy access—an island which would have formed the property of an active nation, is scarcely known in the commercial world. The inhabitants amount barely to fifteen hundred, including Spaniards, Mellizos and Mullattoes. They have about three thousand negroes, whose employment is rather to gratify the indolence, than to assist the industry of the proprietors. Both masters and slaves, brought nearly on a level by their sloth, subsist alike on maize, potatoes, and cassada. If they cultivate sugar, tobacco, cacao, it is only so much of each as is necessary for their own consumption. Their exports consists of about two thousand hides, which they furnish annually to the mother-country, and a considerable number of mules, good in their kind but small. These mules are smuggled in to the French and English settlements. The inhabitants of Porto Rico are protected in their idleness by a garrison of two hundred men; which, with the clergy and civil officers, cost the court of Madrid upwards of ten thousand pounds sterling annually. This money, added to what they get for their cattle, is sufficient to pay the English, Dutch, French, and Danes, for the linens and other merchandise, with which they furnish them. All the advantage that the Spaniards derive from Porto Rico, is the conveniency of there supplying with water and fresh provisions, their ships bound for South America.

Hispaniola is now of no more service to Spain than Porto Rico. This island, famous for being the first European settlement in the New World, was for a time in high estimation, on account of the quantity of gold which it furnished. But that wealth diminished, as we have already seen †, with the inhabitants of the country, whom the conquerors obliged to dig it out of the bowels of the earth; and the source of it was entirely dried up, when the neighbouring islands no longer supplied the loss of those wretched victims to Spanish avarice. A vehement desire of opening again this source of wealth, inspired the barbarous thought of procuring slaves from Africa: but the negroes, though more fit than the Indians for the labours of the field, were found incapable of sustaining.

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. viii. c. 4.

† Vol. I. book I. chap. iii. p. 41, 42.

the subterraneous air; and the multitude of mines, which began about that time to be wrought on the continent, made those of Hispaniola be entirely neglected.

An idea now suggested itself to the Spaniards, that their negroes, who were healthy, strong, and patient, might be usefully employed in husbandry; and they adopted through necessity a measure, which, had they known their own interest, they would sooner have embraced from choice. The produce of their industry was at first inconsiderable, because the labourers were few. Charles V. who like most sovereigns, occasionally sacrificed the welfare of his subjects to the aggrandizement of his favourites, had granted to a Flemish nobleman the exclusive right of importing negroes to the New World*. The favourite sold his patent to the Genoese; and those avaricious republicans, carried on their infamous commerce as all monopolies are conducted: they resolved to sell dear, though they should sell only few. But when time and competition had fixed the natural and necessary price of slaves, their number increased, and agriculture was pursued with some degree of success. It may easily, however, be imagined, that the Spaniards who had been accustomed to treat the Indians as beasts of burden, though they differed but little in complexion from themselves, did not entertain a higher opinion of those African blacks, who had been substituted in their place. Degraded still lower in their eyes by the price they paid for them, even the menaces of religion could not restrain them from aggravating beyond measure the weight of the servitude of the negroes. It became intolerable; and those wretched slaves made an effort to recover the unalienable rights of mankind. The attempt proved unsuccessful, but it was not altogether fruitless: they were afterwards treated with less inhumanity.

This moderation, if tyranny restrained by the fear of revolt can deserve that name, was followed by beneficial consequences. Cultivation flourished; and about the middle of the sixteenth century, the mother-country drew annually from this colony twenty hundred thousand weight of sugar, a large quantity of wood for dying, some tobacco, cacao, cassia, ginger, cotton, and abundance of hides. It might be imagined that such favourable beginnings would have communicated both the means and the desire of carrying cultivation further; but a train of unfortunate circumstances, some of which have been already enumerated, conspired to ruin these promising hopes. The first, and most fatal of these circumstances, was the depopulation of the island in consequence of the discoveries on the continent. On hearing of the immense fortunes made in Mexico and Peru, the most opulent inhabitants of Hispaniola began to despise their settlements: they quitted the true source of riches, which is on the surface of the earth, to go and ransack its bowels, in quest of mines of gold; a less useful, and more precarious pursuit.

The government endeavoured in vain to stop this rage of emigration: the laws were always either artfully eluded or openly violated; and the weakness of

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii.

the colony, a necessary consequence of such desertion, by leaving the coasts without defence, encouraged the enemies of Spain to ravage them. Even St. Domingo, its capital, was taken and pillaged by Sir Francis Drake in 1566. Navigators or less consequence contented themselves with intercepting vessels in their passage through those latitudes, at that time the best known of any in the New World. In this distress the foreign trade of the colony, and that was illicit, proved its only resource; and as it continued to be carried on, notwithstanding the vigilance of the governors, or with their connivance, the policy of an exasperated short-sighted court exerted itself in demolishing most of the sea ports, and driving the miserable inhabitants into the inland country. This act of violence threw them into a state of objection, which the incursions and settlement of the French on the island, afterwards carried to the utmost pitch.

Totally occupied with the government of that vast empire which it had established on the continent, the court of Madrid used no means to dissipate this lethargy; and the colony of Hispaniola, which had no longer any intercourse with the mother-country, except by a single ship, that sailed every third year, consisted in 1717, of eighteen thousand four hundred and ten inhabitants, of all classes and conditions, including Spaniards, Mestizos, negroes, and mulattoes. The complexion and character of these people differed according to the different proportions of American, European, or African blood which they had received from their parents. These demi-savages, if we may so speak, plunged in the extreme of sloth, lived upon fruits and roots; dwelt in cottages, without furniture, and almost without cloaths.

A company was formed at Barcelona in 1757, with exclusive privileges, for the re-establishment of Hispaniola. It made, however, no considerable progress; but the free trade which has been since opened, as already mentioned *, to all the subjects of Spain with her colonies in the West Indies, promises more considerable advantages. St. Domingo, the capital of the island, and the place where this trade is chiefly carried on, is situated on the side of a plain thirty leagues in length, and from eight to twelve in breadth. This large tract, which if properly cultivated, would furnish both the luxuries and conveniences of life to a numerous body of inhabitants, is covered with forests and underwood, with some pasture-lands interspersed at intervals. It is level through almost its whole extent, but becomes unequal in the neighbourhood of the town, which is built on the banks of the Lozama. Some magnificent ruins are all the remains of this once celebrated city. On the land side it has no fortification but a simple wall, without either ditch or outworks; but towards the sea and the river, it is well defended.

Such is the only settlement which the Spaniards have maintained on the southern coast of Hispaniola. On the northern coast there is one called Monte Christo. This maritime and commercial place has little or no connexion with Spain. It owes its trade to the vicinity of the French plantations. In time of

* Vol. I. book II. chap. ii. p. 370.

peace, the produce of the plain of Mariboux, situated between Fort Dauphin and the bay of Manchineel, is all carried to this port, which is constantly filled with English smugglers. When a rupture happens between the courts of London and Versailles, without involving that of Madrid, Monte Christi becomes a considerable mart. All the produce of the northern part of the French colony is sent thither, where ships are always ready to take it off; but the moment Spain finds herself obliged to take a share in the quarrel between the two rival nations, this trade ceases.

The Spaniards have no settlements in the western part of Hispaniola, which is wholly occupied by the French; but it is not many years since they thought of settling in the eastern part of the island, which they had long entirely neglected. This project of cultivation, which by accident seems to have found its way into the council of Madrid, might be successfully carried into execution in the plains of Vega-Real, situated in the interior part of the island, and fourscore leagues in length, by ten at their greatest breadth. It would be difficult to find throughout the whole New World a tract of equal extent more level, more fruitful, or better watered. All the productions of the West Indies would succeed admirably there; but it would be impossible to convey them to the shore without making roads, an undertaking which would stagger nations more enterprising and industrious than the present Spaniards. This difficulty should naturally have led the Spanish ministry to fix their eyes on the plains of St. Domingo, which are fruitful, though not in so great a degree as those of Vega-Real. Probably they were apprehensive the new colonists would adopt the manners of the old, and therefore determined upon Samana.

Samana is a peninsula on the eastern part of Hispaniola, five leagues broad, and sixteen long, and is joined to the island by a narrow slip of very marthy ground. It forms a bay of fourteen leagues in length, where the anchorage is in fourteen fathom of water, and so commodious that ships may lie close to the shore. This bay is full of little islands, of which it is easy to keep clear by steering close to the western coast: besides the advantage of a fertile soil, that peninsula therefore affords a situation otherwise favourable to trade. These considerations induced the first French adventurers, who ravaged Hispaniola, to settle at Samana; where they maintained their ground a long time, though surrounded by their enemies. But at length it was found, that they were too much exposed, and at too great a distance from the rest of the French settlements on the island, to receive the necessary support; they were therefore withdrawn. The Spaniards rejoiced at their departure, but did not take possession of the spot they had quitted. Within those last ten years, however, in consequence of the resolution of restoring the trade of Hispaniola, they sent thither some people from the Canaries, at the expence of the state, which also furnished them with provisions for two seasons. But this prudent measure has not been attended with success: the greater part of the new inhabitants have fallen victims to the climate, to the labour of clearing the ground, or to the arbitrary impositions of the governors, whose military disposition is destructive to commercial establishments.

These unpropitious circumstances make the future prosperity of Hispaniola very doubtful, as far as it concerns the Spaniards; but Cuba, favoured both by nature and fortune, will probably compensate for this disadvantage. The island of Cuba, separated from Hispaniola only by a narrow channel, is of itself equal in value to a great part of the West Indies: it is near seven hundred miles in length, and in breadth from fifty to ninety. It was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and conquered in 1511, by Don Diego Velasquez, as has been already related in a manner sufficiently particular*. The principal produce of Cuba is naturally cotton. This shrub, at the time of the conquest, was very common over all the island, and the preservation of it would have been attended with little expense or trouble, as the dryness of the soil is peculiarly adapted to such a culture. It is now, however, become so scarce there, that sometimes several years pass without any of it being sent to Europe.

Although the Spaniards have an insurmountable antipathy against imitation, they have of late adopted the cultivation of coffee at Cuba, in consequence of having observed the rapid progress which it made in the neighbouring islands. But in borrowing the method of culture from foreign planters, they have not borrowed their industry: the whole annual produce therefore amounts barely to thirty or thirty-five thousand weight, one third of which is exported to New, and the rest to Old Spain. It might naturally be expected, that this produce would increase, in proportion as a liquor so familiar to people in hot climates, and so generally desired in Europe, shall become more common among the Spaniards; but a nation which first introduced among its neighbours a taste for coffee, and was the last to cultivate it, is likely to be slow in its improvements.

The propagation of coffee requires that of sugar: it may therefore be worth while to inquire, how far the Spaniards are prepared by the one for the consumption of the other. Sugar, which, as already observed, is the most valuable produce of the West Indies, would of itself be sufficient to give to Cuba that flourishing state of prosperity for which nature seems to have designed it; for although the surface of the island is in general unequal and mountainous, it has plains abundantly extensive and rich to supply the consumption of the greater part of Europe in that article. But so little use has been made of these advantages, that Spain has not only ceased to derive any benefit from the culture of the sugar-cane, but since the juice of this valuable plant has become an article of primary necessity in Europe, the Spaniards have had the mortification to see their country drained annually of an immense sum on that account. Cuba, till within these last ten years, had only a few sugar-plantations, where a small quantity of bad sugar was made from very good canes; but since the opening of the free trade in 1765, this and every other culture is said to be considerably increased; so that the Spanish colonies will probably, in time, be able at least to supply the consumption of the mother-country, in all those articles which are the produce of the West Indies.

* Vol. I. book I, chap. iii. p. 49, 50.

The most considerable commodity that Cuba furnishes at present is tobacco, with which it supplies both Old and New Spain; but as this tobacco is in universal request, wherever it is known, the culture might be greatly extended, and rendered a perpetual source of riches. Like all the Spanish colonies, Cuba also exports hives, ten or twelve thousand of which it annually ships for the mother country; and the number might easily be increased in an immense country abounding in wild cattle, till such time as the lands shall be turned to more valuable purposes. It would perhaps be asserting too much to affirm that the hundredth part of this fertile island is cleared. There are only a few inconsiderable plantations in the neighbourhood of St. Jago, the neglected capital, and about Matanza, a safe and spacious bay at the mouth of the Old Channel of Bahama. The valuable plantations are chiefly confined to the beautiful plains of the Havana, and even those are not what they ought to be.

These different plantations are supposed to employ thirty thousand slaves, of every age and sex, and the Spaniards, Melizos, mulattoes, and free negroes upon the island, compute about an equal number. The food of these various races of inhabitants consists of excellent pork, bad beef, but cheap and plenty, and manioc. Even the troops have no other bread but cassada. The frequent intercourse with Europeans, has preserved the inhabitants of Cuba from that languid inactivity so common in the Spanish colonies in the New World. This intercourse, the benefit of which it owes to its situation, commenced almost with the conquest of the island.

Ponce de Leon having discovered Florida in 1512, became acquainted with the New Channel of Bahama. It was immediately perceived, that this would be the best route which the ships bound from Mexico for Europe could possibly pursue. The settlement of the Havana, situated on the north side of Cuba, and which lies contiguous to the channel, was formed in consequence of this idea; and that port being also found convenient for vessels dispatched from Carthagena and Porto Bello, which afterwards pursued the same course, they all put in there to wait for each other, that they might proceed together in more safety, and arrive in greater state at the mother-country. The vast sums expended during the stay of the galleons and flota, which were the vehicles of the richest commerce in the universe, made the city abound in money. The number of its inhabitants, which as early as 1561, consisted of three hundred families, and was nearly doubled before the end of the century, amounts at present to between fifteen and twenty thousand souls. One part of these are employed in the dock yards, erected by government for building ships of war. The masts, iron-work, and cordage are brought from Europe, but the other materials are found in abundance upon the island. The timber is more especially valuable. Growing under the influence of the hottest rays of the sun, it lasts for ages with moderate care; whereas ships built in Europe, dry and split under the torrid zone. This timber begins to be scarce in the neighbourhood of the Havana, but it is common on all the coasts, and the carriage is neither expensive nor difficult.

Spain

Spain is the more interested to multiply her docks here, as the seas most frequented by her fleets lye between the tropics; and the pains which have been lately taken to render this key of the New World impregnable, by additional works, are a further motive for making the Havana the chief source of her naval power. The principal of these works is the Cavagna, composed of a bastion, two curtains, and two demi bastions in front. Its right and left lie upon the bank of the harbour. It has casemates, reservoirs of water, and powder magazines that are bomb-proof; a good covered way, and a wide ditch cut in the rock. It is built on an eminence, which commands the Moro, but is itself exposed to attacks from a hill of an equal height, and not above three hundred paces distant from it. As it would be easy for an enemy to open their trenches under the cover of this hill, the Spaniards intend to level it; after which the Cavagna may extend its view and its batteries to a great distance. If the garrison should find themselves unable to hold out, it might blow up the works, which are all undermined, and retreat into the Moro, the communication with which cannot possibly be cut off.

This famous fort has been entirely rebuilt since the peace: its parapets have been made higher and thicker; a good covered way has been added, and every thing that was wanting to secure the garrison and the stores. It would not be easier now to open trenches before the Moro than the Cavagna; and both are built with a soft stone, which will be less dangerous to the defendants than the common free-stone. Independent of these advantages, the two fortresses have in their favour a climate extremely hazardous to the besiegers, and an easy communication with the town for receiving all sorts of provisions, without a possibility of being intercepted. Thus circumstanced, the Moro and Cavagna may be considered as impregnable, or at least very difficult to be taken, provided they are stocked with provisions, and defended with courage and ability. Their conservation is indeed of the utmost consequence, as their surrender must necessarily be followed by that of the town and harbour, which are both commanded by, and may be battered from those eminences.

The fortifications of the city have also been improved since the peace, and those of the Puntal-fort, which were very much damaged during the siege, repaired. The fire of the Puntal crosses that of a fort of four bastions, erected since the peace, which has a ditch, a covered way, a powder magazine, casemates, and reservoirs of water. This fortification, which is situated on an eminence called Aroisigny, at the distance of three quarters of a mile from the town, will require a siege in form, if the Havana should be invested on that side; especially as it is to be constructed as to have a view of the sea, to command a considerable tract on the land side, and to disturb an enemy exceedingly in getting water, which they must fetch from its neighbourhood. A little farther onward, in skirt- ing the city, stands a fort named Dalteres, also built since the peace. It is of stone, has four bastions, a covered way, an half moon before the gate, a wide ditch, a good rampart, reservoirs, casemates, and a powder magazine. It is barely three quarters of a mile from the town, and is situated on the further side

side of a river and an impracticable morass, which cover it in that direction. The rising ground on which it is founded, is entirely occupied by it, and has been insulated by the digging of a broad ditch, into which the sea has a passage from the bottom of the harbour. Besides commanding the communication between the town and the interior part of the island, it defends the circuit of the place, by crossing its fires with those of Arotzigny.

This continuation of works, which will require a garrison of four thousand men, has cost Spain incredible sums. The purchase of the mere materials is computed at two millions of pesos, and the annual expence or labour, for six or seven years, at upwards of one million. Besides those immense fortifications, the Spanish government has formed a particular army for the security of Cuba. This army is composed of two squadrons of European dragoons, well mounted and armed; an hundred Miquelets; a regiment of provincial cavalry, consisting of four squadrons, and seven battalions of militia, who since the peace, have been taught to perform their military evolutions with surprising regularity. These troops, armed, clothed, and every way accoutred at the expence of government, are to be paid in time of war on the footing of regulars. Their officers, down to the sergeants and corporals, are all sent from Spain, and picked from the most distinguished regiments.

Whether the service of this militia will be answerable to the enormous expence, which the forming of it has cost, is a question which future events alone can determine; but tho' it should be found sufficient for the security of Cuba, assisted by the fortifications already described, such a military establishment is inexcusable, viewed in a commercial, or even in a political light. The violence which the Spanish government has been obliged to use, in order to make the inhabitants submit to exercises from which they were averse, has produced no effect but that of increasing their natural love of repose. They detest those mechanical and forced movements, which appear so much the more intupportable, as they contribute nothing towards their happiness. This disinclination to action extends even to those labours, in which they are most interested. The establishment of the militia has given a check to agriculture. Those productions which were gradually improving have diminished, and will be totally lost, if Spain continues obstinately to pursue a pernicious system, which false principles have induced her to adopt.

The rage of keeping up an army—that madness, which under pretence of preventing wars, encourages them; which by introducing despotism into all the departments of government, paves the way for rebellion among the people; which, continually dragging the peaceful inhabitant from his dwelling, and the husbandman from his field, extinguishes in them the love of their country, by depriving them of its comforts, which can alone be found in the undisturbed enjoyment of domestic tranquillity, will sooner or later prove the ruin of the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, unless a change of policy takes place. Those islands, which, in the hands of an industrious nation, would prove a source of inexhaustible wealth, the most extensive and fertile part of the

BOOK III.

American archipelago, at present exhibits nothing but a frightful solitude. In place of contributing to the strength and riches of the kingdom to which they belong, these settlements serve only to weaken and exhaust it, by the supplies of men and money required to maintain them.

The treasures of Mexico and Peru only could enable Spain to support such a continual expence, or induce her to submit to it. How much more profitably might these treasures be employed in encouraging useful cultures!—Population, the natural attendant on industry, would enable the colonies to protect themselves more effectually than the strongest fortifications, at the same time that they enriched the mother-country by their produce, and rendered their own citizens happy, by the more plentiful enjoyment of the conveniencies of life.

C H A P. IV.

The Dutch Settlements in the West Indies.

WHEN the inhabitants of the United Provinces, by their gallant efforts, had freed themselves from the dominion of the sea and of Spanish tyranny, they perceived that they could not rest the foundation of their freedom on a spot that did not afford the necessaries of life. They were convinced that commerce, which to most nations is no more than an accession, a method only of increasing the quantity and value of the produce of their respective countries, must be to them the chief basis of their existence. Almost without territory and without productions, they determined to give a value to those of other nations, satisfied that their own would be the necessary result of the general prosperity. The event has justified their political system.

The first step taken by the Dutch was to establish, among the nations of Europe, an exchange of the commodities of the north for those of the south. In a short time the sea was covered with the ships of Holland. All the commercial effects of different nations were collected in her ports, and thence dispersed to their respective destinations. There the value of every thing was regulated—and with a moderation which excluded all competition. The ambition of giving greater stability and extent to her commerce, excited in the republic a spirit of conquest. Her empire extended itself over a part of the Indian continent, and over all the islands of consequence in the sea that encompasses it. By her fortresses or her fleets, she kept in subjection a portion of the coast of Africa; towards which her ambition, ever attracted by useful objects, had turned its attentive and prudent views. Her acquisitions in America were scarcely less considerable than in Asia: the immense chain of her connexions embraced the universe, of which by labour and industry she was become the soul: in a word, she had attained the universal monarchy of commerce, when the Portuguese recovering from that languor

languor and inaction, into which the tyranny of Spain had thrown them, found means in 1661, to repopulate themselves of that part of Brazil which the republic had wrested from them.

From that time the Dutch would have lost all footing in the New World, had it not been for a few small islands; particularly that of Curaçao, which they had taken from the Spaniards. This rock, which is not above three leagues from the coast of Venezuela is about ten leagues long and five broad. It has an excellent harbour, but difficult of entrance. The basin is extremely large, and convenient in every respect. It is defended by a fort skilfully constructed, and always kept in good repair. The French having, in 1673, corrupted the governor, landed there to the number of five or six hundred men; but the treason having been discovered, and the traitor punished, before their arrival they met with a reception very different from what they expected, and were obliged to reim-bark, with the disgrace of having only exposed their own weakness and the iniquity of their measures.

Lewis XIV. whose pride was hurt by this check, sent out admiral D'Estrees, five years after, with eighteen ships of war, and twelve buccaneering vessels, to wipe off the stain which, in his eyes, tarnished the glory of a reign filled with great and atrocious actions. D'Estrees was not far from the place of his destination, when by his rashness and obstinacy, he ran his ships a-ground on Davis's Island; and after collecting the shattered remains of his fleet, returned in a miserable condition to Brest, without having attempted any thing. From that time, neither Curaçao, nor the little islands of Aruba and Buen-Aire, which are dependent on it have had their tranquillity disturbed. No nation has thought of disputing the possession of a barren spot, which produces only some roots and vegetables proper for feeding slaves, and pasture for a few cattle, but not one article of commerce.

St. Eustatia is little more inviting. This island, which is about five leagues in circumference, is nothing but a steep mountain rising out of the sea in the shape of a pyramid. It has properly no harbour, and only one place where ships can ride, or boats land with safety. The exact time when the Dutch took possession of it is not ascertained, but it is certain they were settled there in 1630. During the war between England and Holland in 1665, the Dutch were dispossessed of St. Eustatia by an armament from Jamaica. But the Dutch and French becoming confederates, the English were expelled, in their turn, by the French, who kept possession of the island till after the peace of Breda, when it was restored to the Dutch. Towards the end of the last century, when England and Holland were in alliance against Lewis XIV. St. Eustatia fell again into the hands of the French, who were driven out by the English under Sir Timothy Thornhill, with the loss only of eight men. The peace of Ryfwick restored to the Dutch the entire property of this island, of which they have remained the undisturbed possessors ever since.

St. Eustatia produces some tobacco, and near six hundred thousand weight of sugar. The number of people employed in planting, consists of about an hundred

dred and fifty whites, and fifteen hundred blacks. The number of persons engaged in trade amounts at least to five hundred, in time of peace; and to twelve or fifteen hundred, whenever this place has the happiness of being neuter in time of war. Though inconsiderable itself as a colony, it has spared some of its inhabitants to people a neighbouring island, known by the name of Saba. This is a steep rock, on the top of which is some ground very proper for gardening. Frequent rains, that do not lie any time on the soil, give growth to fruits of an excellent flavour, and cabbages of an extraordinary size. Fifty European families, with about an hundred and fifty slaves, here raise cotton, spin it, and make stockings of it, which they sell to the other colonies as high as a guinea a pair. Throughout all the West Indies there is no air so pure as that of Saba: hence the women preserve a freshness of complexion that is not to be found in any of the other islands. Happy colony! which, elevated on the summit of a rock, between the sea and sky, enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading their storms; whose industrious inhabitants breathe the most refreshing gales, and cultivate a simple commodity, from which they derive the conveniencies, without the luxuries of life.

This, says Raynal, is the Temple of Peace, whence the philosopher may contemplate at leisure the errors and passions of men; who come, like the waves of the sea, to dash themselves on the rich coasts of America; for the spoils of which they are continually contending, and which, when obtained, they are continually wrestling from each other. Hence he may view at a distance the nations of Europe bearing thunder in the midst of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the scorching heat of the torrid zone; devouring gold without ever being satisfied; wading through seas of blood to amass those metals, those pearls, those diamonds, which are to adorn the proud oppressors of mankind; loading innumerable ships with those precious casks which furnish tyranny with purple, and from which flow industry mingled with cruelty, debauchery, and effeminacy*. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this mass of follies, and spins in peace the cotton, which constitutes all his finery and wealth.

Under the same climate lies the small island of St. Martin, which is about fourteen or fifteen leagues in circuit, and contains a considerable number of hills, which are so many rocks covered with heath. The sandy soil of its plains and vallies, in itself naturally barren, can only be rendered fruitful by showers, which happen but seldom, and are so much the less beneficial, as they are in general either exhales by the intense heat of the sun, or drain off from the places where they fall. With due care, these casual refreshments might be preserved in reservoirs, and thence distributed in such a manner as to be productive of plenty. Though this island has no river, it is furnished with springs, which supply the inhabitants with very good water. The air is wholesome, the coast abounds with fish; the sea is seldom tempestuous, and there is safe anchorage all around the island.

* Hist. Philos. &c. liv. xii.

The Dutch and French, who in 1638, met in St. Martin's, lived in peace with each other, but in separate parts of the island, till they were dispossessed by the Spaniards. The conquerors, however, soon grew weary of an establishment from which they saw no prospect of deriving any advantage, and which cost them a considerable sum annually: they therefore quitted it in 1648, after destroying every thing that they could not carry with them. But these devastations did not hinder the former possessors from returning to the island as soon as they knew that it was evacuated. They mutually agreed never to disturb each other's repose, and have preserved inviolably this engagement, which was equally for the advantage of both parties. The disputes between their respective nations did not in the least alter those dispositions: and they lived in unmolested tranquillity, till the year 1757, when the French were expelled by the commander of an English privateer, named Cook; but they returned again, as soon as hostilities ceased.

Out of the fifty-five thousand acres of land, which this island contains, the French enjoy thirty-five thousand. But over this large space, which might maintain five hundred white families, and ten thousand slaves, are scattered only about one hundred white inhabitants, and two hundred blacks. These depend chiefly for their subsistence upon the culture of bananas, yams, and manioc. Cotton, till within these few years, was their only export. The line of separation drawn from east to west, which confines the Dutch within a smaller compass, has made them ample amends by giving them possession of the only port in the island, and of a large salt-pit, which brings them annually two hundred thousand dollars. Besides these advantages, they have sugar plantations which employ three thousand slaves. Both colonies have of late begun the culture of coffee with success. Perhaps this article may raise them above the difficulties with which they have so long struggled, but they are not likely ever to be of much consequence.

Thus far the settlements of the Dutch in the great archipelago of America, seem very unimportant; and considered as plantations, they are truly so. Their produce, which is scarcely sufficient to freight four or five moderate vessels, entitles them to no degree of attention; and they would accordingly have been condemned to neglect, if some of them, which are of small consequence in cultivation, were not very considerable in commerce. This is more especially to be understood of Curaçao, and partly of St. Fustatia. The desire of opening a contraband traffic with the Spanish main, was the chief motive for settling the former. In a short time a great number of Dutch ships arrived at that island: they were stout and well equipped; and their crew consisted of choice men, whose courage was seconded by their interest. Each according to his station, had a share in the cargo, which he resolved of course to defend against the Guarda Costas, at the hazard of his life.

After a time, the method of carrying on this traffic, though successful, was changed for one more safe, and no less advantageous. Curaçao itself became an immense magazine, stored with all the commodities of Europe and the East.

BOOK III.

Indies. Thither the Spaniards resorted in small vessels, to exchange their gold, silver, vanilla, cacao, cochineal, bark, hides, and other valuable commodities, for negroes, woollen and linen cloths, laces, silks, ribbands, hardware—the spices of the Moluccas, and the calicoes of Bengal, white and painted. These visits however, though continual, did not prevent a multitude of Dutch floops from passing to the creeks on the continent. The wants, the supplies, the fatigues, and the voyages of the two nations were reciprocal, and made their coasts a most active scene of trade; and tho' the modern substitution of register-ships in place of the galleons, has made this communication less frequent, because less necessary, it will revive, and even be encreased, whenever by the intervention of war, the immediate intercourse between Spain and her colonies shall be cutoff.

Hostilities between France and England open a new species of commerce to Curaçao. It then furnishes provisions to all the southern coast of Hispaniola, and takes off its produce. In a word, Curaçao in time of war is in a manner the common emporium of the West-Indies. It affords a friendly retreat to the ships of all nations, but refuses to none of them arms or ammunition to annoy one another. The French come hither, at all times, to buy the beef, pork, corn, flour, and lumber, which is brought from the English colonies in North-America; so that whether in peace or in war, the trade of Curaçao is considerable. Every commodity, without exception, that is landed in this island, pays one per cent. port duty. Dutch goods are never taxed higher; but those that are shipped from the ports of other European nations, pay nine per cent. more. Foreign coffee of American growth is subject to the same duty, in order to encourage that of Surinam; but every other production of America is subject only to a duty of three per cent.

St. Eustatia was formerly subject to the same duties as Curaçao, but they were taken off soon after the beginning of the late war. It derived this benefit from its vicinity to the Danish island of St. Thomas, which being a free port, engrossed great part of its former trade. Under the present regulation, its contraband traffic in time of peace, is chiefly confined to the barter of English cod for the molasses and rums of the French islands. A state of hostility between the courts of London and Versailles opens a very large field for St. Eustatia, which is enriched by their divisions. In the late war it became the staple of almost all the merchandize of the French colonies, and the general magazine of supply for them. But this trade was not conducted singly by the Dutch. The English and French met on the coasts of this island, to form under the shelter of its neutrality, commercial engagements. A Dutch passport, that cost eleven pounds sterling, and which was granted without enquiring to what nation the person belonged, who applied for it, kept their connexions from public view. This uncommon liberty gave rise to numberless transactions between persons very singularly situated in regard to each other. Commerce found the art of composing the violence or eluding the vigilance of discord.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

The Danish Settlements in the West-Indies.

DENMARK and Norway, which are at present united under the same government, computed in the eighth century two separate states. While the former signalized itself by the conquest of England, and other bold enterprises, the latter peopled the Orkneys, Fero, and Iceland. Urged by that restless spirit, which had always animated their ancestors the Scandinavians, this active people, so early as the ninth century, formed a settlement in Greenland, which there is good reason to suppose is united to the American continent, or divided from it only by a very narrow strait. It is even thought, notwithstanding the darkness which prevails over all the historical records of the north, during those early ages, that there are sufficient traces to induce a belief, that the Norwegian navigators in the eleventh century were hardy enough to penetrate as far as the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland, and that they left small colonies on them*. But the wars which Norway had to sustain, till the time it became united to Denmark; the difficulties which the government opposed to its navigation, and the state of oblivion and inaction into which this enterprising people fell, not only occasioned the loss of their colonies in Greenland, but of whatever settlements or connections they might have had on the coasts of America.

It was not, therefore, till more than a century after Columbus had discovered America, and begun the conquest of it under the Spanish banner, that the Danes and Norwegians, who were then become one nation, cast their eyes upon the New World, which was nearer to them than to any of those nations who had already possessed themselves of different parts of it. They chose, however, to seek their way to it by the shortest course. Accordingly in 1619, captain Munk was sent to find out a passage, by the north west, into the Pacific Ocean. This expedition was attended with as little success as those of many other navigators, both before and after him, in the same attempt. Yet it might have been imagined, that one disappointment would not have entirely discouraged the Danes; that they would have continued their American expeditions, till they had either been peculiarly unfortunate, or had succeeded in forming some settlements, that would have rewarded them for their trouble: but the interest which they imprudently took in the wars of Europe, made them lose sight of every distant object; and their successive losses reduced them to a desperate state, from which they would never have recovered, had not the assistance of Holland, and the steady perseverance of the citizens of Copenhagen, procured them a peace in 1645, less humiliating and destructive than they had reason to fear.

The Danish government seized the first moment of tranquillity to examine the condition of the state. Like all other Gothic governments, it was divided

* M. Mallet, *Introd. a l'Hist. de Danemark.*

between an elective chief, the nobility or senate, and the people. The king enjoyed no other preeminence than that of presiding in the senate, and commanding the army. During the intervals between the diets, the government was in the hands of the senate; but all great affairs were referred to the diets themselves, which were composed of the clergy, nobility, and commonalty. Though this constitution seems favourable to liberty, no country was less free than Denmark. The clergy from the time of the reformation, had forfeited their political as well as religious privileges, and the citizens had not yet acquired wealth sufficient to make them of any consequence in the state. Both those orders were overwhelmed by the power of the nobles, still actuated by the original spirit of the feudal system, which reduces every thing to the decision of the sword. This critical situation of the affairs of Denmark did not inspire the nobility with that justice, or moderation, which the circumstances of the times required: they refused to contribute their proportion to the public expences; and by this refusal exasperated the other members of the diet. These, in the excess of their resentment, invested the king with an absolute and unlimited power; and the nobles, who had driven them to this act of desperation, found themselves obliged to follow the example that had been set them.

After this change of government, the most imprudent and singular in the annals of mankind, the Danes fell into a kind of lethargic state. The delusive tranquillity of servitude succeeded those great convulsions which are occasioned by the clashing of national rights; and a people, who had been conspicuous for several ages, appeared no more on the theatre of the world. In 1671, Denmark just recovered to far from the trance into which the admission of despotism had thrown it, as to be able to look abroad, and take possession of a little American island, known by the name of St. Thomas. This island, the most westerly of the Caribbees, was totally uninhabited when the Danes undertook to form a settlement upon it. They were at first opposed by the English, under pretence that some emigrants of that nation had undertaken to clear it; but the British ministry stopped the progress of this interference, and the Danish colony was left to form such plantations as a sandy soil, and a territory of no greater extent than five leagues in length, and two and an half in breadth, would admit of.

A cultivation so confined and unproductive, would never have given any importance to the island of St. Thomas, had not the sea hallowed out from its coast an excellent harbour, in which fifty ships may ride with security. This advantage attracted such of the English and French Buccaneers, as were desirous of exempting their booty from the duties to which it was subject in the ports belonging to their respective nations. Whenever they had taken their prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the Windward Islands, they put into that of St. Thomas to dispose of them. It was also the asylum of all merchant ships, which frequented it as a neutral port, in time of war. It was the mart where the neighbouring colonies bartered their respective commodities; and the port whence they continually dispatched vessels richly laden, to carry

on a clandestine traffic with the Spanish settlements on the continent. St. Thomas in a word, was a very active scene of commerce.

The parent state, however, reaped little advantage from this rapid circulation. The persons who enriched themselves were chiefly foreigners, who carried their wealth to other countries. Denmark had no communication with its colony except by a single ship, sent out annually to Africa to purchase slaves, which being sold at St. Thomas, the ship returned home laden with the productions of that island. In 1719 the Danish trade was increased, by the clearing of the island of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half so large. These slender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab Island, where the Danes had attempted to form a settlement some years before. This island, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a considerable number of hills; but they are neither barren, steep, nor very high. The soil of the plains and vallies, which run between these hills, seems to be very fruitful; and they are refreshed by a number of springs, the water of which is said to be excellent. Nature, at the same time that she has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the finest bays that can be imagined. At every step some remains of plantations, with rows of orange and lemon trees are to be seen; which seem to prove that the Spaniards of Porto Rico, from which it is not distant above five or six leagues, have formerly occupied Crab Island.

The English observing that so promising a spot was without inhabitants, began to cultivate some plantations there, towards the end of the last century. But they were not permitted to reap the fruits of their labour: they were surpris'd by the Spaniards, who murdered all the men, and carried off the women and children to Porto Rico. This violence did not deter the Danes from making some attempts to settle there in 1717. But the subjects of Great Britain reclaiming their prior rights, sent thither some adventurers, who after dispossessing the Danes, were themselves plundered, and driven off by the Spaniards. The jealousy of these tyrants of the New World extends even to the prohibiting of fishing boats to approach any shore where they claim a right of possession, though they do not exercise it. Too lazy to prosecute cultivation, too suspicious to admit industrious neighbours, they condemn Crab Island to eternal solitude: they will neither occupy it themselves, nor permit any other nation to settle in it.

This tyrannical exertion of exclusive sovereignty, has obliged Denmark to give up Crab Island for that of Santa Cruz, whose natural importance gives it a better title to become an object of national ambition. It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by the English and Dutch: but their rivalship soon made them enemies to each other; and in 1646, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, the Dutch were routed, and obliged to quit a spot on which they had founded great expectations. The English were employed in cultivating those lands which their victory had procured them; when, in 1650, they were attacked, and expelled in their turn, by twelve hundred Spaniards, who arrived at Santa Cruz in five ships. The triumph of the

the Spaniards lasted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body which was left for the defence of the island, surrendered without resistance to an hundred and sixty Frenchmen, who had embarked from St. Christopher's to possess themselves of Santa Cruz.

These new inhabitants lost no time in making themselves acquainted with an island so highly esteemed. With a soil in many respects excellent, they found in Santa Cruz but one river of a moderate size, which gliding gently on a level with the sea, through a flat country, furnished only a brackish water. Two or three springs, in the interior parts of the island, made but a small compensation for this defect. The wells, which they dug, were for the most part dry: the construction of reservoirs required time; and the climate was peculiarly noxious to European constitutions. The island being flat, and covered with old trees, the winds had not sufficient access to carry off the poisonous vapours, with which its morasses clogged the atmosphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience; namely, to burn the woods. The French set fire to them without delay; and going on board their ships, became spectators from the sea, for several months, of the conflagration which they had raised in the island. As soon as the flames subsided, they again went on shore, and found the soil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and sugar flourished equally in it. So rapid was the progress of the colony, in consequence of this fertility, that, within eleven years from its inconsiderable beginning, there were upon the island eight hundred and twenty-two white persons, with a proportional number of slaves; and it was fast advancing to a degree of prosperity, that would have eclipsed the most flourishing settlements of the French nation, when such obstacles were thrown in the way of its activity as made it suddenly decline. Its decay was as rapid as its rise. In 1696 there were no more than one hundred and forty-seven white families, and six hundred and twenty-three blacks, remaining on the island; and these were transported to Hispaniola.

Those writers who take it for granted, that the court of France is always governed in its decisions by the most comprehensive views of profound policy, have conjectured, that the neglect of Santa Cruz was the result of a determination to abandon the small islands, in order to unite all the strength, industry, and population in the larger ones. But this is a false idea of the matter. That resolution did not take its rise from the court, but from the farmers of the revenues, who found, that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas was detrimental to their interests*. The spirit of financing has at all times been hurtful to commerce: it has destroyed the source whence it sprung. Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants, and without cultivation, till 1733, when it was sold by France to Denmark for about thirty-two thousand pounds sterling.

This northern power seemed now likely to take deep root in America. Unfortunately, however, she laid her plantations under the yoke of exclusive privi-

* Raynal, liv. xii.

leges. Industrious people of all sects, especially the Moravians, strove in vain to overcome this difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the interests of the colonies and their oppressors, but without success. The two parties kept up a continual struggle of animosity, not of industry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its constitution, purchased in 1754, the privileges and effects of the company. From this time, the navigation to the Danish islands has been open to all the subjects of that crown; but unfortunately the rapaciousness of the treasury has in a great measure prevented the advantage that might have been hoped for from such an arrangement. The national productions and manufactures, and whatever should be drawn from the first hand, and put on board Danish vessels, were indeed to be shipped from the mother-country free from all duties; but for all commodities that did not fall under this description, a tax of four per cent. was demanded. All imports into the colonies paid five per cent. and all exports six. A duty of two and an half per cent. was laid on all American productions consumed in the mother-country, and of one per cent. on what was carried to foreign markets.

At the same time that the trade to the West Indies recovered its natural independence, at the ransom of these burthened duties, that to Africa, which is its basis, was likewise laid open. The Danish government had, above a century before, purchased from the king of Aquambou, the two forts of Fredericksburg and Christiansburg, situated on the Gold Coast, at a small distance from each other. The African company, in virtue of its charter, had the sole possession of them; and exercised its privileges with that barbarity, of which the most polished European nations have set the example in these devoted regions. Only one of its agents had the resolution to renounce those cruelties, to which custom had given a sanction. So great was the reputation of this man for humanity, and such was the confidence reposed in his probity, that the blacks would come from the distance of an hundred leagues to see him, and to submit their differences to his arbitration. The sovereign of a remote country sent to him his daughter, with a present of gold and slaves, that Schilderop (for such was the name of this European so much revered over all Nigritia) might give him a grandson. Just and virtuous Dane! exclaims Raynal on this subject, what monarch ever received so pure, so glorious an homage, as thy nation has seen thee enjoy!—And where?—Upon a coast, upon a continent degraded for ever, by the infamous traffic of men exchanged for arms, and children sold by their parents!

The exclusive privilege of purchasing negroes has, however, been abolished in Denmark, as in other states: all the subjects of this commercial nation are permitted to buy men in Africa. They pay only between fifteen and sixteen shillings a head for every one they carry to the West Indies. Thirty thousand slaves, including all ages and sexes, on which a poll-tax of four shillings is laid, are already employed in their plantations there. The produce of the labour of these slaves loads forty vessels, from one hundred and twenty to three hundred tons burden. The plantations, which pay to the treasury an annual rent of about eight shillings for every thousand feet square, furnish to the mother-country, as

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the component articles of those forty ship-loads, a little coffee and ginger; some wood for inlaying; eight hundred bales of cotton, which are chiefly carried to foreign markets; and fourteen millions weight of raw sugar, four-fifths of which are consumed in Denmark and Norway, and the rest is sold in the Baltic, or introduced into Germany by the way of Altena.

Santa Cruz, though the latest of all the Danish settlements, furnishes five-sevenths of this produce. That island is divided into three hundred and fifty plantations, by lines which intersect each other at right angles. Each plantation contains one hundred and fifty acres, of forty thousand square feet each; so that it may occupy a space of twelve hundred common feet in length, by eight hundred in breadth. Two thirds of this tract are fit for the cultivation of sugar, and the proprietor may occupy fourcore acres at a time; each of which will yield, one year with another, sixteen hundred weight, without reckoning the molasses. The remainder may be employed in other cultures less lucrative. When the island comes to be entirely cleared, some towns may be built upon it: at present it has only the village of Christianstadt, situated under the fort which defends the principal harbour.

Denmark cannot be ignorant, that the riches which begin to flow from her colonies in the American archipelago, do not belong entirely to herself: a considerable share goes to the English and Dutch, who, without residing upon the Danish islands, have formed the best plantations in them. New England supplies them with wood, cattle, and meal, and receives in exchange molasses and other commodities. They are obliged likewise to import their wines, linens, and silks. The condition of Denmark does not admit of her looking with indifference on such disadvantages; and nothing will contribute so much to her interest as having the sole possession and traffic of all the productions of her West India islands. The more her settlements in the New World are limited, the more attentive ought she to be not to let any of the benefits, she might draw from them escape her. In a state of mediocrity, the least negligence is attended with serious consequences.

C H A P. VI.

The French Settlements in the West Indies.

WE have already seen the French and English, under Warner and Desnambuc, settle in St. Christopher's in 1625; and after various disasters and difficulties, gradually spread themselves over the neighbouring islands. As early as the year 1635, the French were in possession of Martinico and Guadaloupe. Cardinal Richlieu, who at that time ruled France, under Lewis XIII. very early perceived the advantages which might accrue from those settlements, if prudently managed; and the first step necessary to such prosperity he thought consisted in

putting the government of them into proper hands. With this view, he made choice of Longvilliers de Poincy, a knight of Malta, who was sent to the West Indies in 1639, with the title of Governor and Lieutenant General of the Isles of America. His commission was very ample; and no person could be better qualified to rectify the disorders incident to new settlements, or to establish such regulations as might contribute to their future greatness. He was a man of unblemished reputation for probity, of various and extensive knowledge, and had a genius peculiarly turned towards natural and mechanical objects. He it was who first taught the French the method of cultivating the sugar-cane, and of preparing the sugar. He improved the methods which were used in Brazil for that purpose, both with respect to the mills and the furnaces; and having given a proper direction to the industry of the new settlers, he afforded it all the encouragement in his power, by supporting those who connected their own interest with that of the colony, while he kept a watchful eye and a severe hand upon all who strove to acquire wealth by means inconsistent with the general welfare. He framed admirable regulations for the impartial and speedy administration of justice: he established in St. Christopher's, where he resided, an excellent police; and sensible that a form of public worship, independent of all theological motives, is equally essential to the good order of society by the force which it communicates to the moral obligations, and the dread which it inspires of ecclesiastical censures, he built and endowed churches in all the islands under his government.

These wise measures, however, were not attended with that success which might have been expected from them. This matter requires some explanation. When the French first began to settle in the American archipelago, government required a twentieth part of the produce of every colony that should be there established, without lending any assistance to the project, or encouraging it with any protection. Under these conditions Desnambuc and his followers embarked; and in 1626, a company was formed, in order to reap the benefit of this concession. That company obtained the most extensive privileges. The government gave them the property of all the islands which they should cultivate, and impowered them to exact an hundred weight of tobacco, or fifty pounds of cotton, from every inhabitant between sixteen and sixty years of age. They were likewise vested with an exclusive right of buying and selling.

Exclusive companies, as a judicious writer observes, may sometimes be useful to nourish an infant trade, where the market is under the dominion of foreign and barbarous princes; but where the trade is between different parts of the dominions of the same prince, under the protection of his laws, and carried on by his own subjects with goods wrought in his own kingdom, such companies must be equally absurd in their nature, and ruinous in their consequences to commerce*. Never was the justice of this reasoning more fully exemplified, than in the proceedings of the French West India company. An inordinate thirst of

* The author of the European Settlements in America, supposed to be Mr. Edmund Burke,

gain, the common effect of a spirit of monopoly, rendered them unjust, cruel, and oppressive. The Dutch, apprised of this tyranny, came and offered provisions and merchandize on more moderate terms. Their proposals were readily accepted, and a connexion was formed between these republicans and the French colonies, which could never afterwards be broken off. The competition that ensued, not only proved fatal to the company in the New World, where it prevented the sale of their exports, but even ruined them in all the markets of Europe, where the contraband traders undersold the produce of the French islands. Discouraged by these merited disappointments, the company sunk into a state of total languor, which deprived them of most of their emoluments without lessening any of their expences. In vain did the government remit the stipulated reserve of the twentieth part of the profit. This indulgence was not sufficient to restore their activity. Some of the proprietors were of opinion, that by renouncing the destructive principles which had been hitherto adopted, they might still re-establish their affairs; but the greater number thought it impracticable, notwithstanding all their advantages, to contend for superiority with such frugal traders as their rivals. This opinion occasioned a revolution. In order to prevent their total ruin, and that they might not sink under the weight of their engagements, the company put up their possessions to public sale. They were generally purchased by their respective governors.

The new masters of the French islands enjoyed an unlimited authority, and free disposal of the lands. All offices both civil and military were in their gift. They had the right of pardoning those whom their deputies condemned to death: in a word, they were so many petty sovereigns. It was natural to expect that, as their dominions were under their own inspection, agriculture would make a rapid progress; and that conjecture was in some measure realized, notwithstanding the contests, which were necessarily sharp and frequent under such masters. This second state of the French colonies in the West Indies, did not however prove more beneficial to the nation than the first. The Dutch continued to furnish them with provisions, and to carry away the produce, which they sold indiscriminately to all nations, and even to that which ought to have reaped the sole advantage of vending it.

France suffered considerably from this evil, and Colbert, who had succeeded Richelieu and Mazarine in the administration, mistook the means of redress. That great man, who had for some time presided over the finances and the trade of the kingdom, had imbibed false ideas of policy. The habit of living with the farmers of the revenue during the administration of his predecessor Mazarine, had accustomed him to consider money, which is but the means of exchange, as the productive cause of every thing. He imagined that the encouragement of manufactures was the readiest method to draw it from abroad; that in the work-shops were to be found the best resources of the state, and in tradesmen the most useful subjects of the monarchy. In order to increase the number of manufacturers, he strove to keep the necessaries of life at a low price; and for that

that purpose he prohibited the exportation of corn, without considering that this would diminish the culture. The production of materials was the least object of his care: he bent his whole attention to the manufacturing of them.

This preference of manufactures to agriculture became the reigning taste, and proved destructive to the real prosperity of France, at the same time that it gave to the kingdom a delusive appearance of opulence. While the shops of Paris were filled with gold and silver stuffs, and the inhabitants glittered in every street with lace and embroidery, the lands were left untilled, the peasants were in wretchedness, and the nation was in danger of perishing for want of bread. Colbert, who had given rise to that system of splendid beggary, saw the necessity of rescuing the French islands in the West Indies from the hands of private proprietors; and he effected it by purchase, in 1664. So far his conduct deserves praise. It was requisite that so many branches of sovereignty should be restored to the body of the state. But if Colbert had entertained just notions of the improvement of lands, of the encouragement it requires, and the liberty which the husbandmen should enjoy, he would have pursued a very different system from that which he adopted in regard to the colonies: he would not again have subjected possessions of such importance to the tyranny of an exclusive company; a measure, prohibited alike by experience and reason.

A new company was however formed, whose charter extended not only to the West Indies, but comprehended an exclusive trade with the French settlements on the coast of Africa, as well as with those in North and South America*. As a further encouragement to this great company, government agreed to lend them a sum to the amount of the tenth part of their capital, free from interest for four years, and permitted the importation of all provisions duty-free, into their settlements. But notwithstanding all these advantages, the company was never in a flourishing state. The errors into which they fell, seemed to increase in proportion to the number of concessions that were injudiciously bestowed upon them. The villany of their agents, the dejection of the colonists, the devastations of war, with other concurring causes, threw their affairs into the utmost confusion. Their ruin was approaching, and appeared inevitable in 1674, when the government judged it proper to pay off their debts, refund them their capital, and resume those valuable possessions which had been hitherto as it were alienated from the state.

The colonies now became entirely French, and all the subjects of the monarchy were at liberty to go and settle there, or to open a commercial intercourse with them: they were at length freed from the restraints by which they had been so long fettered, and which had proved so fatal to improvement and industry. The transports of joy which this event occasioned in the islands can hardly be expressed: every one gave a full scope to his ambition, and thought himself sure of acquiring a fortune. If the colonists were deceived in these expectations, their disappointment cannot be imputed either to presumption or indolence.

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. xvii. c. 2.

Their hopes were natural, and their whole conduct corresponded with them; but unfortunately the prejudices of the mother country threw insurmountable difficulties in their way. It was required that every free man, and every slave of either sex should pay annually a poll-tax of an hundred weight of raw sugar. In vain it was urged, that the condition imposed upon the colonies to trade only with the mother-country, was of itself a sufficient tribute, and a reason why they should be exempted from all other taxes. These representations were not attended to as they ought; and whether from necessity or ignorance on the part of government, those planters who ought to have been assisted with loans without interest, or with bounties, saw part of their produce collected by greedy tax-gatherers.

While the French colonies in the West-Indies were struggling under this new oppression, the spirit of monopoly in the mother country was taking effectual measures to reduce the price of that part of the fruits of their industry which was left them. The privilege of importing their produce was limited to a few seaports. This was a manifest infringement of the essential rights vested in the other harbours of the kingdom; and to the colonies it proved a very unfortunate restriction, as it lessened the number of purchasers in the islands. To this disadvantage another soon succeeded. The ministry had endeavoured to exclude all foreign vessels from those tropical colonies; and they had succeeded, because they were in earnest. Mutual interest now conspired to elude the rigour of the laws, and the vigilance of the government. The Dutch navigators purchased of the French merchants passports to go to the colonies, where they took in their ladings, and carried them directly to their own country, or to some neutral port for sale.

The method taken to remedy this abuse proved a new restraint upon the colonies, by impeding the free progress of navigation, and consequently obstructed the vending of West India commodities. The sale of sugar, the most important of these, met with a farther check. In 1682, the refiners petitioned, that the exportation of raw sugar might be prohibited; a request in which they seemed to be influenced merely by the public good. They alleged, that it was repugnant to all sound policy, for the state to send away the original produce to support foreign manufactures, and voluntarily deprive itself of the profits of so valuable a branch of industry. This plausible reasoning made too deep an impression upon Colbert; the consequences of which were, that the refining of sugar was kept up at the same exorbitant price, that the art itself never received any improvement, and that the French sugar trade declined, while that of all other nations increased.

Observing that this system was not dropped, notwithstanding the experience of its fatal tendency, some of the colonists solicited leave to refine their own sugars. That liberty was granted them; and they were furnished with so many conveniences to go through the process at a small expence, that they flattered themselves they might soon recover the preference which French sugars had lost in foreign markets. Nor was this hope by any means visionary: the desired change

might have been accomplished, if the refined sugar of the colonies had not been clogged with an enormous duty on entering the mother-country. Yet after paying this heavy imposition, of seven shillings the hundred weight, the refiners in the colonies were able to support a competition with those in France. The demand, however, did not increase: the manufactures of both were consumed merely in the kingdom. In consequence of the necessary diminution in the sale, the culture of canes declined in the islands. Thus was an important branch of foreign trade lost, rather than it should be acknowledged, that a mistake had been committed in prohibiting the exportation of raw sugar.

The planters in the French islands must have sunk under so many disadvantages, if the culture of tobacco, cacao, indigo, and cotton, had not rather been encouraged. Government supported it indirectly, by laying heavy duties on the foreign importation of those articles. This slight indulgence inspired them with the hope of an happier revolution, which was brought about in 1716. At that period, a plain and simple regulation was substituted in place of a multitude of equivocal orders, which the rapacious officers of the revenue had from time to time extorted from the wants and weakness of government. The merchandise destined for the colonies was exempted from all taxes; the duties upon West India commodities designed for home-consumption, were greatly lowered; the articles bought up for exportation were to be entered and cleared out freely, upon paying three per cent. the duties upon foreign sugars were to be levied every where alike, without any regard to particular immunities, except in cases of re-exportation in the ports of Bayonne and Marseilles.

In granting so many favours to her settlements in the West Indies, the mother-country was not unmindful of her own interests. All merchandise prohibited at home, was also forbidden in the colonies; and in order to secure the preference to her own manufactures, it was enacted, that even such commodities as were not prohibited, should pay a duty on their entry into France, although destined for the use of the colonies. Salt beef alone, which the mother-country could not furnish in sufficient quantity, was exempted from this duty*.

These regulations would have been as beneficial as the circumstances of the times would admit, if the edict had provided, that the trade with the colonies, which had hitherto been confined to a few sea-ports, should be general; and if it had released ships from the necessity of returning to the port whence they sailed. Those restraints limited the number of seamen, raised the expences of navigation, and prevented the ready exportation of the productions of the islands. Notwithstanding this remaining discouragement, the planters renewed their industry with fresh ardour; and as their soil was excellent, their success astonished all nations. But that success, and its causes, will best appear from an account of the different islands now in the possession of France, beginning with Martinico.

This island is sixteen leagues in length, and forty-five in circumference, leaving out the capes, which sometimes extend two or three leagues into the sea.

* Raynal, liv. xii.

It is very uneven, and intersected in all parts by ridges of hills. Above these smaller eminences rise three mountains, the highest of which bears the indelible marks of a volcano. The woods with which this mountain is covered continually attract the clouds; a circumstance which occasions noxious damps, and contributes to render it inaccessible and waste, while the two others are in most parts cultivated. From those mountains, but chiefly from the first, issue many rivulets that water the island; and which, though naturally gentle streams, are changed into torrents on the slightest storm. Their water partakes of the nature of the soil they pass through: in some places it is excellent; in others too bad, that the inhabitants prefer the rain-water which they collect in cisterns.

Desnambuc, who had sent to reconnoitre Martinico, sailed thither in 1635, in order to establish a colony. The sole founders of this new colony were an hundred men, who had lived several years under his government at St. Christopher's. They were brave, active; inured to the climate, to labour and fatigue; skilful in erecting habitations and in cultivating the ground, and abundantly provided with the necessary seeds and plants. They completed their first settlement without any obstruction. Intimidated by the fire-arms of the invaders, or seduced by their promises, the natives gave up to the French the western and southern parts of the island, and retired to the other. But this tranquillity was of short duration. The Caribs, when they saw these enterprising strangers continually increasing, became convinced that their ruin was inevitable, unless they could extirpate them. They accordingly called into their assistance the natives of the neighbouring islands, and fell jointly upon a small fort that had been built; but being unacquainted with the proper mode of attack, or the precautions necessary to screen them from the shot of the garrison, they were obliged to retire, after having lost between seven and eight hundred of their bravest warriors.

This check humbled the Caribs so much that they entirely disappeared for a time; and when they returned, they brought with them presents, and expressed their concern for what had happened. They were received in a friendly manner, and a reconciliation took place. The labours of the planters had hitherto been carried on with anxiety. They went continually armed, and kept watch every night. These precautions became unnecessary, as soon as the two nations were on friendly terms with each other. But the French took such undue advantage of their superiority, in order to extend their usurpations, that the flames of resentment were soon rekindled in the breasts of the Caribs. Their manner of life, like that of all savages, required a vast extent of ground; and finding themselves daily more and more straitened, they had recourse to stratagem, in order to weaken an enemy whom they durst not attack openly. They separated into small bands: way laid the Frenchmen, who frequented the woods; waited till the sportsman had fired his piece, and before he had time to load again, rushed in and destroyed him. Twenty men had been thus murdered, before any one was able to account for their disappearance. As soon as a discovery was made, the Caribs were pursued and slain; their wives and children were massacred; and

those who escaped the general carnage, fled from Martinico, and never appeared there more.

In consequence of this retreat, the French, become sole masters of the island, lived quietly upon those spots which best suited their plantations. They were now divided into classes. The first consisted of such as had paid their passage to the West Indies, and these were called settlers. The government distributed land to them, which became their absolute property upon paying a yearly tribute. They were obliged to keep watch by turns; and to contribute, in proportion to their abilities, towards the expences necessary for the public welfare and safety. These settlers had under their command a multitude of disorderly persons, brought over from Europe at their expence, and engaged in a kind of slavery for three years. When that term was expired, the engagés or bondsmen, by recovering their liberty, became the equals of those whom they had served.

All the planters confined themselves at first to the cultivation of tobacco and cotton, to which was soon added that of arnotto and indigo. The culture of sugar they learned from M. de Poincy, and Benjamin Da Costa, a Jew, introduced the planting of cacao. His example was not followed till 1684, almost thirty years after he had made the experiment, when the taste for chocolate was grown more common in France. Cacao then became the principal dependence of such of the planters as had not a sufficient fund to undertake the culture of sugar; but in 1708, one of those fatal calamities which arise from the intemperature of the air, and sometimes affect animals, and sometimes vegetables, destroyed all the cacao-trees. This spread a general consternation among the inhabitants of Martinico. The coffee-tree was then proposed to them, as a plank is held out to the ship-wrecked mariner, struggling amid the waves, after the loss of his vessel. The French ministry had received as a present from the Dutch, two of those trees, which were preserved in the king's botanical garden. Two shoots were taken from them, and sent to Martinico, where the culture of coffee was attended with the greatest and most rapid success.

Independent of this happy resource, Martinico possessed such natural advantages as seemed to promise a speedy and great prosperity. Of all the French islands it is the most happily situated in regard to the winds which prevail in those latitudes. Its harbours afford a certain shelter from the hurricanes so dangerous in the West Indies. These fortunate circumstances having made it the seat of government, it has obtained the greatest marks of favour. It has seldom suffered by foreign enemies, and its domestic peace has never been disturbed since the abolition of the exclusive companies. Notwithstanding so many causes of prosperity, Martinico, though in greater forwardness than the rest of the French colonies, had made but little progress at the end of the last century. In the year 1702, it contained only six thousand five hundred and ninety-five white persons, and fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty-six slaves *.

* Raynal, liv. xii.

On the cessation of the long and obstinate wars, which towards the end of the last, and the beginning of the present century, had ravaged all the continents, and been carried on upon all the seas in the world, and when France had relinquished her visionary scheme of universal monarchy, and those principles of administration by which she had been so long misled, Martinico emerged from that feeble state in which all these adverse circumstances had held it, and soon rose to a great height of prosperity. It became the mart for all the French settlements in the Windward Islands: in its ports the planters of those islands sold their produce; and the French navigators loaded and unloaded their ships no where else. Martinico grew famous all over Europe, where its inhabitants were considered under the different views of planters, agents for the other islands, and traders with North and South America. As planters, in 1730, they possessed seventy-two thousand negroes, whose labour had improved their produce as far as was consistent with the then consumption of West India commodities in Europe. It exported annually productions to the value of seven hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The connexions of Martinico with the other islands entitled it to the profits of commission, and the charges of transport, as it alone was in possession of vessels for that purpose. This profit may be rated at the tenth of the produce of the island. Thus a standing debt, seldom called in, was left for future improvements; and this debt was increased by advances in money, slaves, and other necessary articles. By these means Martinico became more and more a creditor to the other islands, and kept them in constant dependence, but without injuring them. They mutually enriched each other.

The intercourse of Martinico with Cape Breton, Canada, and Louisiana, procured it a market for its ordinary sugars, its inferior coffee, its molasses and rum, that would not sell in France; and it received in exchange salt-fish, dried vegetables, deals, and some flour. By its clandestine trade on the coasts of Spanish America, carried on wholly in goods manufactured by the mother-country, it was well paid for the risques which the French merchants did not chuse to run. This traffic, though less important than the two former as to its object, was more lucrative in its effects. It commonly brought in a profit of ninety per cent. upon commodities to the value of near two hundred thousand pounds sterling, sent yearly to Caraccas and the neighbouring colonies.

Enriched by so many beneficial connexions, Martinico had circulating specie to the amount of between seven and eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. Its extensive trade brought annually into its harbours two hundred ships, directly from France, and fourteen or fifteen fitted out by the mother-country for the coast of Guinea; sixty from Canada; ten or twelve from the Spanish islands of Margarett and Trinidad, besides several English and Dutch vessels, which came to carry on a smuggling traffic. The private navigation from the island to the northern colonies, to the Spanish continent, and to the Windward Islands, employed an hundred and thirty vessels, from twenty to seventy tons burden, manned with six hundred European sailors, and fifteen hundred slaves.

The ships that frequented Martinico, used at first to land in those parts where the plantations lay. This practice, seemingly the most natural, was liable to great inconveniences. The north and north-easterly winds, which blow upon part of the coast, keep the sea in a constant and violent agitation; and though there are many good roads, they are either at too great a distance from each other, or from the plantations; so that the sloops destined to coast along this interval were frequently forced by the weather to anchor, or to take in but half their lading. These difficulties retarded the loading and unloading of the ship. The consequence of such delays was, a great loss of men, and an increase of expence to the buyer and seller. Commerce, which requires a quick return, could not but be impeded by another inconvenience, namely, the necessity the trader lay under even on the best coasts, of disposing of his cargo in small quantities. If some opulent men undertook to save him that trouble, this enhanced the price of the goods to the colonists. A greater inconvenience than either of these was, that some places were over-stocked with certain kinds of European goods, while others were in want of them. The owners of the ships were no less at a loss for a proper lading. Most places did not afford all sorts of productions, nor every species of the same production. This deficiency obliged them to touch at several places, or to carry away too great or too small a quantity of the articles fit for the port where they were to unload. The ships themselves were exposed to several inconveniences. Many of them wanted careening, and most required at least some repairs. The necessary assistance for that purpose was not always to be found in roads but little frequented: they were therefore obliged to go to some harbour to refit, and then return to take in their lading, at the place where they had sold their cargo.

These and other disadvantages, made many of the inhabitants of Martinico; and all the navigators, desirous to establish a magazine, where the colonies and the mother-country might send their respective articles of exchange. Nature seemed to point out Fort Royal as a fit place for this purpose. Its harbour is one of the best in the Windward Islands, and so celebrated for its safety, that, when it was open to the Dutch vessels, they had orders from the republic to take shelter there during the months of June, July, and August, from the hurricanes which are so frequent and violent in those latitudes. The lands of the Lamentin, the most fertile and best cultivated of all the colony, are distant about a league. The numerous rivers, which water this fruitful territory, convey loaded canoes to a considerable distance from the sea. The protection of the fortifications seemed to secure the peaceful enjoyment of so many advantages, which are balanced, however, by a swampy and unwholesome soil. On that account Fort Royal, though the capital of the island, and so highly favoured in many respects, was judged an improper place to become the centre of trade. Choice was therefore made of St. Peter's.

This little town, which still contains near eighteen hundred houses, after having been reduced four times to ashes by fire, is situated on the western coast of the island, in a bay or inlet which is almost circular. One part of it, which is

called the Anchorage, is built on the strand along the sea-side, and is the place destined for the ships and warehouses. The other front of the town stands upon a low hill, and is called the Fort, from a small fortification built there in 1635, to check the seditions of the inhabitants against the tyranny of the monopoly. It now serves to protect the road from foreign enemies. These two parts of the town are separated by a rivulet or fordable stream. The Anchorage is situated at the back of a pretty high and perpendicular hill. Shut up as it were by this hill, which intercepts the easterly winds, the most constant, and most salubrious in these latitudes; exposed without any refreshing breezes to the scorching beams of the sun, reflected from the hill, from the sea, and from the black sand on the beach; this place is extremely hot, and always unwholesome. Besides there is no harbour here, and the ships, which cannot safely winter upon the coast, are obliged to take shelter at Fort Royal. But those disadvantages are compensated by the conveniency of the road of St. Peter's, for the loading and unloading of goods; and by its situation, which is such, that ships can go safely in and out at all times, and with all winds.

This town is the first that was built, and its territory the first that was cultivated on the island. It is not, however, so much its antiquity as its conveniency, that has made it the center of communication between the colony and the mother-country. St. Peter's was at first the storehouse only for the commodities of some districts, which lay along such dreary and tempestuous coasts that no ship could land in the neighbourhood: the inhabitants could therefore carry on no trade, without removing their productions elsewhere. The agents for these planters, in those early times, were only masters of small vessels, who having made themselves known by continually sailing about the island, were enticed by the prospect of gain, to fix upon a settled place for their residence. Honesty was the sole support of this intercourse: most of the agents could not read, and none of them kept any books or journals. They had a trunk in which they kept a separate bag for each person, whose business they transacted. Into this bag they put the produce of the sales, and took out what money they wanted for the purchases. When the bag was empty, the commission was finished.

These illiterate traders were successively replaced by more enlightened persons from Europe. Some of those had gone over to the island, when it was taken out of the hands of the exclusive companies. Their number increased as the commodities multiplied; and they themselves greatly contributed to extend the cultures by the loans which they advanced to the planters, whose labours had hitherto proceeded but slowly for want of such help. This conduct made them the necessary agents for their debtors in the colony, as they were already for their employers at home: even the planter who owed them nothing, was in some measure dependent on them, as he might hereafter stand in need of their assistance. If his crop should fail or be retarded, a plantation of sugar canes be set on fire, or a mill blown down -- if mortality should carry off his cattle or his slaves, where could he find the means of supporting himself during those calamities, or of repairing the loss occasioned by them? These considerations induced such as had

not

not yet borrowed money to trust the agents of St. Peter's with their concerns, in order to secure a resource in times of distress.

The few rich inhabitants, whose fortunes seemed to place them above such wants were in some degree compelled to apply to those agents. The trading captains, finding a port where they might with advantage complete their business, without stirring out of their ware-houses, or even out of their ships, resorted to Fort-Royal, Trinity-Port, and all other places where an arbitrary price was put upon commodities, and where the payments were slow and uncertain. The planters, in consequence of this revolution, being confined to their cultures, which require a constant and daily attendance, could no longer go abroad to dispose of their produce. They were therefore obliged to intrust it to able men, who being settled at the only frequented sea-port, were ready to seize the most favourable opportunities for buying and selling; an insupportable advantage in a country where trade is continually fluctuating. Guadeloupe and Grenada followed that example, induced by the same motives.

The war of 1744 put a stop to this prosperity; for although the privateers of Martinico signalized themselves in a manner worthy of the ancient freebooters, yet such was the superiority of the English navy, that an entire stop was put to the navigation of the island, both to the Spanish coast and to Canada, and they were constantly disturbed even on their own coasts. The few ships that came from France, in order to compensate the hazards to which they were exposed in the loss of their commodities, sold them at a very advanced price, and bought them at a very low one. By these means the produce of the colony decreased in value, the lands were but ill cultivated, the sugar works neglected, and the slaves perishing for want. Every thing was in a declining state, and tending to decay. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle at last restored the freedom of trade, and with it the hope of recovering the ancient prosperity of the island: but the event did not correspond with the pains that were taken to attain it.

Before two years had elapsed after the cessation of hostilities, Martinico lost the contraband trade which it had carried on with the Spanish settlements. This revolution was not occasioned by the vigilance of the guarda costas, but by the alteration which took place in the Spanish commerce; by the substitution of register ships for the galleons, which confined the trade of the smugglers within very narrow limits. In the new system, the number of ships is undetermined, and the time of their arrival uncertain, which causes a variation in the price of commodities unknown before. Hence from the time that this system took place, the smuggler who only engaged in the contraband trade from the assurance of a fixed and certain profit, would no longer pursue it, as it did not afford him an equivalent for the risks he ran. But this loss was not so sensibly felt by the colony as the hardships brought upon it by the mother country. An unskilful administration clogged the reciprocal and necessary communication between the island and North-America with so many formalities, that, in 1755, Martinico sent but four vessels to Canada. The direction of the colonies, now committed

to

to the care of avaricious and ignorant clerks, soon lost its importance, sunk into contempt, and was prostituted to venality.

The trade of France, however, was not affected by the decay of Martinico. The French found merchants in the road of St. Peter's, who purchased their cargoes at a good price, and sent their ships home with expedition richly laden: and the mother-country never enquired from what colony the consumption and produce arose. Even the negroes were carried thither to be sold at an high price; but few of them remained there. The greatest part of them were sent to the Granades and Guadeloupe, and some of them even to the neutral islands. But these profits of the parent state were foreign and hurtful to the colony of Martinico; which had not been able, during the peace, to repair its losses, nor even to pay off the debts which a series of calamities had obliged it to contract, when war, the greatest of all evils, broke out afresh. After France had suffered repeated defeats and losses, Martinico, as we have already seen, fell into the hands of the English, in 1762. It was indeed restored in consequence of the treaty of Paris, sixteen months after it had been conquered; but destitute of all the means of prosperity, which had made it of so much importance. The contraband trade to the Spanish settlements being formerly on the decline, was almost entirely lost. The cession of Canada to Great-Britain, had precluded all hopes of opening again a communication which had only been interrupted by temporary mistakes; the productions of the Granades, St. Vincent, and Dominica, now become parts of the British empire, could no longer be brought into the harbours of Martinico; and a new regulation of the mother-country, which prohibited any intercourse with Guadeloupe, left no hopes from that quarter.

Martinico, even in this depressed state, contained at the last survey, which was taken in January 1770, twelve thousand four hundred and fifty white people, of all ages and sexes; eighteen hundred and fourteen free blacks and mulattoes; seventy thousand five hundred and fifty-three slaves, and four hundred and fifty-three fugitive negroes*. The proprietors of the lands on the island may be divided into four classes: the first are possessed of an hundred large sugar plantations, in which twelve thousand negroes are employed; the second have one hundred and fifty sugar plantations, which are cultivated by nine thousand negroes; the third possess thirty sugar plantations, which require the labour of two thousand negroes; and the fourth, devoted to the culture of coffee, cotton, cacao, and manioc, may employ twelve thousand negroes †. The remaining slaves of both sexes are employed in domestic services.

The produce of these different plantations, thus cultivated, amounted in 1769, to five hundred and thirty-six thousand, six hundred and thirty-one pounds, nine shillings and ten pence sterling ‡.

The

* Raynal, Hist. Philos. et Politique, liv. xiii.

† Id. ibid.

‡ This

produce consisted of 177,116 hundred weight of clayed sugar, and 12,579 hundred weight of raw sugar; 68,518 hundred weight of coffee; 11,731 hundred weight of cacao; 6,048 hundred

The principal defence of Martinico was formerly Fort-Royal, where immense sums had been buried, through want of skill, under a ridge of mountains; and the greatest engineers have never been able to give any degree of strength or solidity to works erected without any sort of plan: they were obliged to content themselves with adding a covered way, a rampart and flanks, to such parts of the place as would admit of them. But these could not possibly be made sufficient to preserve a place which is commanded on all sides. It was therefore thought advisable to fix upon some more advantageous situation. A citadel has accordingly been erected since the peace, upon Morne Garnier, an eminence higher, by thirty-five or forty feet, than the most elevated points of Patate, Tortenion, and Cartouche, all which overlook Fort-Royal. This citadel, which has cost France upwards of three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and which will require a garrison of fifteen hundred men, must be taken before an enemy can attempt the town. But whatever defence it may make, the English will find little difficulty in reducing Martinico, or any of the French islands, as long as they continue masters of the sea.

Guadeloupe is no less worthy of defence, though worse defended. This island, which is of an irregular form, may be about sixty leagues in circumference. It is divided into two parts by a small arm of the sea, not two leagues long, and from fifteen to forty fathom broad. This canal, known by the name of the Salt River, is navigable, but only for vessels of fifty tons burden. That part of the island which gives its name to the whole, is full of rugged rocks, towards the center, and so cold there, that nothing will grow but fern, and some useless shrubs covered with moss. Out of the midst of these rocks rise *la souffriere*, or the "brimstone mountain," to such an immense height as to be lost in the clouds. It exhales through various openings, a thick black smoke, intermixed with sparks, which are visible by night. From all these rocks and mountains flow a variety of streams of pure and wholesome water, which fertilize the plains below, and moderate the burning heat of the climate. The other part of the island, commonly called Grande Terre, is not so much favoured by nature; for although less rugged, it is destitute of either springs or rivers. The soil is not so fertile, nor is the climate so healthful or agreeable.

No European nation had taken possession of Guadeloupe, when five hundred and fifty Frenchmen, under the conduct of two gentlemen, named L'Olive and Du Pleffis, arrived there from Dieppe, in 1635. They had been very imprudent in their preparations. Their provisions were so ill chosen, that they were spoiled in the passage, and they had shipped so few that they were exhausted in two months. They were supplied with none from the mother-country; St. Christopher's refused to spare them any, and the first attempts in agriculture were in-

dred weight of cotton; 2,518 hundred weight of cassia; 783 casks of rum; 307 hogheads of molasses; 150 pounds of indigo; 2,147 pounds of preserved fruits; forty-seven pounds of chocolate; 282 pounds of raised tobacco; 494 pounds of rope yarn; 274 chulls of liqueurs; 451 hundred weight of wood for dyeing, and 12,108 hides in the hair. Raynal, liv. xiii.

BOOK III.

sufficient for their support. In this extremity the colony had no resource but in the natives. They were obliged to beg bread from the people whom they came to dispossess; but the superfluities of a people who cultivate little, and who had never laid up any stores, could not be very considerable. Not content with the voluntary supplies of the savages, the French came to a resolution to plunder them; and hostilities commenced on the 10th of January 1636.

Not thinking themselves in a condition openly to resist an enemy who had so much the advantage of them, from the superiority of arms, the Caribs destroyed their own provisions and plantations, and retired to Grande Terre, or to the neighbouring islands. From these retreats, the most desperate of them returned to Guadeloupe, and concealed themselves in the thickest parts of the forests. In the day-time, they shot with their poisoned arrows, or knocked down with their clubs, all the invaders who were scattered about for the purpose of hunting or fishing; and in the night, they burnt the houses, and destroyed the plantations of those unjust spoilers. A dreadful famine was the consequence of this kind of warfare. The French were reduced to the greatest extremities. Many of them, who had been slaves at Algiers, held in abhorrence the hands that had broken their fetters, and all of them cursed their existence. But at length, Du Pleffis and L'Olive being both dead, the wisdom of Aubert, who had been appointed governor by the West India company, brought about a peace with the Caribs; and the remembrance of past hardships proved a powerful incentive to the cultivation of every article of immediate necessity, while a desire of procuring conveniencies awakened an attention to those articles of luxury consumed in the mother-country*.

The prosperity of Guadeloupe, however, was still impeded by obstacles arising from its situation. The facility with which the pirates from the neighbouring islands could carry off their cattle, their slaves, and their very crops, frequently brought the colony to a desperate situation. Intestine broils, arising from jealousy of power or authority, often disturbed the quiet of the planters. The adventurers who went over to the West-Indies, disdainin' an island that was fitter for agriculture than for naval expeditions, were easily drawn to Martinico, by the conveniency of its harbours. The protection of those intrepid pirates brought to that island all the traders, who flattered themselves that they might buy up the spoils of the enemy at a low price, and all the planters, who thought they might there safely give themselves up to peaceful labours. This quick population could not fail of making Martinico the fear of the civil and military government of the French West Indies; and of course the ministry were more attentive to it, than to any of the other islands, whatever might be their natural importance.

In consequence of this preference, and the neglect which it occasioned, the inhabitants of Guadeloupe in the year 1700, amounted only to three thousand eight hundred and twenty-five white people; three hundred and twenty five

* Du Tertre, *Hist. Gen. des Antilles*. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. XV. liv. vii. c. 2.

savages, free negroes and mulattoes; and six thousand seven hundred and twenty-five slaves. But its future progress was as rapid as its first attempts had been slow: at the end of the year 1755, its inhabitants were increased to nine thousand six hundred and forty three whites, and forty-one thousand one hundred and forty slaves, of all ages and of both sexes. Its plantations were in a flourishing condition, and continued to progress in improvement, and its inhabitants in numbers, till 1757, when it was taken by the English.

France lamented this loss, but the colonists had reason to rejoice. During a siege of three months, they had seen their plantations destroyed, the buildings that served for carrying on their labours burnt down, and some of their slaves carried off. Had the enemy been forced to retreat after these devastations, the island would have been ruined. Deprived of all assistance from the mother-country, which was not able to send it any succours, and expecting nothing from the Dutch, who frequented its roads, because it had nothing to offer them in exchange, Guadeloupe could never have subsisted till the ensuing harvest. The conquerors delivered it from these apprehensions. Informed of the advantage which the French derived from their trade with this island, the English hastened to send their ships thither; and so multiplied their expeditions, that they overstocked the market, and sunk the value of all European commodities. The planters bought them up at a very low price; and in consequence of the great plenty, obtained long credit. To this credit, arising from necessity, was soon added another resulting from speculation, which enabled the colony to fulfil its engagements. A great number of negroes were carried to Guadeloupe, in order to hasten the growth, and enhance the value of the plantations. These, which amounted to near twenty thousand, were sufficient to give the conquerors a well grounded hope of reaping great advantages from this island: but their expectations were frustrated by the peace, which restored Guadeloupe and its dependencies to France in 1763.

By the dependencies of Guadeloupe is to be understood several small islands; which being included in its jurisdiction, fell with it, as we have seen*, into the hands of the English. Among these is Deseada, which seems to have been detached from Guadeloupe by the sea, and is only separated from it by a narrow channel. This island is a kind of rock, where nothing will grow but cotton. It is uncertain when it was first visited by the French, but the present settlement cannot be of long standing. The Saints, three leagues distant from Guadeloupe, are two very small islands, which with another, yet smaller, form a triangle, and have a tolerable harbour. Thirty Frenchmen were sent thither in 1648; but they were soon obliged to quit their station by reason of an excessive drought, which dried up their principal spring, before they had time to make any reservoirs. A second attempt was made in 1652, when lasting plantations were made, which now yield annually fifty thousand weight of coffee, and ninety thousand of cotton.

* Vol. I. book III. chap. i. p. 556.

This produce is by no means great, but it is more considerable than that of St. Bartholomew, which was peopled with fifty Frenchmen in 1648. They were all massacred by a troop of Caribs from St. Vincent and Dominica, and not replaced till a considerable time after. In 1753, the number of the colonists did not exceed one hundred and seventy, whose whole fortune consisted in fifty-four slaves, and sixty four thousand cacao trees. Since the peace in 1763, the population of the white people has amounted to four hundred, and that of the blacks to five hundred. The plantations have increased in the same proportion. This small island is very hilly, and the soil is extremely barren, but it has the conveniency of a good harbour. The wretched condition of the inhabitants is so notorious, that the English privateers, who frequently touched here during the late war, always paid punctually for the small refreshments which were afforded them, though they could easily have extorted them by force. Compassion for the necessities of these defenceless islanders disarmed the rage of enemies, and the rapacity of plunderers, and left the philosopher reason to conclude, that whatever certain appearances may indicate, man is not naturally either cruel or unjust.

Marigalante, another of the dependencies of Guadeloupe, was also wrested from its natural inhabitants in 1648. The French, who had forcibly taken possession of it, were long annoyed by the savages of the neighbouring islands, but are now left in peaceable possession of an island which they have cultivated, after they had depopulated it. This island is fruitful, but not large, and forms a very desirable accession to Guadeloupe; which, including all those small islands, contained in 1767, eleven thousand eight hundred and sixty-three white people, of all ages and of both sexes; seven hundred and fifty-two free blacks and mulattoes, and seventy-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-one slaves. The produce of all these settlements, assisted by such a number of negroes, ought to be very considerable; but in 1768, Guadeloupe, and its dependencies, yielded to the mother-country no more than commodities to the value of three hundred and ten thousand, seven hundred and ninety-two pounds, eighteen shillings and three-pence, sterling*.

From this account it is easy to judge how great a part of the produce has been fraudulently exported, as it is well known that the crops of Guadeloupe are more abundant than those of Martinico. The reasons for such superiority are obvious. Guadeloupe employs a greater number of slaves upon its plantations than Martinico; which being at the same time an island that trades and is concerned in cultivation, the labour of its slaves is of course divided. Besides, a great many of the slaves in Guadeloupe have been placed upon fresh lands; and ground

* These commodities consisted of 130,418 hundred weight of clayed sugar; 23,603 hundred weight of raw sugar; 34,205 hundred weight of coffee; 11,955 hundred weight of cotton; 436 hundred weight of cacao; 7,884 hundred weight of ginger; 2,529 hundred weight of wood for dyeing; 24 cheils of sweetmeats; 165 cheils of liqueurs; thirty-four casks of rum; and 1,202 hides. Raynal. liv. xiii.

newly cleared always yields more than that which has been exhausted by long tillage. But if we may trust some observers, this colony may expect that the produce of its plantations will soon decrease. They maintain that the part of the island properly called Guadeloupe, has long since attained to the utmost degree of cultivation; and that Grande Terre, the greater part of which is newly cleared, affords three fifths of the produce of the whole settlement; that it is impossible this part of the island can preserve that flourishing state to which it has casually arrived; that the land is naturally barren, exhausted by forced culture, and the more exposed to the droughts so common in this climate, as there is hardly a tree left. But others are of opinion that Guadeloupe may augment its produce by one sixth, and that the time of this increase is not distant. The colony has no considerable debts; and the inhabitants having fewer wants than those of the richer islands, where affluence has long since awakened the desire and the taste of enjoyment, can spare more for the cultivation of their lands. Their situation in the midst of the English and Dutch settlements, gives them an opportunity of running a fourth part of their sugars and cottons at an higher price than they would sell for to the French merchants, and to purchase slaves and other articles in exchange, at a cheaper rate than they could be furnished by their countrymen. These concurring circumstances, if the soil does not fail, must soon raise Guadeloupe to a state of the greatest prosperity.

The flourishing condition to which this island had attained while in the possession of the English, excited general surprise when it was restored at the peace. It was beheld by the mother-country with that kind of attention and respect which opulence inspires. Hitherto Guadeloupe, like all the other French Caribbee islands, had been subordinate to Martinico. It was now rescued from this dependence, by the appointment of a governor, and an intendant to preside over it. These new magistrates, desirous of signaling their arrival by some innovation, instead of suffering the produce of the island to be disposed of through the usual channel, laid a plan for conveying it directly to Europe. This scheme was by no means disagreeable to the inhabitants, and it was contrived that the ministry at home should adopt it. From that time all intercourse was strictly prohibited between Martinico and Guadeloupe, and the two colonies became as great strangers to each other as if they had belonged to rival, or even to hostile powers.

It is the business of the court of Versailles to judge, whether the direct navigation from the ports of France to Guadeloupe will advance its commercial and political interests; a point which seems very doubtful, especially in time of war, while England continues mistress of the sea. Let us inquire into the means that have been taken to secure the island itself. Fort Lewis, which defends Grande Terre, is incapable of much resistance, and nearly in the same condition as when taken by the English in 175 . That part of the island which is properly called Guadeloupe, is protected by Fort Charles, which has been put in a state of defence since the peace. Two bastions have been added towards the sea; a good covered way, which goes all around, together with a glacis; two large armories with

re-entering angles, having each a good redoubt, and behind these good tenailles, with caponieres and posterns of communication with the body of the place ; two redoubts ; large and deep ditches ; a reservoir of water, and a powder magazine bomb-proof. All these out-works, in addition to the fort, will enable an active and experienced commander to sustain a regular siege ; but how long, must depend upon the numbers, valour, and skill of the enemy.

The French colony in Hispaniola is still more worthy of the attention of the court. This island is about an hundred and twenty leagues in length ; its greatest breadth is about forty ; and its circumference is about four hundred, exclusive of its bays and creeks, which would make about two hundred leagues more. It is parted lengthways, from east to west, by a ridge of mountains, covered with woods, which rising gradually, exhibit the finest prospect imaginable. Several of these mountains were formerly full of mines, and are perhaps so still ; others are fit for culture. Almost all of them form delicious and temperate valleys : but in the plains, where the soil is remarkably fertile, the air is so scorchingly hot as to be almost intolerable ; especially in those places by the sea-side, where the coast runs narrow, between the water and the back of the mountains, and is exposed to a double reflexion of the sun, both from the rocks and the waves.

Spain continued in the entire possession of Hispaniola, when some English and French adventurers, who had been driven out of St. Christopher's, took refuge there, as we have already seen *, in 1630, and soon after made themselves masters of the neighbouring island of Tortuga. This settlement alarmed the court of Madrid, and orders were given for the destruction of the new colony. The commander of the galleons, who was intrusted with this commission, chose for executing it the time when the Freebooters were at sea, and the Buccaneers in pursuit of wild cattle in Hispaniola ; so that he had only to contend with that part of the brave inhabitants which was employed in cultivating the ground. Their resistance was consequently feeble. All who attempted it were put to the sword, and those who surrendered were hanged. The rest took refuge in the woods and mountains, whither the Spaniards did not deign to pursue them.

This expedition, however, did not prove sufficient to secure Tortuga to the crown of Castile. For that purpose, it would have been necessary to have left a garrison, sufficient to disperse the absent adventurers on their return. But the Spanish general judged such a precaution needless, after the severe vengeance which he had taken. His only care was to purge the great island of the Buccaneers. With this view he formed a body of five hundred light troops, who dispersed themselves in small parties along the coasts, and in the forests which those hunters frequented. Mean time the Buccaneers informed of what had happened, and being joined by their associates the Freebooters, repossessed themselves of Tortuga, toward the end of the year 1638. The necessity of defending themselves against an enemy, from whom they could expect no quarter,

* Vol. I. book III. chap. i. p. 531.

and with whom they desired no reconciliation, induced them to give up personal independence for social safety. They chose as their chief one Willis, an Englishman, who had distinguished himself on many occasions by his prudence and valour.

Willis fortified the island, and by his vigilance protected it effectually against the Spaniards; but the French, under his government, soon began to feel the effects of national partiality. Having collected a sufficient number of his countrymen to keep the foreigners in awe, he began to treat them as subjects; and if assisted by the English government, he would have secured that valuable settlement to Britain. Of this the French were fully sensible, and secretly informed De Poincy, governor general of their West India islands, of the superiority which the English had assumed at Tortuga. De Poincy at once perceived the danger, and the importance as well as the difficulty of a remedy. He had among his officers an engineer, with whose courage and ability he was well acquainted, and who had accompanied Desnambuc in his first expedition to St. Christopher's. This brave man, named Le Vasseur, was a protestant; and the confidence with which De Poincy had always distinguished him, was considered as an injurious partiality by the catholics, and had drawn on him the reproaches of the court. On this account it is supposed that the governor-general was glad of an honourable pretext to get rid of him, and therefore placed him in opposition to Willis. Be that however as it may, he bestowed on Le Vasseur the government of Tortuga; and in order to animate him in the attempt to recover it, he promised him, in a secret article, liberty of conscience for himself and all the French protestants who should accompany him.

Having collected thirty-nine followers, Le Vasseur set sail; but he was too prudent to appear at Tortuga, before he had founded the sentiments of the Buccaneers. With this view he took shelter in one of the neglected ports of Hispaniola, where he was joined by fifty persons of his own persuasion, Buccaneers or Freebooters; and though his strength was still inferior to that of the English, hoping to be joined on his arrival by all the Frenchmen in Tortuga, he determined to carry his enterprise into execution. He accordingly disembarked without resistance towards the end of August 1641; and marching in order of battle, summoned Willis and his countrymen to surrender the place within four and twenty hours. A demand so unexpected, accompanied with the revolt of all the French in Tortuga, disconcerted the English commander so much, that, without inquiring whether Le Vasseur was attended by a sufficient force to support his pretensions, he immediately evacuated the island, and never attempted to recover it*.

The Spaniards were less compliant. They suffered so much from the piratical expeditions sent out from Tortuga, that they thought their peace, their honour, and their interest equally concerned in getting once more possession of that island. Three times they recovered it, and were as often expelled. At last it remained in the hands of the French, who kept it till they were so firmly

* Charlevoix. Du Terre. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. xvii. c. 1.

established in Hispaniola as to disregard such an inconsiderable settlement. Their progress, however, was but slow; for although hunters and pirates were continually seen ranging from one island to the other in large companies, the number of planters, who were properly the only colonists, did not exceed four hundred in 1665, when they first attracted the attention of the mother-country. The court of France was sensible how necessary it was to multiply them, and for that purpose appointed them a governor, every way qualified for such an undertaking.

The name of this governor was Bertrand D'Ogeron, who, as already observed, may be properly denominated the father of the French colony in Hispaniola. He was formed by nature to be great in himself, independent of the smiles or the frowns of fortune. After having served fifteen years as an officer in the marines, he had gone over to America, in order to attempt an establishment; but with the best concerted plans, through unavoidable accidents, he failed in every project. The fortitude, however, which he shewed in his misfortunes, made his virtues the more conspicuous, and the expedients he contrived to extricate himself, heightened the opinion already entertained of his genius. The esteem in which he was held by his countrymen in Hispaniola and Tortuga, pointed him out to the court, as a proper person to give stability to that colony.

The execution of this undertaking was full of difficulties. It was necessary to subject to the restraints of law a licentious crew, who had hitherto lived in a state of the most absolute independence; to reconcile to labour a set of plunderers, who delighted only in rapine and idleness; to prevail upon men accustomed to trade freely with all nations, to submit to the privileges of an exclusive company, formed in 1664, for all the French settlements. Should this be effected, it was still necessary to allure new inhabitants into an island which had been represented as unwholesome, and whose fertility was not yet sufficiently known. D'Ogeron, however, was not discouraged. A long intercourse with the men he was to govern had made him perfectly acquainted with their character: he knew every movement of their souls; but whatever his sagacity might suggest, his generous heart would permit him to adopt no measure, except what was noble and just. The Freebooters were determined to go in search of some shore, where they might enjoy more liberty: he detained them, by relinquishing that share of their booty, to which his station entitled him; and he attached them to his person by obtaining for them commissions from the crown of Portugal to act against the Spaniards, after peace had been concluded between France and Spain.

This was the only method to make those men friends to their country, who would otherwise have become its enemies rather than have renounced the hopes of plunder. The Buccaneers or hunters, who only wished to obtain a sufficiency, in order to enable them to erect habitations, found D'Ogeron ready to advance them money without interest, or to procure it for them by his credit; and the planters, whom he wisely preferred above all the other colonists, received from him every

encouragement within the power of his unwearied activity. The alterations which these encouragements occasioned required only to be made permanent. There was not one female in the new settlement before the arrival of the governor; and as he very justly considered that women could alone perpetuate the happiness of the men and the welfare of the colony, by promoting population, he wrote for a supply. The company sent over fifty, who were instantly sold to the highest bidder: a like number soon after arrived, and were disposed of with equal rapidity. This was the only way to gratify the most impetuous of all passions without quarrels, and to propagate the human race without bloodshed. All the settlers expected to have female companions from their own country, to alleviate their misfortunes, or to share their felicity. But they were disappointed: none were afterwards sent over except abandoned women, who used to engage themselves for three years in the service of the men*.

That method of loading the colony with the refuse of the mother-country, introduced such profligacy of manners, that it became necessary to put a stop to so dangerous an expedient. No means, however, were contrived to forward population by the introduction of the more sober part of the female sex. Notwithstanding this neglect, D'Ogeron was able, in the course of four years, to increase the number of planters from four to fifteen hundred; and the prosperity of the colony was daily increasing, when it was suddenly checked by an insurrection, which threw all things into confusion. This insurrection was occasioned by the extortions of the West India company.

When D'Ogeron was appointed by the court of Versailles to the government of Tortuga, and of the French colony in Hispaniola, he could not prevail upon the inhabitants to acknowledge his authority, without giving them hopes that the ports under his jurisdiction should be open to foreigners; yet so great was the ascendancy which he acquired over their minds, that he established in the colony by degrees, and without disturbance, the exclusive privilege of the company. But this company, which in time engrossed the whole trade, became so rapacious as to demand two thirds more for their goods than the colony had formerly paid to the Dutch for the same commodities. A monopoly so oppressive filled the inhabitants with indignation: they flew to arms in 1670; and could only be prevailed upon to lay them down, after the elapse of almost two years, on condition that all French ships should be at liberty to trade with them, on paying five per cent. to the company.

D'Ogeron, who brought about this accommodation, availed himself of the conditions to ingratiate himself with the colony. He procured two vessels, seemingly destined to convey the produce of his own plantations into France, but meant in fact for the benefit of those under his government. Every one shipped his particular commodities, at a moderate freight: and on the return of the vessel, the generous governor caused the cargo to be exposed to public view; and every one took what he wanted, not only at prime cost, but upon trust, without

* Charlevoix, Hist. de St. Domingue. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, ubi sup.

interest, and without notes of hand *. This conduct gained him universal regard, and established his authority in the hearts of the colonists. People flocked from all quarters to the coast of Hispaniola, where the number of inhabitants became so considerable as to inspire D'Ogeron with the hope of making himself master of the whole island. With this view he founded two new settlements, one near Cape Tiburon, and the other in the peninsula of Samana; but he was cut off by death in the midst of these paternal offices and patriotic projects, leaving behind him no other inheritance but the memory of his virtues and the example of his wisdom.

M. De Pouancy, nephew to D'Ogeron, succeeded him in the government of the colony, which continued to prosper under the prudent regulations that had been established. These were inviolably observed by Pouancy, who though inferior to his predecessor in talents, had at least the good sense to follow his footsteps. The people placed an equal confidence in both; and both had the honour and happiness to establish the colony on a firm footing, without laws and without military force. Their sound understanding and known integrity, enabled them to determine all differences to the satisfaction of the people under their government; and public order was maintained by that authority which is the natural consequence of personal merit. But so simple a constitution could not be lasting: it required too much virtue to admit of such a hope. In 1684 there was so visible an alteration, that, in order to establish a due subordination in the colony, two administrators were called in from Martinico, where regular tribunals were already erected. These legislators appointed courts of judicature in the several districts, accountable to a superior council at Petit Goave; but this jurisdiction afterwards growing too extensive, it was confined to the southern districts, and a similar tribunal was erected in 1702, at Cape François, for the northern districts †.

So many innovations could hardly be introduced without some opposition. It was to be feared that the Buccaneers and Freebooters, who composed the greater part of the colony, and were naturally averse from the restraints of law, would go and settle in Jamaica, allured by the prospect of greater freedom. The planters themselves were under some temptation of this kind, as their trade was confined by such severe restrictions, as obliged them to sell their commodities at a very low rate. The former, however, were gained by persuasions, and the latter by the prospect of a change in their situation, which was indeed altogether desperate. Hides had been originally the chief article of exportation from Tortuga, and from the French colony in Hispaniola, as the Buccaneers brought home nothing else from the chase except tallow, and some pieces of beef for drying. Tobacco was afterwards added, when part of the inhabitants began to devote themselves to the cultivation of the ground, and was sold at a very advanced price to all nations. But unfortunately this trade was soon confined by an exclusive company; and though that company was in a short time abolished, the sale of to-

* Charlevoix, *Hist. de St. Domingue*. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, ubi sup.

† *Id. ibid.*

bacco derived no advantage from a circumstance so favourable to other articles, as it was farmed out. Hoping to meet with some indulgence from government, as a reward for their submission, the inhabitants offered to give the king a fourth part of all the tobacco which they should send into France, provided they were allowed the entire disposal of their own property. But private interest made so reasonable a proposal be rejected, though it was evident this method would have advanced the revenue more than the tax paid by the farmer.

Exasperated at such an instance of severity, the colonists gave up the planting of tobacco, and applied themselves wholly to the culture of cacao and indigo. Hitherto the labours of the field had been performed wholly by Europeans. Some successful expeditions against the Spaniards now procured the inhabitants a few negroes. The number was increased by the arrival of two or three French ships from Africa, and by some prizes taken from the English during the war in 1688. Without slaves the culture of sugar could not be undertaken: nor were they alone sufficient. Money was necessary to erect buildings and purchase utensils. The profit which some persons drew from their connexions with the Freebooters, who were generally successful in their expeditions, enabled them to employ slaves, and to undertake the planting of those canes, which convey the gold of Mexico and the silver of Peru to nations whose only treasure is their industry, and whose mines are fertile lands.

But notwithstanding these improvements, and although the Spaniards, by an article in the treaty of Ryswick, made a legal cession of the northernmost part of Hispaniola to the French, in 1697, the colony made no extraordinary progress till 1722, when all the monopolies were suppressed. From that period it has advanced with the utmost rapidity towards a prosperous state. The two unfortunate wars that annoyed its seas, have only, it should seem, served to compress its strength, which has increased amazingly since the cessation of hostilities. A wound is soon healed where the constitution is sound. Diseases themselves are a kind of remedies, which by expelling vitiated humours, add new vigour to a robust habit of body. They restore the equilibrium of the whole frame, and impart to it a more regular and uniform motion. In like manner war seems to strengthen and support national spirit in many states of Europe, which might be enervated and corrupted by the prosperity of commerce, and the enjoyments of luxury. The immense losses which almost equally attend victory and defeat, excite industry and quicken labour. Nations impoverished merely by the waste of war, will soon recover their former splendour, if not oppressed by an arbitrary administration.

These reasonings are equally applicable to France and England, where nothing more is wanting to prosperity, than a free course to the industry of the inhabitants. The French colony in Hispaniola affords a striking instance of what may be expected from an enterprising people, favoured with a good soil and an advantageous situation, when exempted from the tyrannical restraints of a monopoly. This colony is comprehended within an hundred and eighty leagues of sea-coast, lying towards the north, the west, and the south. The southern division extends from Cape Tiburon to the point of Cape Beata, which occupies
about.

about sixty leagues of coast, more or less confined by the mountains. The Spaniards had built two large towns in that part of the island during their prosperity, but foretook them in their decline. The vacant towns, however, were not immediately occupied by the French, who did not think themselves in safety so near the city of St. Domingo, the capital of that colony on whose ruins they were rising. But the success of their privateers, which commonly assembled at the little spot called Vache island, to cruise upon the Spaniards, emboldened them in 1673 to begin a settlement on the neighbouring coast. This settlement, which gave birth to several others, owed its progress to its contraband trade with the English and Dutch. It was not before 1740, that the French began to frequent that distant part of the colony.

The settlement in the southern district which lies most to the windward, is called Jaquemel. Though of pretty long standing, it contains but forty-two houses. The plantations of this and the neighbouring settlements are indeed so hemmed in by the mountains, that no great degree of opulence can be expected from them. But in another view Jaquemel merits the attention of government. It lies very conveniently for the reception of any troops or warlike stores, which the mother-country may chuse to send to the colony in time of war, and which would run great risks if landed on the other side of the island, where an English Squadron is continually stationed. Jaquemel is also of great service in times of hostility on account of the vast quantity of provisions which it receives from the Dutch island of Curaçao, and which may be conveyed across the country, by a road of eighty leagues, that leads to Leogane and Port-au-Prince.

While Jaquemel furnishes the supplies, St. Lewis constitutes the defence of the colony on this side. It stands at the bottom of a bay, which forms a tolerable harbour; but though founded in the beginning of the present century, it contains no more than forty houses, and seems to be naturally destined to perpetual poverty. St. Lewis is, however, the seat of government for the southern division of the colony, and receives the few ships of war which appear in those latitudes. These are the only advantages which it possesses, and it is by these that it is able to protect the trade and wealth of Cayes, which lies ten leagues lower on the same coast. This opulent town, which seems to have been placed as it were fortuitously, at the bottom of a shallow and dangerous bay, contains two hundred and eighty houses, all sunk into swampy ground, and most of them surrounded with stagnant water. The air is consequently foul and unwholesome; and on that account, as well as the badness of the harbour, which is almost entirely choaked up with mud, it has been often wished that the trade with the mother-country could be transferred to St. Lewis. But all attempts to this purpose have hitherto been unsuccessful, and will likely ever prove so, for very evident reasons. In the neighbourhood of Cayes lies a fertile plain, near six leagues long, and four and an half broad, every part of which is fit for the culture of sugar. It is well watered in many places, and may be so every where. Nothing is wanting to make it one of the richest spots in the island, except a greater number of slaves, and these are daily increasing. So many advantages,

vantages, notwithstanding the inconveniencies with which they are accompanied, are a strong inducement to persons who cross the Atlantic merely in hopes of making a fortune, to resort directly to Cayes.

The southern division of the colony terminates at Cape Tiburon. The little settlement that has been formed there has no harbour; and the road which supplies that defect is constantly rough: but its fortifications in time of war, are a protection to such merchant ships as can double the Cape. It affords a retreat also to neutral ships, which being pursued by privateers, cannot reach Jaquemel or St. Lewis; as well as to such men of war as may be in danger, in those latitudes, from the violence of the winds, or the superior force of an enemy's squadron. Though this district is the least of the three, into which the French colony in Hispaniola is divided, it contained thirty-three thousand six hundred and sixty-three slaves in December, 1766.

The western division of the colony, which reaches from Cape Tiburon to the Mole of St. Nicholas, and occupies ninety leagues of coast, contained at the time of the former computation, eighty-three thousand slaves. The first settlement of any consequence in this division, in passing from the south, is l'Anse de Jeremie, which affords a considerable quantity of cotton and cacao. The town is situated on a rising ground, in a fine air, and has some good houses. It is the port to which the privateers that cruise on the coast of Jamaica bring in their prizes, in time of war. Culture and population, in a word, have made some progress here, and promise more. The same success is not to be expected at Petit Goave. This place, so famous in the times of the Buccaneers, is now only a heap of ruins. Leogane, situated within five leagues of Petit Goave, contains three hundred and seventeen houses, which form a long square and fifteen streets, spacious and well laid out. It stands half a league from the sea, in a narrow but fertile plain, properly cultivated, and watered by a great many rivulets.

The north-west part of Hispaniola was first peopled by the French, on account of its distance from the strength of the Spaniards, which they had reason to fear; and this division of the colony lying in the centre of the coasts in their possession, the seat of government was there fixed. It was originally settled at Petit Goave; but the barrenness and unwholesomeness of that place, soon made a change necessary. It was then transferred to Leogane, and afterwards to Port-au-Prince, which in 1750 became the residence of a superior council, a commander in chief, and an intendant. This capital stands at the bottom of a large bay, divided in two by La Gonave, a desert island. It contains five hundred and fifty-eight houses, dispersed in twenty-nine streets, and almost lost in the vast extent which it occupies. The drainings of the torrents that fall from the hills render the town always damp, without supplying it with good water. The inhabitants must send to a considerable distance to procure any that is wholesome. The harbour is by no means good; and the place, commanded on the land-side, is every where accessible towards the sea.

BOOK III.

About fifteen leagues to the north of Port-au-Prince stands the town of St. Mark, at the bottom of a small bay, crowned with a crescent of hills, which are parted from the sea only by a narrow plain. Nature in kindness to mankind, has left this slip of fertile land for the purposes of life and cultivation, between the aridity of the mountains and the abyss of the water. But these hills, tho' barren, are not altogether useless: they furnish free stone, which is also found upon the coast, as good as any in Europe. With this stone the town is built. It contains an hundred and fifty-four houses, and is a place of considerable trade. Its prosperity would rapidly increase, if the French should succeed in a project which they have much at heart; that of watering the dry plain of the Artibonite, by sluices from the river to which it owes its name, and which divides it lengthways, almost from one end to the other.

The northern division of the French colony in Hispaniola extends from the Mole of St. Nicholas to the environs of Monte Christo, famous for the smuggling trade there carried on by foreign vessels with the Spaniards. At the extremity of Cape St. Nicholas is a large, safe, and commodious harbour. It stands directly opposite to Point Mazi, in the island of Cuba, and seems naturally destined, by this position, to become the most important station in the West Indies, with respect to navigation. The opening of the bay is two thousand nine hundred yards broad at the entrance. The road leads to the harbour, and the harbour to the basin. All this extensive opening is perfectly healthful, though the waters of the sea are almost in a state of stagnation there. The basin, which appears to be made for the purpose of careening, has not the inconvenience of close harbours: it is open to the west and north winds; and yet, let them blow ever so hard, they can never interrupt any work that is done in the harbour. The peninsula where the harbour is situated, rises gradually from the plains: it looks like a single mountain, with a broad and flat top, descending by a gentle slope to unite with the rest of the island.

The Mole of St. Nicholas was long neglected by France, as its barren hills afforded no prospect of advantage from cultivation: but the use which the English made of it during the late war, as a safe and convenient road, has raised it to consequence since the peace; and as it commands the Windward Passage, it may be considered as the Gibraltar of America. The French ministry began with sending thither about five thousand Acadians and Germans; the greater part of whom perished, with astonishing rapidity, of the diseases peculiar to the climate. Some years after, they declared the Mole a free port. In consequence of this step the remaining inhabitants are enabled to procure by commerce, a subsistence with which the adjacent country could but poorly supply them. Their habitations, which were formerly mean, have all been rebuilt with materials brought from North America. The new city stands on the margin of a plain, which is sufficiently elevated to render it cool and temperate. Its territory is covered with a natural savannah, and adorned with groves of palm trees of various kinds. The town itself is divided into several spacious streets, all
traversed

traversed by artificial rills of running water. It contains four hundred houses, besides a large store-house for the navy, an hospital, and several public buildings. Four hundred and fifty negroes, belonging to the king, have been employed on the fortifications for several years. The citadel is said to mount an hundred pieces of cannon, and the town and adjoining batteries twice that number.

For the conveniency of the trade established in this port, a very good carriage-road has been made between the Mole of St. Nicholas and Cape François. The importation of North American lumber, as well as the export of molasses, are here permitted at all times; and at particular seasons, the port is open to all the commodities of the British settlements on the continent, which affords occasion for a contraband trade very advantageous to both nations. In 1772, the number of vessels cleared outwards amounted to between two and three hundred, all from different parts of North America: add to these the other foreign ships, the French coasting vessels, and the merchantmen from Europe, and the whole can hardly be computed at fewer than four hundred. With so many advantages the Mole of St. Nicholas cannot fail of becoming a place of very great importance.

The next settlement on the north coast is called Port Paix. It owed its origin to the neighbourhood of Tortuga, whose inhabitants took refuge here when they forsook that island. The grounds were cleared so early, that this is now one of the healthiest spots in Hispaniola. It has long since attained the utmost degree of culture and population of which it is capable. These however are not considerable; though the spirit of industry has been carried so far, that even mountains have been pierced through for the conveyance of water to moisten the lands. The inhabitants plant very little sugar, for which their soil is not suited; but they cultivate indigo, cotton, and coffee with great success. Port Paix is on all sides so difficult of access that it is in a manner cut off from the rest of the island.

To the east of that retired settlement stands the town of Cape François. This town is built on the side of an extensive plain, twenty leagues long, and four broad. Few territories are better watered, but it is not favoured with one river, up which a sloop can pass above three miles. All that vast level is intersected by straight roads, forty feet wide, and planted on both sides with hedges of lemon-trees, thick enough to serve as a fence. Had these been intermixed with tall trees, such as form the avenues to the several plantations, they would not only have been more ornamental, but would have afforded a delightful shade for travellers, at the same time that they prevented that scarcity of wood already complained of in the colony. The French had long been sensible of the value of this soil, which is rich and fruitful beyond description; but they did not set about cultivating it before the year 1670, when they had nothing to apprehend from the inroads of the Spaniards, who till that time had continued in the neighbourhood with a considerable force. The method that was taken of bringing thither the inhabitants of Santa Cruz and St. Christopher's, hastened the pro-

gress of the settlement. It now produces more sugar than any place in the world.

This wonderful plain, which is bounded towards the north only by the sea, is terminated towards the south by a ridge of mountains. Few of them are very high; several of them may be cultivated to the very summit; and they are all intersected at intervals with exceeding fine plantations of coffee and indigo. In these luxuriant vallies all the sweets of spring are continually enjoyed without either summer or winter. They know but two seasons, which are equally fine. The ground always laden with crops, and covered with flowers, realizes the delights and riches of poetical description. Wherever the eye is turned it is enchanted by a variety of gay objects, reflected by the clearest light. The air is temperate in the day-time, and the nights are constantly cool. The inhabitants of the plain, upon which the sun darts his fiercest rays, repair to these mountains to recruit their exhausted spirits, and allay their thirst with pure and wholesome water.

This relief is so much the more necessary for the people of the town, as it stands on the most parched and unhealthful spot in the whole plain; yet such is the fertility of the neighbouring country, that the city of the Cape has always prospered, and daily increases in buildings more and more splendid and beautiful. It is cut by twenty-nine straight streets, into two hundred and twenty-six clusters of houses, which altogether amount to eight hundred and twenty. But these streets are too narrow; and having no slope, are always dirty, as they are paved only in the middle. The governor's house, the barracks, and a royal magazine, are the only public structures which attract the notice of the curious in architecture; but the humane observer will behold with no less pleasure, those charitable foundations called the *Houses of Providence*, erected and endowed by the colony for the reception of such Frenchmen as come to the Cape without money, and who are destitute of employment. Into these habitations both men and women are admitted separately, and provided with every thing necessary for their subsistence, till they can find a way of procuring it for themselves.

It would be for the interest of trade to erect in all colonies such hospitable mansions as those at Cape François, which may be truly denominated pious institutions as they are calculated for the preservation of mankind; and though the air of this town is by no means favourable to European constitutions, it is observed that fewer adventurers die in proportion here, than in the other towns along the coast. The harbour of the Cape is worthy to receive the rich produce of the adjacent country. It is admirably well situated for the ships that come from Europe: the air is the best in the island; and the basin is exposed only to the north-east wind, from which it can receive no harm, as its entrance is besprinkled with reefs that break the force of the waves. A ship gets very easily out, and soon launches into the open sea.

Fourteen leagues to the eastward of Cape François is situated Port Dauphin, formerly called Bayaha. With its name it has changed its station. It now lies in the bosom of a spacious bay, which has only one outlet, formed by a channel

fifteen

fifteen hundred fathom long, and about one hundred broad. It is furrounded by a river to the west, and bounded by the sea on the east. On a small peninsula to the north, stands a fort, and on the southern side is a plain. The town contains as yet only seventy houses. It is built at such a distance from the mountains, as to be out of the reach of any eminence that might reflect the heat, but some fens in the neighbourhood render the air unwholesome. The fortifications are sufficient to protect the place against a small squadron. Yet though this harbour is so well defended, and otherwise safe and convenient, the greater part of the produce of the neighbouring plain is still sent to the Cape. The mafs of trade will always attract the smaller branches, and great sea-ports will ever occasion those which are less considerable to be neglected, except where necessity has drawn the line of partition.

In 1764, the French colony in Hispaniola contained eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-six white men able to bear arms *; of which number four thousand three hundred and six lived in the northern division, three thousand four hundred and seventy in the western, and only one thousand and ten in the southern. These forces were increased by four thousand one hundred and seventeen mulattoes or free negroes, who were also enrolled. The number of slaves was two hundred and six thousand, men, women, and children, distributed in the following manner:—twelve thousand in nine cities or great towns, some artificers, and some employed in domestic services; four thousand employed in the smaller towns, in the tile and brick-kilns, pot-houses, lime-kilns, and other necessary works; one thousand devoted to the cultivation of provisions and kitchen-grounds; and one hundred and eighty thousand occupied in the cultures that produce the commodities for exportation. Since this estimate was made, about fifteen thousand negroes have been brought annually into the colony. Nor have these been destined to supply the place of the dead, that vacancy being more than filled up by the slaves smuggled into the island; neither have they been employed to swell the train of luxury in the towns, where fewer domestics are kept than formerly: those fresh negroes are all occupied in the plantations, which must be greatly improved and extended by their means.

Other causes have conspired to augment this improvement. Instead of indigo which began to produce but little on some grounds, that were too much exhausted for such a culture, forty new sugar plantations have been formed; so that there are now two hundred and sixty in the northern division, one hundred and ninety-seven in the western, and eighty-four in the southern. The refining works have been increased in still greater proportion than the plantations: the quantity of white sugar is almost doubled. Cotton has been cultivated with great success in the vallies to the west, and coffee in those to the north. Some plantations of cacao have been attempted with equal advantage in the woods of the Grande Anse. The produce of all these plantations entered at the custom-

* Hence, according to the usual method of calculation, the whole of the whites, including persons of all ages, and of both sexes, will exceed thirty-five thousand.

houses in Hispaniola, in 1767, and exported on board three hundred and forty-seven ships sent from France, amounted to the incredible quantity of seventy-two million, seven hundred and eighteen thousand, seven hundred and eighty-one pounds weight of raw sugar; fifty-one million, five hundred and sixty-two thousand, thirteen pounds of refined sugar; one million, seven hundred and sixty-nine thousand, five hundred and sixty-two pounds of indigo; one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of cacao; twelve million, one hundred and ninety-seven thousand, nine hundred and seventy-seven pounds of coffee; two million, nine hundred and sixty-five thousand, nine hundred and twenty pounds of cotton; eight thousand, four hundred and seventy parcels of raw hides; ten thousand, three hundred and fifty fides of tanned leather; four thousand, one hundred and eight casks of rum; and twenty-one thousand, one hundred and four casks of molasses*. Besides these entered commodities, great allowance must be made for those shipped when the vessels were under sail, the overplus of the declared weight, and the payments made for negroes clandestinely introduced. Since that period all the plantations have been extended; and though authors are divided in regard to the degree of increase to which the colony is capable of attaining, it is generally agreed that the produce may be augmented one third.

When a branch of the house of Bourbon ascended the throne of Spain, France gave up all hopes of achieving the entire conquest of Hispaniola; and the trade which the French carry on with their indolent neighbours is so considerable, as to make it doubtful how far they would be gainers by such an acquisition. They supply them with stockings, hats, linen, muskets, hardware, and some wearing apparel; and receive in return horses, horned cattle both for slaughter and for labour, smoked beef and bacon, skins, and all the money which the court of Madrid remits annually for the maintenance of the governor, the clergy, and the troops†. Revolutions only which it is impossible to foresee, can ever put a stop to this intercourse between the two nations that divide Hispaniola. The present system of politics will not permit France and Spain to be at war with each other, and the Castilian pride will never submit tamely to relinquish the first settlement made by the Spaniards in the New World.

Besides the important islands of Martinico and Guadeloupe, and the rich colony in Hispaniola, France is now the sole proprietor of St. Lucia. The English took possession of this island without opposition, in the beginning of the year 1639, and there lived peaceably for eighteen months, but the rage of the Caribs being roused by some violences committed by an English vessel on the coast of Dominica, they assembled from the islands of St. Vincent and Martinico, and joining their injured brethren, attacked the new colony in August 1640. They sacrificed to their vengeance all who ventured to oppose them, and the few who escaped their fury quitted for ever a settlement that had never been in a prosperous condition.

* Raynal, liv. xiii.

† Id. ibid.

St. Lucia was neglected by the Europeans till 1650, when the French attempted to make a property of it. For this purpose they sent over forty inhabitants, under the conduct of Rouffélan, a brave, active, and prudent man, who was singularly beloved by the natives on account of his having married one of their country-women. But the death of Rouffélan, which happened in 1654, put a stop to that prosperity which he had so happily begun. Three of his successors were murdered by the discontented Caribs, whom their behaviour had offended; and the colony was fast declining, when the English, in 1664, repossessed themselves of St. Lucia, and evacuated it in 1666. No sooner were they departed, than the French appeared again in the island, and were a second time expelled by the English in 1686. Some of them, however, instead of evacuating the island, had taken refuge in the woods; and as soon as the conquerors, who made only a temporary invasion, were gone, they returned to their habitations, and resumed their cultures. But these continued only for a short time; for the war which raged in Europe towards the end of the seventeenth century, made them apprehensive that they might fall a prey to the first privateer that should be desirous of plundering them. With a view therefore of obtaining greater security, they removed to the other French settlements, and St. Lucia was once more abandoned. It was only frequented occasionally by the inhabitants of Barbadoes and Martinico, who went thither to cut wood and build barques.

But St. Lucia soon found a new kind of inhabitants, properly belonging to no nation. Its rocks and fastnesses made it be considered as a proper receptacle for runaway soldiers and sailors, who made it their common asylum: and no notice being taken of St. Lucia in the treaty of Utrecht, Marechal d'Estrées obtained a grant of it from the court of Versailles in 1718; but this giving umbrage to the court of England, which had a right to the island from preoccupancy, as France claimed one from possession, tho' surely not uninterrupted, the French ministry gave orders that things should be put into the same condition as before the grant, which was withdrawn. The island was no sooner evacuated, than George I. granted it to the duke of Montague; who in 1722, sent a considerable force thither, under Nathaniel Wring, his deputy, to take possession of it. The chevalier de Feuquieres, governor-general of the French islands, remonstrated against this settlement; and as the English officers in the West Indies refused to support Mr. Wring, he was obliged to abandon St. Lucia. These mutual invasions occasioned some disturbance between the two courts; which was settled, however, in 1731, by an agreement that the island should be evacuated by both nations, till their respective claims could be finally adjusted, and that in the mean time the ships of both should wood and water there.

Notwithstanding this agreement, the French sent a garrison to St. Lucia: the English remonstrated; and the claims of the two crowns continued undecided till 1763, when the ninth article in the treaty of Paris secured to France the long disputed property of that island. The first use which the court of Versailles proposed to make of her only acquisition, as a consolation for all the losses

losses of last war, was to establish a magazine in St. Lucia; where the wood and cattle of North America, so necessary to the prosperity of settlements in the West Indies, might be exchanged for the molasses of Martinico and Guadeloupe. But experience soon shewed the impracticability of this scheme, as it tended to enhance the price of commodities that could not bear an augmentation.

The French ministry, undeceived in regard to their first idea, without entirely giving it up, have turned their thoughts to the cultivation of St. Lucia. With this view, they sent over in 1763, at a great expence, and with unnecessary parade, seven or eight hundred men, whose unhappy fate is more a matter of pity than surprize. Under the tropics, the best established colonies always prove fatal to one-third of the soldiers sent thither, though healthy stout men, and provided with good accommodation: it cannot therefore be thought extraordinary, that a set of despicable wretches, the refuse of Europe, expoied to all the miseries of indigence, and all the horrors of despair, should mostly perish in an uncultivated island. The honour of peopling St. Lucia, as well as the profit of so patriotic a measure, was reserved for the neighbouring islands. Some Frenchmen, who had sold their plantations in the Granades to the English, upon terms very advantageous to themselves, brought part of their capital to this island. Several planters from St. Vincent's, incensed at being obliged to purchase lands which they themselves had been at incredible pains to clear and fertilize, took the same step. Martinico also furnished some planters, whose possessions either were not sufficiently fertile, or too much confined, and a few traders, who devoted their stock to agriculture. Each of these obtained a free grant of a piece of land proportioned to his ability to cultivate. Persons whose means were small, have confined themselves to such cultures as require no great advances; while those who were richer, have ventured on greater undertakings.

There are already nine parishes in St. Lucia; eight to the leeward, and only one to the windward. This preference given to one part of the island above the other, is not merely for the sake of a better soil, but for the conveniency of navigation. In time the part that was at first neglected will likewise be inhabited, as several bays have been discovered where barques may put in, and receive all kinds of commodities on board. A road, which goes all around the island, and two others, which cross it from east to west, are very convenient for carrying the produce of the plantations to the landing places. The labours of vassalage* required for making these roads, have unavoidably retarded the culture of the lands, and during the time excited grievous complaints; but the colonists now begin to bless the wise head and steady hand that ordered and conducted those works for their benefit †.

* All the inhabitants of the French islands are obliged to furnish labourers for the public works. But the nature of this vassalage will be better understood when we come to speak of the government of the French West Indies.

† The person here alluded to is the earl of Ennery, the founder of the colony, a nobleman of great abilities and integrity.

The soil of St. Lucia is by no means bad near the shore, and it is better in the interior parts. The whole island, which is about twelve leagues long and five broad, may be cultivated with success, except some high and craggy mountains which bear evident marks of extinguished volcanoes. There are not indeed many extensive plains in St. Lucia, but it contains several small ones, where the growth of sugar might be carried to a great height. The air of this, like that of all the other islands in the West Indies, when first settled, is foul and unwholesome; but becomes less so as the woods are cleared, and the ground laid open. On the leeward side, it is more peculiarly noxious. There the plains receive some sluggish rivers, which flowing only from the foot of the mountains, have not sufficient force to discharge the mud with which the influx of the ocean chokes up their mouths. Stopped by this insurmountable barrier, they spread themselves into pestilential morasses upon the neighbouring grounds. The mortality occasioned by this circumstance made such places avoided even by the natives; but the French, actuated by a more powerful motive than even self-preservation, have been less careful than the Caribs: in those very spots they have chiefly fixed their plantations. But they will sooner or later fall a sacrifice to their blind rapaciousness, unless they erect dykes to repel the tide, and dig canals to drain off the waters.

The planters in St. Lucia have every encouragement to carry the cultivation of the island to the highest degree of which it is capable. They pay no taxes either directly or indirectly. Ships of all nations are admitted into their roads, and pay nothing either at coming in or going out. Every one is free to bring thither, at the cheapest rate, what merchandize he can sell, and to carry away such commodities as will bring the best price. Since Europe first acquired possessions in America, no settlement has ever met with more indulgence. Such singular favour must no doubt come to a period; and St. Lucia, like all the other islands, will be brought under the yoke of restrictive laws. But a few years more lenity will enable it to bear that burden; and before it is imposed, the mother-country will take care to secure to herself the produce of an island which she has put into a flourishing condition.

By an account taken in 1772, the number of whites in St. Lucia amounted to two thousand and twenty-eight persons, of all ages and of both sexes; that of the free blacks to six hundred and sixty-three, and the negro slaves to twelve thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-five. These inhabitants were divided into seven hundred and six dwelling places, and possessed thirty-eight sugar plantations; five million, three hundred and ninety-five thousand, eight hundred and eighty-nine coffee-trees; one million, three hundred and twenty-one thousand, six hundred cacao plants; and three hundred and sixty-seven plots of cotton*. The present produce of the island is computed at two hundred thousand pounds sterling. This is considerable; and according to able calculators, it may be doubled †.

* Raynal, liv. xiii.

† Id. *ibid.*

But France had stronger motives for desiring St. Lucia, than any produce that such a spot can yield. It possesses the finest harbour in all the Caribbee Islands. This celebrated port called the *Carenage*, which has been strongly fortified since the peace, unites many advantages. It has every where depth enough, and the quality of the bottom is excellent. Nature hath furnished it with three carening-places, as complete as if formed by the most perfect art. Thirty ships of the line might lie there, sheltered from hurricanes, and perfectly safe without the trouble of being moored. The winds are always favourable for sailing; and the largest squadron might be cleared out in less than an hour. In a word, the *Carenage* unfolds the mystery of that zeal with which France in negotiating the treaty of Paris, contended for St. Lucia; the value of which was not sufficiently understood by the British ministry, otherwise a place so favourable to navigation, and so dangerous in the hands of an enemy, would never have been given up at a time England had an opportunity, which may never perhaps return, of dictating to her rival.

Before we conclude this chapter, we must say a few words on the government and laws established in the French islands. The British government, which is generally guided by the spirit of the nation, has carried into the New World that right of private property which forms the basis of her legislation. From a conviction, that man never thinks he has the entire possession of any thing but what he has lawfully acquired, the lands in the islands were sold at a moderate price to such as were willing to clear them. This appeared the surest way to hasten the cultivation of them, and to prevent partialities and jealousies, the necessary consequence of a distribution guided by caprice or favour. France has pursued a method seemingly more generous, but less prudent; that of granting lands to all who applied for them, through the proper channel. No regard was paid to the abilities or circumstances of the petitioners: the interest of their patrons determined the extent of the land they obtained. It was indeed stipulated, that they should begin their plantations within a year after obtaining the grant, and not discontinue clearing the ground on pain of forfeiture; but besides the hardship of requiring men to be at the expence of clearing land which they could not purchase, the penalty fell upon those only who had not sufficient interest with the great; or upon minors, who being left destitute by the death of their parents, ought rather to have been assisted by the public.

The progress of the colonies, evidently retarded by this partiality, was further obstructed by a number of ill-judged regulations relative to domestic life. It was required of every person, who obtained a grant of land, to plant five hundred trenches of manioc for every slave upon his plantation. That order, intended to provide against scarcity, was equally detrimental to public and private interest, as it compelled the planter to encumber his ground with this ordinary production, when it was able to yield richer crops; and rendered the poor grounds, in other hands, which were only fit for this kind of culture, useless. This double inconvenience could not fail to lessen the growth of all sorts of commodities. The law indeed has never been strictly put in execution; but as it has also never been

been repealed, it still remains a scourge in the hands of an ignorant, capricious, or passionate governor, who may chuse to make use of it against the inhabitants.

Great however as this evil seems, it is one of the least of those of which the colonists have reason to complain against administration. The restraint of Agrarian laws is further increased by the burden of the labours imposed upon the vassals. This matter requires some explanation.

There was a time in Europe, that of the feudal government, when the nobles served the state with their persons, not with their purses; and when their vassals, who were considered as their servants, paid them a kind of homage or quit-rent, either in the fruits of the earth or in so much labour. These customs, so destructive to men and lands, tended to perpetuate that barbarity to which they owed their rise. But at length they were gradually laid aside, as the authority of kings prevailed in overthrowing the independence and tyranny of the nobles, by restoring freedom to the people, who were originally slaves to the great vassals. The prince now become the sole master, abolished, as chief magistrate, some abuses arising from the right of war, which destroys all other rights; but several usurpations, which time had rendered sacred, were still tolerated. That of the average, or a certain proportion of labour required from the vassals, has been retained in some states, where the nobles have lost almost every privilege, though the people have not acquired any. This is peculiarly the case in France, where the prince is become almost the sole tyrant in his dominions, and where the liberty of the people is infringed by the pressure of vassalage; which has been reduced into a system, as if to give it the appearance of justice. The pernicious consequences of that slavish system, humiliating and oppressive in the mother-country, have been more severely felt in the colonies; where the culture of lands, from the nature of the climate and productions, cannot so easily spare a number of hands to be employed in the public works; and where the sole direction of those works is committed to two overseers*, who can neither be directed, censured, nor controuled in the arbitrary exercise of absolute power.

But the burden of these services is light when compared with that of the taxes. A tax may be defined "a contribution towards public expence, necessary for the preservation of private property." The peaceable enjoyment of lands and revenues requires a proper force to protect them from invasion, and a police sufficient to secure the liberty of improving them. Whatever is paid towards the maintenance of public order and security is right and just: whatever is levied beyond it, is extortion. Every direct tax upon the colonies must come under this last description, as the mother-country is repaid all the expences which are incurred on their account by the restraint laid upon them to cultivate for her alone, and in such a manner as is best adapted to her wants. This subjection is the most burdensome of all tributes, and ought to exempt them from all other taxes.

* The governor and the intendant.

BOOK III.

The court of Versailles, however, not satisfied with the obligation laid upon their West India islands to draw all their necessaries from France, and to send thither all their commodities, have laid a tax upon every negro. In some settlements this poll tax has been confined to the working blacks; in others it has extended to all slaves without distinction, old and infirm men, women, and children, many of whom are only a burden to the planter, and which humanity alone can induce him to support. Another tax, no less injudicious, has been laid upon all commodities carried out of the colonies, from a mistaken presumption that it would fall upon the merchant and the consumer. If so, it ought still to have been levied at home; for nothing is so pleasing to an American as to remove from his sight every thing that denotes his dependence. Wearied with the importunities of collectors, he abhors standing taxes, and dreads the increase of them: he in vain seeks for that freedom which he expected to have found at the distance of two thousand leagues from Europe; he spurns a yoke which pursues him through the storms of the ocean: discontented, and inwardly repining at the restraint he feels, he thinks with indignation on his native country; which under the name of mother, calls for his blood instead of feeding him. Remove the image of his chains from his sight; let the produce of his industry pay a tribute to the mother-country only at landing, and he will fancy himself free and privileged; though this tax, by lowering the value of his own commodities, and enhancing the price of those which he receives from Europe, obliges him ultimately to bear the load of an imposition of which he is not ignorant.

The productions of the French islands also pay a duty of three and a half per cent. on entering the kingdom, known by the name of *Domaine d'Occident*, or Western Domain. The value of these productions, which is the rule for the payment of the duty, is determined in the months of January and July: it is fixed at twenty or twenty-five per cent. below the real price. The Western Office allows besides a more considerable tare than the seller in trade. Add to this duty that which the commodities pay at the custom-houses in the colonies, which is nearly the same, and those which are paid in the inland parts of the islands, and we shall have the whole revenue which France draws from her settlements in the West Indies*.

The French islands, like those of other nations, had no troops at first. The adventurers who had conquered them, looked upon the right of defending themselves as a privilege, and the descendants of those intrepid men thought themselves sufficiently strong to guard their own possessions. The situation of

* The author is not furnished with sufficient information to ascertain the amount of this revenue. But what is here offered will serve to undeceive those who, misled by the celebrated writer of *European Settlements in America*, may suppose that the duty paid by the French "at the export of their produce from the islands, or its import into France, is next to nothing; that in both places it hardly makes two per cent." Part V. chap. vi. It is surprizing what pleasure some men take in magnifying the burdens of their own country, and in diminishing those of others. Ignorance could hardly lead Mr. Burke into such an assertion.

affairs, however, has of late undergone many alterations. The militia, though supported by several battalions of European troops, besides numerous garrisons, being found insufficient, during last war, to oppose the arms of England, was abolished in 1764. But the militia it was urged, though an inadequate defence against a foreign enemy, is necessary to preserve the interior police of the islands; to prevent the revolt of the slaves; to check the incursions of the fugitive negroes; to hinder the banditti from assembling in troops; to protect the navigation along the coasts, and to keep off privateers. If the inhabitants were not imbodyed, if they had neither commanders nor standards, who, it was asked, in such emergency, would march to the assistance of his neighbour. These reflections, which though striking and natural, had escaped the court of Versailles, have induced them to restore the militia, but without abolishing the taxes imposed for a military establishment.

The French colonies in the West Indies, settled by profligate men, who had fled from the restraints or the punishments of law, seemed at first to stand in need of nothing but a strict police: they were therefore committed to governors vested with unlimited authority. That spirit of intrigue, natural to all courts, but more especially familiar to a nation where gallantry gives the women an universal ascendancy, has at all times filled the higher offices in the islands with worthless men, loaded with debts and vices. Ashamed to promote such men, where their disgrace was known, the ministry sent them beyond sea, to improve or retrieve their fortune, among people who were ignorant of their character. An ill-judged compassion, and that mistaken maxim of courtiers, that villainy is necessary, and that villains may be useful, made them deliberately sacrifice the peace of the planters, the safety of the colonies, and the very interests of the state, to a set of infamous persons only fit to pay the debt of justice. These rapacious and dissolute men sifted the seeds of all that was good and laudable, and checked the progress of that prosperity which was rising spontaneously.

Arbitrary power carries along with it so subtle a poison, that even those men who went over to the West Indies with honest intentions were soon corrupted. If ambition, avarice, and pride had not proved sufficient to infect them, they could not have withstood the contagion of flattery, which never fails to raise itself upon general slavery, and to triumph amid public calamity. The few governors who escaped corruption, meeting with no assistance in an arbitrary administration, were continually falling from one mistake into another. Mankind are to be governed by laws, not by men. If the governors are deprived of this common rule, this standard of their judgments, all right, all safety, and all civil liberty will become extinct. Nothing will then be seen but contradictory decisions, transient and opposite regulations and orders, which, for want of fundamental maxims, can have no connexion with each other. If the code of laws was cancelled, even in the best regulated state, it would soon appear that equity alone is not sufficient to govern it properly. The wisest men would be found inadequate to such a task. As they would not all be of the same mind, and as

each of them would not always be in the same disposition, the state would soon be subverted.

This kind of confusion was perpetual in the French colonies; and the more so as the governors made but a short stay in one place, and were recalled before they had time to correct any abuses. After they had proceeded without a guide for three years in a strange country, and upon unformed plans of policy and laws, these rulers were replaced by others; who in as short a space were recalled, before they had formed any acquaintance with the people they were to govern, or ripened their projects into that justice, which, when tempered with mildness, can alone insure the execution of them. These disorders, however, might easily have been prevented, by substituting an equitable legislation, firm, and independent of private will, in place of a military government, violent in itself, and adopted only to critical and perilous times. But this scheme, which has often been proposed, was disapproved by the governors, jealous of absolute power. Those slaves, escaped from the secret tyranny of the court, were remarkably attached to that form of justice which prevails in Asiatic governments, and by which they kept their very abettors in awe. The projected reformation was opposed even by some virtuous governors, who did not consider, that by reserving to themselves, like Titus, the right of doing good, they left it in the power of their successors to do evil with impunity. All exclaimed against a plan of legislation, that tended to lessen the dependence of the people; and the court was weak enough to give ear to their insinuations and advice, from a consequence of that propensity to despotism natural to arbitrary princes and their ministers. They thought they provided sufficiently for the colonies by giving them an intendant, in order to balance the power of the governor.

These distant settlements, which had hitherto groaned under the yoke of one master, now became subject to two, equally dangerous from their division and their union. When they were at variance, they divided the minds of the people; sowed discord among their adherents, and kindled a kind of civil war: when they chanced to agree, either because their good or bad intentions happened to be the same, or because the one had got the absolute ascendant over the other, the colonists were often in a worse condition than ever, and seldom found any relief.

The political state of the French islands is not much improved. Their governors, besides having the disposal of the regular troops, have a right to enlist the inhabitants; to order them to what works they think proper; to employ them as they please in time of war, and even to make use of them for conquest. Vested with absolute authority, and desirous of exerting every power that can establish or extend it, they take upon themselves the cognizance of civil debts. The debtor is summoned, thrown into prison, or into a dungeon, and compelled to pay without any more formality. This is what they call the *service*, or the military department. The intendants have the sole management and disposal of the finances, and generally order the collecting of them. They inquire into all causes, both civil and criminal; whether justice has not yet taken cognizance of them, or whether they have already been brought before the superior tribunals:

tribunals: and this is what they call *administration*. The governors and intendants jointly grant the lands which have not yet been given away, and judge of all differences that arise respecting old possessions. This arrangement puts the fortunes of all the colonists in their hands, or into those of their clerks and dependents; and consequently makes all property precarious, and occasions the utmost confusion.

Nothing appears to be more consonant to the ends of sound policy, than to allow the colonies the right of governing themselves, provided it be in subordination to the mother-country. In this case, the administration should be wholly committed to the proprietors of lands, and chiefly to natives; for justice is the natural consequence of property, and none are more interested in the good government of a country, than those who are intitled by their birth to the largest possessions in it. The Creoles, who have naturally a great share of penetration, a frankness of character, an elevation of soul, and a certain love of equity, which arises from these valuable dispositions, would be so sensible of the marks of esteem and confidence shewn them by the mother-country, in trusting them with the interior management of their own, that they would grow fond of that fertile soil, take a pride in improving it, and be happy in introducing into the islands all the comforts of a civilized society. Instead of that antipathy to France, which is a reflection upon her ministers, and upbraids them with their severity, she would find in her colonies that attachment with which paternal kindness naturally inspires children. Fear will restrain men while under the eye of a powerful and imperious master, but affection alone can command them at a distance. Attachment to the sovereign is a principle which cannot be too much encouraged or extended; but if it is neither merited nor returned, he will not long enjoy it. A sullen discontent will arise, and spread from one province to another, and from the mother-country to the colonies. When the fortunes of all men are injured or threatened, the alarm and the commotion becomes general.

C H A P. VII.

The English Settlements in the West-Indies.

THE English colonies, both in the islands and on the continent of America, owe their establishment chiefly to the civil and religious dissentions which prevailed in the mother country, during the greater part of the last century. The settlements in the islands, however, are indebted for their first inhabitants, more especially to the civil, and those on the continent, to the religious emigrants. The remote causes that led to both emigrations, are interesting and curious. We shall here consider those which introduced the former, as more immediately connected with the subject of this chapter.

Every one acquainted with the progress of the English constitution knows, that the regal authority, for a long time after the Norman conquest, was balanced only by a small number of proprietors of land, called Barons. These barons or nobles perpetually oppressed the people, one part of whom they held in a state of vassalage, and the other in actual slavery. At the same time they were constantly struggling against the power of the crown; with more or less success according to the character of the leading men, of the prince upon the throne, and the concurrence of circumstances. These civil dissensions occasioned much bloodshed; and the kingdom was exhausted by intestine wars, which had lasted, with short intervals, for two hundred years, when Henry VII. assumed the reins of government, in consequence of a victory gained over the adverse part. That able prince, who in his own right and by marriage united the claims of the two rival houses of York and Lancaster, availed himself of the state of depression into which a series of calamities had sunk his subjects, to extend the regal authority; the limits of which the anarchy of the feudal government, though continually encroaching upon the prerogatives of the crown, had never been able to fix. Henry was assisted in that undertaking by the Lancastrian party, which had placed him upon the throne, and to which he shewed a strong partiality during his whole reign. The ascendancy acquired by this interest, was augmented by a master-stroke in policy; by a law permitting the nobility to alienate their lands.

That indulgence, joined to a taste for luxury, which then began to prevail in Europe, brought on a great revolution in the fortunes of individuals in England. The immense fees of the barons were gradually diminished, and the estates of the commons increased. The rights belonging to the several domains being divided with the property of them, it became so much the more difficult to unite the will and the power of many against the authority of one. The monarchs took advantage of this period, so favourable to their ambition, to govern without controul. The waning nobility were afraid of a power which was become formidable in proportion to their decline; the commons, though elated with their rising consequence, seemed satisfied with the privilege of imposing all the national taxes; and the people, in some degree eased of their yoke, by this slight alteration in the constitution, became less disposed to insurrections, from a recollection of the desolation and misery which they had experienced to be the consequence of them. Thus while the nation was employed in looking for that mixed monarchy, which, never distinctly formed, had been destroyed during the civil wars, the sovereign alone was presented to their view; and the majesty of the throne, the whole lustre of which centred in him, seemed to be the source of that authority of which it should only be the sign and visible instrument.

Such was nearly the situation of things, when the family of Stuart succeeded to the crown of England. James I. had from his earliest years been averse from limited authority; and as absolute monarchy then prevailed all over Europe, it was natural that he should be ambitious of the same power as other sovereigns.

His predecessors had in a great measure enjoyed it even in England, for a century back; the parliament, during the reigns of the princes of the house of Tudor, being little more than the organ of royal will and pleasure. But James was not aware that those princes owed their extensive authority to their own political abilities, or to favourable circumstances, not to the constitution or the slavish temper of the people. He succeeded indeed to the crown of England by hereditary descent; but the English nation had not been accustomed to look up to him through a line of royal ancestors, born to rule them: he was foreign to their sway; and as he possessed too little dignity to command respect, and too much good nature to impress fear, a new spirit soon discovered itself in the parliament.

Other causes conspired to rouse this spirit. The discovery of America had hastened the advancement of Europe. Navigation brought together the opposite extremities of the globe. The intercourse of nations had begun to remove prejudices, and open the door to industry and knowledge. The mechanical and liberal arts were extended, and fast advancing towards perfection. Literature was beginning to acquire the ornaments of taste, and the sciences to attain that degree of solidity which springs from a spirit of calculation and commerce. The circle of politics was enlarged. This universal revolution exalted the ideas of men. The several bodies that composed the monstrous colossus of Gothic government, roused from that state of lethargic ignorance, in which they had been sunk for many ages, began to exert themselves on all sides, and to act with a degree of vigour and harmony formerly unknown.

On the continent, where mercenary troops were introduced, under pretence of maintaining discipline, and securing the tranquillity of the state, most princes had acquired an unlimited authority. They had humbled their subjects either by force or intrigue: but in England, the love of freedom, so natural to every reflecting mind! excited in the people by the authors of religious innovations, and awakened in the breasts of the more enlightened part of the community by an acquaintance with the celebrated writers of antiquity, (who derived from their own free government that sublimity of reason and sentiment by which they are distinguished) kindled in every generous heart the sacred flame of liberty, and inspired the whole nation with the utmost abhorrence of arbitrary sway. The ascendant which Elizabeth had found means to acquire and to preserve, by an uninterrupted prosperity of forty years, withheld this impatience, or turned it towards enterprises that were beneficial to the state; but no sooner did another family succeed to the throne, and the sceptre devolve to a monarch, whose pedantic character rendered him contemptible, at the same time that the exorbitance of his pretensions awakened jealousy, than the nation asserted its rights, and entertained the ambitious thought of governing itself.

It was at this period that warm disputes arose between the king and the parliament. Both powers seemed to be making a trial of their strength, by mutual opposition, in order to decide the great contest which afterwards ensued. The

prince pretended that an entire passive obedience was due to him; and that national assemblies were only accessories, not the basis of the constitution. The parliament loudly exclaimed against this doctrine, always weak when it came to be discussed: they maintained that the people were an essential part of the government, and perhaps in an higher degree than the monarch. The one, said they, is the matter, the other the form: now the form may, and must change, for the preservation of the matter. The supreme law is the welfare of the people, not of the prince. The king may die, the monarchy come to an end, and the state subsist without either monarch or throne. In this manner did our ancestors reason at the dawn of liberty: they quarrelled, they opposed, they threatened each other. James died in the midst of those debates, leaving his son to discuss his claims.

The experience of all ages has shewn, that the dead calm which succeeds the establishment of absolute power, occasions a coolness in the minds of the people; damps their courage, restrains their genius, and throws a whole nation into a state of lethargy. On the contrary, the commotion of a constitution tending towards liberty is irregular and rapid: it is a continued fever, more or less violent, but always attended with convulsions. England experienced such a paroxysm in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. who though a man of more sense than his father, was equally fond of power. He had not only imbibed the same exalted notions of kingship and high prerogative, but not satisfied, like James, with enjoying them in theory, he wanted to carry them into practice. The parliament opposed his measures: he dissolved it; and following his own arbitrary will for eleven years, without once assembling the great council of the nation, rendered himself generally odious to all ranks of men. His necessities at last obliged him to have recourse to that assembly which he pretended to despise: a parliament was convoked; and the court-party not being able to support him, the king was obliged to grant every thing required of him.

The commons, before whom Charles had thus humbled himself, instead of being satisfied, or of raising fallen majesty, exulted in his abasement. Sensible of their power, they now set no bounds to their requisitions, till the royal authority was reduced to a shadow. The nobility afraid of sinking with the throne, and the ancient gentry of being confounded with the people, in this extremity espoused the cause of the king. The parliament, supported by the great body of the people, prepared to maintain their claims. Both parties had recourse to arms; and their public and private animosities brought on the keenest, the most bloody, and the most obstinate civil war, recorded in the annals of history. Never did the English spirit shew itself in so dreadful a manner. Every day exhibited fresh scenes of violence, which appeared to have been already carried to the greatest excess; and these again were exceeded, by others still more horrid, and by deeds more daring and atrocious. It seemed as if the nation had been on the brink of destruction, and as if every Briton had sworn to bury himself under the ruins of his country.

During

During this general ferment, the more moderate-minded men fought for a peaceable retreat in those islands of the American archipelago, where the English had begun already to settle. The tranquillity which they enjoyed there, induced others to follow them. While the flames of sedition were spreading in the mother-country, the colonies grew up, and were peopled. The refugees who had fled from faction, were soon joined by the royalists, who were oppressed by the republican party, which had at length prevailed. Both these were followed by those restless spirits, whose strong passions urge them to great and daring projects; who despise difficulties, dangers, and fatigues—and wish to see no other end of either, but in death or fortune; who know of no medium between affluence and want, and who are equally ready to ruin or to save their country; to lay it waste, or to enrich it.

The islands were also the asylum of merchants who had been unfortunate in business, or of tradesmen reduced by their creditors to a state of indigence and idleness. Unable as they were to fulfil their engagements, this very misfortune paved the way to their prosperity. After a few years, they returned in affluence to their own country, and met with the highest respect from those very persons by whom they had been persecuted, and in those very places from which they had been banished with ignominy or contempt. This resource was still more necessary for misguided youths, who in entering upon the world had been drawn into excesses of debauchery and licentiousness. If they had not quitted their native country, shame and disgrace, which never fail to deprets the mind, would have prevented them from recovering either regularity of manners or public esteem. But in another country, where the experience they had of vice might prove a lesson of wisdom, and where they did not labour under the disadvantage of any unfavourable impressions, they found, after their misfortunes, a harbour in which they could rest with safety. Their industry made amends for their past follies; and men who had left Europe like vagabonds, and who had disgraced it by their irregularities, returned honest men, and useful members of society.

All these several colonists had at their disposal, for the clearing and tilling of their lands, the most profligate set of men in the three kingdoms, who had deserved death for capital crimes; but who, from motives of humanity and sound policy, were suffered to live and to work for the benefit of the state. Those malefactors, who were transported for a term of years, which they were to spend in slavery, became industrious, and acquired manners, which placed them once more in the way of fortune, and in the road to character. The mother-country, however, was too much occupied with its own domestic dissensions, to think of giving laws to the islands under its dominion; and the colonists were not sufficiently enlightened to draw up a system of legislation fit for a rising community. While the civil war was rectifying the government of England, the colonies, just emerging from a state of infancy, formed their own constitution on the model of the mother-country. In each of these separate settlements, a governor represents the king; a council, the peers; and the deputies of the several

several districts, the commons*. The general assembly enacts laws, regulates taxes, and judges of the administration. The executive part belongs to the governor; who occasionally decides upon causes that have not been tried before, but always in conjunction with the council, and by the majority of votes.

In order to reconcile her own interests with the freedom of the colonies, Great Britain however took care that no laws should there be enacted inconsistent with her own. The governors whom she sends thither not only take an oath, that they will not suffer the least infringement of that fundamental maxim, but all acts of the general assembly must be transmitted to England, and receive the approbation of the king and council before they can become a standing law †. This precaution is necessary to prevent the governors from betraying the mother-country to favour the colonies; who, as they in general pay the governor's salary, might otherwise make his compliance the measure of their liberality. At the same time, such a dependence checks the governor's pride, and prevents him from becoming tyrannical. As a further restraint upon that spirit of rapaciousness, which induces men to cross the seas in quest of riches, the government has subjected all placemen, who shall violate the laws of the colonies, to the same penalties which are inflicted in England upon those who trespass against national liberty.

Nor were these precautions thought sufficient for the safety of the colonists. Every colony has one or more deputies in the mother-country. Their functions are important. They are designed to prevent the abuse of power in the governors; to solicit the legislative body for the improvement and defence of the settlements, whose rights and wants they represent; and to combine the particular interest of the trade of the colonies with the general welfare of the nation.—How happy had it been for Britain, if more attention had been paid by parliament to the representations of those deputies!

In consequence of these beneficent regulations, dictated equally by humanity and sound policy, the English islands soon grew happy, though not rich. Their culture was at first confined to tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo. Some enterprising planters afterwards procured slips of the sugar-cane from Brazil; and they thrived prodigiously, but to very little purpose. The English were ignorant of the art of managing this valuable plant, and drew from it such indifferent sugar that it would not sell in Europe, or sold only at the lowest price. A series of voyages to Fernambucca, however, taught them the method of cultivating and manufacturing their canes; and the Portuguese, who had hitherto engrossed all the sugar trade, in 1650 found in an ally, whose competition they had viewed without jealousy, a rival who was one day to supplant them.

* This is the form of government in all the British settlements in the West Indies, and in the greater part of those on the continent. It is called *royal government*. The other forms in use are those called *charter* and *proprietary governments*, of which we shall afterwards have occasion to speak.

† Every act requires the force of a statute, on receiving the governor's assent, but the negative of the privy council takes away its effect.

The mother-country, however, had but a very small share in the prosperity of her colonies. They themselves sent their commodities to all parts of the world, where they thought they could be disposed of to most advantage, and indiscriminately admitted ships of all nations into their harbours. This unlimited freedom must of course throw the greater part of their trade into the hands of that people, who, in consequence of the low interest which their money bears, the number of their ships, and the reasonableness of their duties of export and import, could afford to make the best terms; to buy at the dearest, and sell at the cheapest rate. This people was the Dutch. Ten of their ships were seen in the English colonies for one from the mother-country: they seized upon the profits of a variety of productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered.

The nation had paid little attention to this evil during the convulsions of the civil war; but as soon as these troubles were composed, and the state restored to tranquillity by the very violence of its disorder, it began to turn its views towards its distant possessions. It perceived that those subjects, who had taken refuge in America, would be lost to the state, if foreign powers were not excluded from their trade. The discussion of this point brought on the famous Navigation Act in 1651, which prohibits all foreign ships from entering the harbours of the English islands, and consequently obliges their produce to be exported directly to the countries under the dominion of England. Though aware of the inconveniencies of such an exclusion, the government was not alarmed at it: it considered the empire only as a tree, whose sap must be turned back to the trunk, when it flows too freely to some of the branches.

A fortunate circumstance, however, for England was, that this restraining law could not then be enforced in its utmost rigour. The negligence in the execution of it, allowed the colonies time to increase their sugar plantations, by the ready sale that they found for their produce, which enabled them to raise themselves on the ruin of the Portuguese. These plantations made such rapid progress in the space of nine years, that, in 1660, when it was judged that the law might safely be put in execution in its full extent, the English were already masters of the sugar trade all over Europe; except in the Mediterranean, the countries bordering on which had continued faithful to the Portuguese, on account of the act of re-exportation, which had been occasioned by the navigation act. In order to attain such superiority, the new colonists had indeed been obliged greatly to lower the price of the commodity, but their plentiful crops made them ample amends for that necessary sacrifice; and if other nations were encouraged, by this example of success, to raise plantations of sugar, at least sufficient to supply their own consumption, the English opened fresh markets, no less beneficial than the former. The only misfortune which they experienced during a series of years, was that of seeing many of their cargoes taken by the French, and sold at a low price. The planter sustained by this a double inconvenience; the loss of part of his produce, and of being obliged to sell the remainder much cheaper than usual.

Notwithstanding these transient piracies, which always ceased in time of peace, the produce of sugar continued to increase in the English islands. It appears



from entries, the exactness of which cannot be doubted, that, about the year 1680, these islands sent annually to Europe forty thousand hogsheds of sugar; each containing twelve hundred weight. Their exports, from 1708 to 1718, amounted, at a medium, to fifty-three thousand, four hundred, and thirty-nine hogsheds annually; from 1718 to 1727, they rose to sixty-eight thousand, nine hundred, and thirty-one hogsheds annually; and the six following years to ninety-three thousand, eight hundred, and eighty-nine. But from 1733 to 1737, they fell to seventy-five thousand, six hundred, and ninety-five; and the two following years, they amounted regularly to seventy-thousand hogsheds*.

If we inquire into the cause of this diminution, we shall find it was owing to the rivalship of France. That kingdom, which from its situation, and from the active genius of its inhabitants, should be foremost in every undertaking, is so restrained by the nature of its government, that it is the last in becoming acquainted with its own advantages and interests. The French originally procured their sugars from the English, and from the view of their prosperity, became desirous of dividing their advantages. They made some sugar at first for their own consumption, and began to export it in 1716. The superiority of their soil; the advantage of fresh lands; the frugality of their planters, yet poor, all conspired to enable them to sell their sugars at a lower price than that of their competitors. This advantage, the most important that can be acquired in trade, where the commodity is equal, obtained them the preference in every market. Accordingly as their produce increased, the trade of their rivals declined; and this decay was so rapid, that a nation which, in 1719, sold nineteen thousand, two hundred and two hogsheds to foreigners, sold no more than seven thousand, seven hundred, and fifteen in 1733; five thousand, two hundred, and eleven in 1737, and none in 1740 †.

The planters in the English islands had begun to complain long before this revolution was completed. They had applied to parliament as early as the year 1731, in order to engage that assembly to prevent the ruin of a trade, that was already far in the decline. Their petitions were at first disregarded. Most people were of opinion, that the lands in the islands were exhausted: the parliament itself had adopted this opinion; not considering, that though the soil was not altogether so luxuriant as that of fresh lands, yet it still retained that degree of fertility which it seldom loses, when duly cultivated, unless materially injured by some accidental calamity. But when it was made evident, by estimates laid before the house, that the latter crops had been more plentiful than the former, the parliament began to attend to the method of restoring this source of public wealth.

* Anderson, Hist. Com. vol. II.

† Id. *ibid.* The increase in the consumption of sugar in the mother-country will not, as some pretend, account for this decrease in exportation; for the produce, as appears from the foregoing account, also decreased; a certain proof of the want of a market, so long as the lands are not exhausted, unless a more profitable culture could be attempted. But there is no culture so profitable as that of sugar.

The political œconomy of commerce consists in selling cheaper than one's rivals. This the English islands were able to do before the year 1663, when the mother-country appropriated to herself a duty of four and an half per cent. upon all sugars brought from Barbadoes. That duty was soon extended to the sugars of the other islands. The great plenty of the commodity, however, prevented them from immediately feeling this oppression; but their own necessities having obliged them to burden themselves with fresh taxes, they were no longer able to withstand a competition, which grew every day more formidable: and they saw themselves, to their inexpressible grief and mortification, supplanted in all quarters. Possibly these islands might have been restored to their former prosperity, by suppressing the duty of four and an half per cent. and by sacrificing to their local administration, the enormous duties their commodities pay on entering Great Britain. But the situation of the mother-country would not admit of such generosity towards the colonies; and the government thought it was sufficiently liberal, when it granted them a permission, in 1739, to send their sugars directly to all the ports of Europe. This concession, which was contrary to the spirit of the Act of Navigation, proved ineffectual. The French maintained their superiority in all foreign markets; and the English islands were obliged to content themselves with furnishing sugars, which in 1735 amounted to seventy thousand hogheads, merely for the consumption of the British dominions.

For this supply England was indebted to her ancient possessions, and very considerably to St. Christopher's, the nursery of all the English and French colonies in the West-Indies. Both nations landed there, as we have already seen*, in 1625, and shared the island between them. They signed a perpetual neutrality, and entered into a mutual agreement to assist each other against their common enemy the Spaniard, who for a century before had desolated the two hemispheres. But jealousy soon divided those whom interest had united. The French grew envious of the prosperous labours of the English; who, on their side, could not patiently bear that an idle neighbour, whose chief employment was hunting and gallantry, should attempt to rob them of their wives. This reciprocal disgust soon created quarrels, war, and bloodshed; though neither of the parties aimed at conquest. In these domestic hostilities government took no share; but concerns of greater importance having kindled a war between the mother-countries, in 1666, St. Christopher's became a scene of carnage for half a century.

During that destructive period, the English settlement not only suffered from the devastations of the enemy: it was also exposed to the sword of its own citizens. St. Christopher's, like most of the English islands in the West Indies, had been chiefly peopled by royalists, who long refused to acknowledge the authority of the parliament. Ill protected by Charles II. they had become a prey to the French and Dutch; but as the treaty of Breda restored them to their possessions in 1667, they continued to adhere to the house of Stuart; and during the war respecting the succession of the prince of Orange, many of them joined the French,

* Vol. I. book III. chap. i. p. 524.

as the allies of king James. By the aid of this internal enemy, the French made themselves masters of the whole island in 1689. The English, however, returned in 1690, with a force sufficient not only to revenge their defeat, but to repair their losses. This expedition was conducted by colonel Codrington and Sir Timothy Thoinhill. The peace of Rytwick put things on their old footing. But when war broke out afresh between the mother-countries, the long and obdurate contest, in which both nations had alternately obtained the advantage, was terminated by the total expulsion of the French in 1702; and the twelfth article in the treaty of Utrecht, which ceded the entire possession of St. Christopher's to the English, precluded their competitors from all hope of return.

Though the number both of colonists and slaves in the island, was at that time considerable, the English did not immediately reap all the advantages that might have been expected from such an accession of territory. The governors sold the conquered lands for their own profit, or gave them away to their creatures; though they could not warrant the duration of the sale or grant beyond the term of their own administration. New governors, on the slightest disgust, disposed of the planters, after they had laid out vast sums in improving their estates. The progress of cultivation was stopped by this tyranny; till the parliament of Great Britain took the matter into consideration, and remedied the evil, by ordering that all such lands should be put up to public sale, and the purchase money paid into the treasury. After this prudent regulation, the new plantations were as well cultivated as the old ones.

St. Christopher's is about fifteen miles long, and five broad, except towards the south, where it is narrowed into an isthmus which joins it to a head-land, about three miles long, and one and an half broad. The center of the island is full of high and barren mountains, intersected by rocky precipices. The plains and declivities of the mountains, which are cultivated as high as possible, are adorned with neat and commodious habitations, furnished with delightful avenues and fountains. The soil is in general light and sandy, but very fruitful; and the plantations are well watered by several rivulets, which run down both sides of the mountains. The colony is divided into nine parishes, and has two considerable towns, the principal of which is Bassè Terre, formerly the capital of the French part; the other, which always belonged to the English, is called Sandy Point. But an island in many respects so highly favoured by nature, and so much improved by art, has no harbours, nor any thing that has the appearance of one: on the contrary, the surf continually beats on the sandy shore, at the few places fit for landing, with such violence as has not only prevented the building of any quay or wharf, but renders the shipping and unshipping of goods always inconvenient, and often dangerous. This domestic inconvenience contributes, however, to the security of the settlement, which is further defended by a fort upon Brimstone Hill, that mounts forty nine pieces of cannon, and has a good magazine of arms and military stores; by Fort Charles, which mounts forty pieces of cannon, and has likewise a well provided magazine; by Londonderry Fort, which protects the town of Bassè Terre towards the east; and by six bat-

teries, raised at different landing places, and mounting forty-three pieces of cannon. CHAP. VII.

That taste for rural life, which the English have retained longer than any civilized nation in Europe, prevails remarkably at St. Christopher's. The colonists there never found the least occasion to form themselves into regular assemblies, in order to pass away the time; and if the French had not left them a town, where the manners of that volatile nation are still preserved, they might still have been acquainted with that kind of social life, which is productive of more altercation than pleasure; which is kept up by gallantry, and leads to debauchery; which commences with dancing, and ends in the quarrels of gaming. Instead of cherishing this image of union, which is in fact only the beginning of discord, the English planters live chiefly by themselves, and in a friendly intercourse with their neighbours: they live retired, but live happily; their soul and countenance as serene as the clear sky, under which they breathe a pure and wholesome air in the midst of their plantations, and surrounded by their slaves. Among these slaves, who are said to be treated with paternal tenderness, we meet with a singular, and heroic instance of love and friendship.

Two negroes, both young, handsome, robust, courageous, and born with souls of a superior cast, had been attached to each other from their infancy. Partners in the same labours, they were united to each other by their mutual sufferings; which in feeling minds cement a stronger friendship than the participation of pleasures. If they were not happy, they at least consoled one another in their misery. Each was less wretched than either would have been alone; and a new passion seemed only necessary to render their lot eligible. But love, which so often pours a drop of comfort into the cup of human life, served only to render their woes complete. A negro girl, who was likewise a slave, and whose eyes sparkled, no doubt, with greater vivacity and fire by the contrast of her dark complexion, excited an equal flame in the hearts of these two friends. The girl, who was more capable of inspiring than of feeling a particular passion, would readily have accepted either; but neither of them would deprive his friend of his mistress, or could yield her up to him. Time only contributed to increase their torments, yet, without affecting their friendship or their love. Ostentations did tears of anguish stream from their eyes, in the midst of the demonstrations of mutual regard, which they gave each other at the sight of the dear distracter of their souls, whose presence threw them into agonies of despair; and in their cooler moments they sometimes vowed, that they would love her no more, and would rather die than forfeit each other's friendship.

The whole plantation was moved at the sight of these conflicts. The love of the two friends for the beautiful negro girl was the topic of every conversation. One day they followed her into a wood. There each embraced her; clasped her a thousand times to his heart; swore all the oaths of fond attachment, and called her every tender name that love can inspire; then suddenly, without speaking, or looking at each other, both at the same moment plunged a dagger into her breast. She expired, while they mingled their tears and groans with

her dying sighs. They roared aloud, and made the wood rebound with their ferrow. A slave hearing the voice of distress, came running to their assistance, and at a distance saw them stifling the victim of their frantic passion with their kisses. He called to some others, who soon came up, and found those two ill fated friends embracing each other upon the body of that unhappy girl, and bathed in her blood, while they themselves were expiring in the streams that flowed from their own wounds.

The man who is not moved at the fate of these unfortunate youths, must have a heart at once dead to the sentiments of generosity and tenderness. Such a man exclaims Raynal, from whom we have this anecdote, must have lived without commiserating others, and will die without comfort; he must never have shed a tear, and none will ever be shed for him*.

The negroes in St. Christopher's amount to about twenty-five thousand, and the white people to between seven and eight thousand. The annual produce of the island has of late been, one year with another, thirteen or fourteen thousand hogheads of sugar, and some cotton; in all, to the value of near four hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling.

The produce of Barbadoes is still more considerable, though far short of its former exports. This island, which is situated to the windward of all the Caribbees, appeared never to have been inhabited, not even by savages, when the English settled there in 1627. They found it covered with such large and hard trees, that it required uncommon patience to fell them, and root them up: and when they had tolerably cleared some ground, the first produce which it yielded for their subsistence was so small and ordinary, at the same time that their supplies from England were slow and precarious, that nothing but the greatest firmness and perseverance could have carried them through so many discouragements, in prosecuting the noblest of human undertakings, the cultivating and peopling a desert part of the globe. By degrees things began to wear a more prosperous appearance. Some of the trees were found to be serviceable to the dyers; cotton and indigo agreed well with the soil; tobacco, the use of which was then become fashionable all over Europe, answered tolerably; and the soil began gradually to lay aside its savage disposition, and to submit to culture.

Amid all its difficulties, the colony in Barbadoes received no kind of support from government. On the contrary, that island was granted by patent to the earl of Carlisle, whose right was disputed by the earl of Pembroke, on account of a prior settlement made by Sir William Courteen, and a grant obtained in trust for that gentleman. But notwithstanding the disorders occasioned by these interfering claims, the colony continued to prosper. The calamities of England served to people Barbadoes. During the arbitrary exertion of power under Charles I. and before it was checked by the parliament, many gentlemen and tradesmen in Devonshire, Cornwall, and other western counties, being under melancholy apprehensions in regard to the fate of their country, retired thither; and their ex-

* Hist. Philos. et Politique, liv. xiv.

ample was followed by people of inferior conditions, who accompanied them in great numbers. By these means an island, which is no more than twenty-five miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, attained to the astonishing population of fifty thousand white inhabitants, and eighty thousand slaves; and to a trade that employed four hundred ships, one with another of an hundred and fifty tons burden.

Such was the state of Barbadoes in 1676, the period of its utmost prosperity. Never did the earth behold such a number of opulent planters collected in so narrow a compass, or so many rich productions raised in so small a spot. Not long after the restoration, Charles II. created thirteen baronets from the gentlemen of this island; some of whom were worth ten thousand pounds a year, and none so little as one thousand. But Barbadoes has long been on the decline. The competition of the French islands hurt its trade; many of its people emigrated to the other English settlements in North America or the West Indies, particularly to Jamaica; and in 1692, a terrible contagion attacked it, and swept off great part of its remaining inhabitants. War raged at the same time with this distemper; and the Barbadians, who had raised a considerable body of men, lost many of them in fruitless expeditions against the French settlements. The soil likewise began to fail, and at present yields nothing without manuring; so that the population and opulence of this celebrated island are now much reduced.

It is only, however, in comparison with itself that Barbadoes can be considered in any other than a prosperous state. It still contains about fifteen thousand white inhabitants, and near fifty thousand slaves, and ships annually above twenty thousand hogheads of sugar; a proportional quantity of rum and molasses, and some cotton, ginger, and aloes. Besides Barbadoes, which is the only trading colony belonging to England in the Windward Islands, derives considerable advantages from its commercial transactions. Almost all the ships laden with slaves from the coast of Africa land there, and it seldom happens but they dispose of their compliment. In this traffic no distinction is ever made of age or sex: the whole cargo is sold for so much a head. These negroes, which the merchants have purchased by the ship load, they retail to the English planters, on their own and the neighbouring islands; and the refuse is smuggled into the French and Spanish islands, in exchange for specie or West India commodities. By these different means, Barbadoes is enabled to maintain its establishment, which is very considerable, with great reputation. The governor's place is not worth less than five thousand pounds a year, and the rest of the officers have valuable salaries or perquisites. Its militia consists of six regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and one troop of guards, all stout men, and well disciplined. Nor does this valuable island depend for its defence merely upon these forces. Nature and art have conspired to secure to England the possession of Barbadoes. Dangerous rocks and shoals render two thirds of its circumference inaccessible; and on the part where it may be approached, lines have been drawn, and forts erected at proper distances, provided with a formidable artillery.

Bridge-

Bridge-town, the capital of Barbadoes, contained about fifteen hundred handsome houses before the destructive fire, which laid the greater part of it in ashes, about twenty years ago. It is not yet perfectly rebuilt. The other towns are inconsiderable, but the face of the country is remarkably rich and beautiful; swelling here and there into gentle hills, and every where smiling under the benign influence of cultivation; with the verdure of the sugar-canes, the bloom and fragrance of the groves of orange, lemon, lime, and citron-trees; with the guavas, papas, aloes, and a vast multitude of other elegant and useful plants, that rise intermixed with the gentlemen's seats, which are thickly sown in every part of the island. In a word, there is no place in the West Indies equal to Barbadoes in point of numbers of people, cultivation of the soil, and those elegancies and conveniencies which result from both*.

Antigua is less agreeable, but at present not less fertile. This island, which is about twenty miles long, and twelve broad, was found totally uninhabited in 1629, by some Frenchmen who fled thither on being driven from St. Christopher's by the Spaniards. The want of rivers or springs, which probably was the reason why no savages had fixed their abode there, induced the French fugitives to leave it, as soon as they could recover their former habitations. But the English, more enterprising than the French or the Caribs, flattered themselves that they should overcome this grand obstacle by collecting the rain-water in cisterns; an expedient which has succeeded wonderfully, that water being found very pure, and extremely light and wholesome. They accordingly established a settlement, though in what year is not exactly known. It only appears, that in 1640 there were about thirty English families on the island.

This number was not much increased, when Charles II. inconsiderately granted the property of Antigua to lord Willoughby. His lordship sent over at his own expence, in 1666, a considerable number of inhabitants. It is probable, however, they would never have enriched themselves by the culture of tobacco, indigo, and ginger, the only commodities which they raised, had not colonel Codrington, the great benefactor of the British West Indies, in 1680, introduced into that island, which was then restored to the dominion of the state, a source of opulence by the culture of sugar, to which the soil is particularly adapted. Antigua now began to flourish, and continued to advance in prosperity till the beginning of the present century, when it laboured under the oppressive government of colonel Park; who in defiance of the laws, and regardless of morals and decorum, indulged himself in the most unbounded acts of licentiousness. On a complaint made to the court of England, he was summoned home to answer for his conduct. But he delayed his departure under various pretences; and the principal members of the council, who had formerly been unable to put a stop to excesses which they abhorred, and the renewal of which they feared, summoned the colonists on the 7th of September, 1710, to protect their representatives, to defend the fortunes of the public, and to put an end to so many

* Douglass's Summary, vol. I. sec. ii. Europ. Set. in Amer. part vi. c. 6

calamities. They immediately took arms, in order to seize the governor, and send him off the island; but as this could only be effected by dispersing the military, who surrounded his house, in which attempt they lost several of their number, their ardour and their thirst of vengeance were inflamed: they forced their way, massacred the tyrant, and threw his body naked into the street, where it was mutilated by those whose bed he had dishonoured. The mother-country, more moved by the sacred rights of humanity than jealous of her own authority, overlooked an act of violence which her vigilance ought to have prevented. Antigua will long be distinguished in history by this terrible example of justice.

The colony, from the æra of its deliverance, continued to advance in wealth and population, without any remarkable occurrence, till October 1736, when all the commerce and industry of the island was suddenly suspended by the discovery of an alarming conspiracy. The negroes had concerted a scheme for the destruction of all the white inhabitants of the island, and to make themselves masters of it. The eleventh of the month, the anniversary of the coronation of George II. was pitched upon for the execution of this barbarous project; but the death of the governor's son happening at that time, the ball and other rejoicings usual on the occasion were postponed till the thirtieth. This circumstance obliged the conspirators also to delay the execution of their design till the same day, when all the principal people in the island were to assemble. Their contrivance was of the same nature with the gunpowder-plot in England, during the reign of James I. namely, to convey powder under the ball-room, and by one explosion to blow up the whole company. The hatches of this infernal plot were Court, Tomboy, and Hercules, three negroes belonging to different plantations. Court was to be king of the island, and the other two his chief officers; and during the confusion which was expected to attend the explosion, the future king and his two generals were to have headed three parties of four hundred negroes each, armed with cutlasses, and to massacre, without distinction, all the whites they met with. Having proceeded thus far successfully, they were to light up beacons all over the island, as so many signals for the negroes to assemble, and to finish the destruction of the white inhabitants. But this conspiracy was too general, and too far extended to be kept long secret; and as the behaviour of the three chiefs gave great room for suspicion, they were secured and convicted on the nineteenth of the same month. After condemnation, they confessed the whole of the conspiracy as here related, and expired with several of their accomplices by the most excruciating tortures. Others were doomed to perish by such cruel and lingering deaths as are a disgrace to civil society.

Antigua is divided into six parishes, and is supposed to contain near ten thousand white inhabitants, and about thirty thousand slaves. Its annual produce is computed at sixteen thousand hogsheads of sugar, besides rum, molasses, and some cotton; amounting on the whole, to above four hundred thousand pounds sterling. St. John, the capital of the island, is a regular built town, with a good harbour of the same name, defended by Fort James. It is the residence of the

governor-general of the Leeward Islands, the place where the general assemblies are held, and where the greatest trade is carried on. The best port in the island is that called English Harbour, lately made fit to receive the largest ships of war; which there find a dock-yard, with stores, and all the materials necessary for repairing and careening. Antigua has several other harbours, besides commodious bays and creeks; all which are defended by forts and batteries, and there is commonly a regiment of regular troops in the island for its further security.

Montserrat, which lies between Antigua and Guadeloupe, was discovered by the Spaniards in 1493. They did not settle there, but gave it the name which it bears, from its resembling in shape a mountain in Catalonia. It is almost round, and about eighteen miles in circumference. The land is very uneven; but the high grounds produce cedars and other valuable trees, and the vallies, almost all well watered, are very fertile. It was settled in 1632, by Sir Thomas Warner, then governor of St. Christopher's; and sixteen years after its militia amounted to three hundred and sixty white men. In 1668 it was plundered by the French, who destroyed forty sugar-houses, and all the principal buildings in the island, except those belonging to the Irish Roman catholics. These were soon joined by numbers of their brethren and countrymen; who, in consequence of the encouragement which they received under the reigns of Charles and James II. raised the colony to an extraordinary pitch of prosperity before the end of the last century. The less important cultures were all changed for sugar plantations, and it was supposed to contain ten thousand white inhabitants. Its population is still considerable for its extent, and its produce not contemptible. Notwithstanding the ravages of war and of the elements, it exports annually between five and six thousand hogheads of sugar; the culture and preparing of which furnishes employment for ten thousand slaves, and about three thousand white inhabitants. The greatest disadvantage of Montserrat is the want of a harbour, which makes the loading and unloading of ships both difficult and dangerous.

Nevis is exposed to the same inconvenience. This island, which is about six miles long and two broad, was settled by the English from St. Christopher's in 1628. It is properly but one vast mountain, of an easy ascent, and covered with tall trees. The plantations lie all around; and beginning at the sea-shore, are continued almost to the top of the mountain, the skirts of which are very fertile. This island is watered by many streams, which would become so many sources of plenty, if they did not in rainy weather swell into torrents, wash away the lands, and destroy the crops they have nourished.

The colony of Nevis was long a model of virtue, order, and piety; and the inhabitants are still distinguished in the West Indies, for regularity of conduct. This purity of manners was owing to the paternal care of Mr. Lake, the first governor. That good man inspired all the settlers, by his own example, with a reasonable œconomy, and a love of labour, relieved by innocent recreations. Under such uniform and well directed industry, all kinds of cultures flourished, but especially that of sugar. The person who commanded, and those who obeyed, were all actuated by the same principle of probity. Never was there an instance
of

of greater harmony, peace, and prosperity. So rapid was the progress of this singular settlement, that within thirty years after its establishment, it is said to have been able to bring two thousand fighting men into the field, and to have contained thirty-five thousand inhabitants, of all colours, ages, and sexes. Admitting, however, that such a population, within the compass of sixteen miles, should be somewhat exaggerated, still it will shew the amazing but infallible effect of virtue, in promoting the prosperity of a well regulated community.

But not virtue itself is at all times able to secure either individuals or societies from the calamities of nature or the injuries of fortune. In 1689 a dreadful mortality swept away half this happy colony. It was plundered in 1705 by a French squadron, which carried off three or four thousand slaves. The year following the ruin of Nevis was completed by the most violent hurricane ever known. Since this series of disasters it has recovered a little; and at present it contains near three thousand white inhabitants, about eight thousand blacks, and exports between four and five thousand hogheads of sugar, besides rum and molasses.

England draws few productions from Barbuda, which is the property of the Codrington family. Anguilla, or the Virgin Islands; the inhabitants of which, computed to be about ten thousand, of all colours and conditions, acquire a comfortable subsistence by breeding of cattle, and raising provisions for the larger islands. The Virgin-Islands have been lately put under a regular form of government. Their coasts, every where sprinkled with rocks, are famous for shipwrecks, and particularly for the loss of several of the Spanish galleons. But happily for the trade and navigation of these islands, nature has placed in the middle of them a large basin of three or four leagues broad, and six or seven long, in which ships may anchor landlocked, and sheltered from all winds. The Buccaneers call this *the Virgins Gangway*. Its proper name is *the Bay of Sir Francis Drake*, who first entered it in 1580, when he made his attack upon St. Domingo.

But it is time to quit these inconsiderable settlements, and proceed to Jamaica, the most valuable possession of the British crown in the West Indies. This island, which is nearly of an oval figure, is about an hundred and seventy miles in length, and near sixty at its greatest breadth. It is in a manner intersected by a ridge of hills, steep and rocky, called *the Blue Mountains*. On each side of these mountains, are chains of smaller eminences, which grow gradually lower. The higher mountains are entirely unfit for culture; but their barrenness does not prevent them from being covered with a prodigious quantity of trees of different kinds, in perpetual spring, which strike their roots through the clefts of the rocks, and attract the moisture deposited there by the frequent rains, and by mists which almost continually brood upon their lofty summits. These mountains are also the parents of a great number of copious rivulets, which tumbling down their rugged sides in cataracts, form amid the rocks and precipices, in combination with the shining verdure of the trees, the most pleasingly romantic prospect in nature. But the waters of these rivulets, which descend from the regions of sterility, and fertilize the plains below, are in general brackish and unwholesome. Fortunately other springs of a better quality have been discovered; and the defect in the water is

BOOK III. happily compensated by the salubrity of the air, which is the purest of any between the tropics in either hemisphere.

Jamaica was discovered by Columbus in 1494, but he made no settlements there. Ten years after he was thrown upon it, as we have already seen *, by a storm; and being unable to get away, by reason of the loss of his ships, he explored the humanity of the savage inhabitants, who gave him all the assistance that natural pity suggests. But those people, who cultivated no more land than was merely sufficient to supply their own wants, soon grew tired of maintaining strangers to the manifest risque of starving themselves: they began to bring in provisions with reluctance; they furnished them with a sparing hand, and threatened to withdraw them altogether. Such a resolution must quickly have proved fatal to Columbus and his companions, whose existence depended on the goodwill of the natives. In this extremity that great navigator took advantage of one of those natural phenomena, in which a man of genius and learning may sometimes find a resource among the ignorant. By his skill in astronomy he knew, that there was soon to be a total eclipse of the moon. He assembled all the caziques in the neighbourhood, on the day before it happened; and after reproaching them for their fickleness, in withdrawing their affection and assistance from men whom they had lately revered, he told them, that the Spaniards were the servants of the Great Spirit, who made and governed the world; that this spirit, who resides in heaven, offended at their refusing to support men, who were the objects of his particular favour, was preparing to punish their crime with exemplary severity; and that the moon, that very night, should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of the divine wrath, and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall upon them.

To this marvellous prediction some of the Indians listened with the careless indifference peculiar to the people of America; others, with the credulous astonishment natural to barbarians: but when the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red colour, all were struck with terror. They ran with consternation to their houses, and returning to Columbus loaded with provisions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the Great Spirit in their behalf. Seeming to be moved by their entreaties, he promised to comply with their desire; and a few minutes after told them, that Heaven was appeased by their repentance, and nature would suddenly resume its wonted course. The eclipse went off; the moon recovered her splendour; and from that day forward, Columbus and his associates were not only furnished profusely with provisions, during their stay in the island, but the natives, with superstitious attention, avoided every thing that could give them offence †.

The Spaniards however did not establish themselves in Jamaica till the year 1509, when Don Diego Columbus, the son of this extraordinary man, was governor of

* Vol. I. book I, chap. ii. p. 39.

† Life of Columbus, chap. 103. Herrera, dec. I. lib. vi. chap. 5, 6.

Hispaniola. He sent thither, for that purpose seventy adventurers, under the command of John de Esquivel; and others soon followed. It seemed as if all these cruel and rapacious men, had undertaken this expedition with no other view than to spill human blood. Always having their minds occupied with the ideas of gold and conquest, they never sheathed their swords till there was scarce one inhabitant left in this delightful island, to preserve the memory of a numerous, good-natured, plain, and hospitable people. It was happy for the earth that these murderers were not destined to supply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in an island where no gold was to be found. Their cruelty did not answer the end of their avarice; and the earth, which they had drenched with gore, seemed to refuse her assistance to second the barbarous efforts which they made to establish a colony. Every settlement raised upon the ashes of the natives proved unsuccessful, after labour and despair had completed the destruction of the few Indians, who escaped the fury of the first invaders. St. Jago de la Vega was the only one which supported itself; and the inhabitants of that town, plunged in idleness, the usual consequence of tyranny after devastation, were content to live upon the produce of their plantations, the trifling overplus of which they sold to the ships that passed by their coasts. The whole population of the colony, confined to the small territory that fed this race of sluggards, consisted of fifteen hundred Spaniards, and an equal number of negroes, when the English made themselves masters of the island in 1655.

The conquerors brought along with them the fatal seeds of discord. The English colony at first consisted only of three thousand of that fanatical militia, which had fought and triumphed under the standards of the republican party. These were soon joined by a multitude of royalists, who were in hopes of finding rest and peace in America, if not comfort after their defeat. But the animosities which had so long, and with so much violence, agitated the two parties in Europe, followed them across the Atlantic. One party insolently exulted in the protection of Cromwell, whom they had raised upon the ruins of the throne: the other trusted to the friendship of colonel Doyley, governor of the island, who was himself a royalist at his heart, though he had entered into the service of the Protector, and accompanied Pen and Venables in that expedition which terminated in the conquest of Jamaica*. The prudence of Doyley, who was intrusted with the government of the island by these two commanders, only could have prevented the renewal of those scenes of horror and bloodshed, which had been familiar to both parties in England. Thrice did Cromwell supersede him, and he was as often reinstated in his authority by the death of his intended successors, soon after their arrival in the West Indies. All conspiracies against him were discovered and frustrated: nor did the precarious foundation on which he held his government prevent him from executing justice on the mutineers. He never suffered the smallest breach of discipline to go unpunished; and he always kept the balance even between the two factions by a rigid impartiality of con-

* See vol. I. book III. chap. i. p. 530, 531.

duct. He excited industry, and encouraged it by his attention, his advice, and his example. His authority was enforced by his disinterested behaviour, as well as by the vigour of his character. He could never be prevailed upon to accept of a salary, being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations. In private life, he was plain and familiar; in office, a dignified commander; a discerning and inflexible judge, and a wise magistrate.

Doyley's manner of governing was altogether military; and such only could have suited his circumstances. He was obliged to restrain and to regulate an infant colony, composed wholly of soldiers; and at the same time to prevent and repulse any invasion from the Spaniards, who might attempt to recover possession of the island. But when Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors, by the same people who had deprived his father of his crown and his life, a form of civil government was established in Jamaica, modelled like that of the other islands, according to the constitution of the mother-country. It was not, however, till the year 1682 that the code of laws, which to this day preserve the colony in all its vigour, was drawn up.

Three of those statutes merit the attention of politicians. The one that provides for the defence of the island, warmly excites that very self-interest which might divert individuals from attending to it. It ordains, that whatever damage is done by the enemy, shall be immediately made good by the colony; and if the money found in the treasury should prove insufficient for that purpose, that the same shall be raised by a particular tax. The law that respects the increase of population, is no less worthy of notice. It requires, that every ship master who brings into the island a man unable to pay for his passage, shall receive a general gratuity of about one pound sterling. The particular gratuity is about seven guineas for every person, in such circumstances, brought from England or Scotland; five pounds eighteen shillings for every person brought from Ireland; about three pounds nine shillings for every person brought from the continent of America; and one pound nineteen shillings and four-pence for every person brought from the islands.

The third memorable law is calculated for the encouragement of agriculture. When a proprietor of land is unable to pay either the interest or the capital of the sum he has borrowed, his plantation is appraised by twelve planters who are his equals: and the creditor is obliged to take the estate in full payment, though the appraisement should fall short of the debt; but if the value of the plantation exceeds the debt, he must, in that case, refund the overplus. Though this regulation leaves room for partialities, it furnishes a compensation for any evil that can thereby be occasioned by its general operation, in abating the rigour of lawsuits against the planters. Its tendency is indeed equally friendly to men and lands. The creditor is seldom a sufferer, because he is on his guard; and the debtor is obliged to be more vigilant and honest, if he expects to find credit. Confidence then becomes the basis of all agreements; and confidence is only to be gained by the reputation of honesty, which is closely connected with the practice of virtue.

The colony had acquired both wealth and fame before these salutary laws were enacted. Some of the original adventurers, both royalists and republicans, who had never been habituated to civil life, actuated by a restless disposition, and a love of plunder, to which they had been accustomed during the civil wars, enlisted themselves among the Buccaneers, and committed depredations upon the Spanish ships and settlements. Jamaica was the place to which the spoils of Mexico and Peru were always brought by the English Buccaneers, and frequently, as we have already had occasion to observe, by the French. They found in this island more freedom, and better reception, accommodation, and protection than any where else; whether for landing, or spending as they pleased the wealth arising from their booty. Here extravagance and debauchery soon reduced them again to indigence. This grand incitement to their sanguinary industry, made them hasten to commit fresh depredations. Thus the colony reaped the benefit of their perpetual vicissitudes of fortune, and was enriched by their rapacity as well as their profusion; by the vices which led both to their want and their abundance.

The wealth which flowed into Jamaica through this channel, gave activity to every branch of industry; and when the Buccaneers were suppressed, proved a fresh source of opulence, by facilitating the means of opening a clandestine trade with the Spanish settlements. This trade was carried on in a very simple manner. An English vessel pretended to be in want of water, wood, or provisions; that her mast was broken, or that she had sprung a leak, which could not be discovered or stopped without unloading. The Spanish governor, on this representation, permitted the vessel to come into the harbour to refit; but in order to exempt himself from all suspicion of betraying the confidence of his court, he ordered a seal to be affixed to the door of the warehouse where the goods were deposited, while another door was left unsealed, through which the merchandise exchanged in this trade, was carried in and out by stealth. When the whole transaction was ended, the English captain, who was always in want of money, requested that he might be permitted to sell as much as would pay his charges; and that liberty was always granted, though seemingly with great reluctance. This request was necessary that the governor or his agents might safely dispose of the goods they had clandestinely purchased, and which could not otherwise have been exposed to public sale. They were all supposed to be bought under the permission of humanity.

The court of Madrid thought to put a stop to this illicit commerce, by prohibiting the admission of all foreign ships into their American harbours under any pretence whatsoever, and appointing Guarda Costas to keep them at a distance. But the people of Jamaica calling in force to the assistance of artifice, supported themselves in the possession of this trade by the protection of the English men of war, allowing the captain a certain perquisite out of their profits; or they bribed the captains of the Spanish Guarda Costas, who avoided the latitudes where they were to pass. So true it is, That kings in vain make regulations that are inconsistent with the reciprocal interests of their people.

But

BOOK III.

But this violent and hazardous mode of traffic has been succeeded by one more moderate and secure. The ships dispatched from Jamaica, repair to such ports on the Spanish coasts as are least frequented; especially those of Brew, five miles from Carthagena, and Grout, near an equal distance from Porto Bello. A person who speaks the Spanish language is immediately put on shore, to give notice in the adjacent country of the arrival of the ship. The news is propagated with amazing speed to the most distant parts: the merchants hasten to the place; and the trade begins, but with such precautions as experience guided by necessity has dictated. The ship's company is divided into three parties. While the first is entertaining the purchasers with the most engaging civilities, and keeping at the same time a watchful eye, in order to prevent them from exercising their habitual dexterity in stealing, the second is employed in receiving the vanilla, indigo, cochineal, gold, and silver of the Spaniards, in exchange for slaves, silks, linens, and other commodities. The third division, in the meantime, is under arms upon deck, in order to provide for the safety of the vessel; and to take care not to admit at once a greater number of people than might be commanded, in case of any disturbance. When the transactions are finished, the ship puts to sea, and crowds all the sail possible till she gets beyond the forbidden latitudes; and the Spanish merchant, in order to prevent a discovery, avoids the high roads, and goes through bye ways with the negroes he has purchased, who are loaded with the merchandise, which is divided into parcels of a convenient form and weight for carriage.

This manner of trading had been long carried on successfully, to the great emolument of the colonies of both nations, when Spain substituted register-ships in place of the galleons. That arrangement suddenly diminished it. By furnishing the Spanish settlements with a more frequent and plentiful supply of European goods from the mother country, and these at a more moderate rate than formerly, it left them under little temptation to run the risks of a contraband traffic, and the English under still less to supply them, as their hazards were greater. The British ministry saw with concern the loss of so valuable a branch of trade, and in order to recover it, made Jamaica a free port in 1766. Immediately the Spanish ships flocked thither from all parts of America, to exchange their gold and silver, and other valuable productions, for the manufactures of England; and had it not been for the restriction which excludes all commodities of the same nature with those of Jamaica, it is probable that the productions of Hispaniola might also have found their way into its harbours. Perhaps the parliament thought this advantage might have been overbalanced by other inconveniencies attending such a licence. But however that may have been, it is certain that Jamaica has been benefited by the opening of its ports, even under the present restrictions, though not so much as was at first expected; and that its merchants have lately carried on a lucrative trade with the interior parts of Mexico, by means of the English settlements on the Mosquito shore, at Black River, and in the Bay of Honduras*.

* For an account of these settlements, see vol. I. book II. chap. ii. p. 389, 393, 394.

But this illicit, and precarious commerce, is inconsiderable, when compared with the riches that Jamaica derives from its plantations. The first culture the English attended to was that of cacao, which they found established by the Spaniards. It prospered as long as those plantations lasted, which had been raised by a people who made cacao their principal food, and their only traffic. The new planters perceived that they began to decay, and attempted to renew them; but either from want of care or skill, they did not succeed. The English, as easily discouraged by adverse circumstances, as active when success accompanies their endeavours, gave up this culture, and applied themselves to that of indigo; which was increasing fast, when the parliament ruined it by an injudicious and oppressive duty. The ministry have since endeavoured to retrieve their error, by not only taking off the duty, but encouraging the culture of indigo by a bounty, of about six-pence on every pound weight raised in the British settlements. But this generosity shewed itself too late, in regard to Jamaica, and has hitherto only been productive of abuses. In order to obtain the bounty, the people of that island procure indigo from the French colony in Hispaniola, and send it over to England as their own produce. The expence incurred to government on this account, cannot however be considered as waste, as it is ultimately beneficial to the nation; and as there is great plenty of uncultivated lands in Jamaica, the inhabitants may in time be tempted to put into their own pockets the money that they give to foreigners for a commodity which they might raise themselves without diminishing their other cultures.

Before the culture of indigo was given up at Jamaica, that of cotton was in a prosperous state. The islands in the American archipelago produce cotton shrubs of various sizes, which thrive without any culture, especially in low and marshy grounds. Their produce is of a pale red; some paler than others, but so short that it cannot be spun. None of this is brought to Europe, though it might be usefully employed in the manufacture of coarse hats. The cotton-shrub that supplies our manufactures, requires a dry and sandy soil, and succeeds best in grounds that have been frequently tilled; not but that the plant appears more flourishing in fresh lands, than in those which are already exhausted, but while it produces more wood, it bears less fruit. A western exposition is fittest for it. The culture of cotton begins in March and April, and continues during the first spring-rains, commonly in May. Holes are made at seven or eight feet distance from each other, and a few seeds thrown in. When they have sprung to the height of five or six inches, all the plants in each hole are pulled up, except two or three of the strongest. These are cropt twice before the end of August. This precaution is the more necessary as the shrub bears no fruit till after the second pruning; and if it were suffered to grow higher than four feet, the produce would both be less and more difficult to gather. The same method is pursued for three years; for so long the shrub will continue to yield, if it cannot be conveniently renewed oftener. It will not thrive, if great care is not taken to pluck up the weeds that grow about it. Frequent rains promote its growth, but if incessant, prove hurtful; and dry weather is peculiarly necessary at the

season of gathering, in order to prevent the cotton from being discoloured and spotted.

The cotton shrub bears fruit within nine or ten months after it is planted. A flower blows at the extremity of its branches; and the pistil of this flower changes into a pod of the size of a pigeons egg, which opens, and divides itself into three parts, when the cotton is ripe. When it is all gathered, the seeds must be separated from the wool, with which they are naturally mixed. This is performed by means of a cotton-mill; which is an engine composed of two rods of hard wood, about eighteen feet long, two inches in circumference, and fluted two lines deep. They are confined at both ends, so as to leave no more distance between them than is necessary for the seed to slip through. At one end is a kind of little mill-stone; which being put in motion by the foot, turns the rods in contrary directions. Thus they separate the cotton, and throw out the seeds contained in it.

While the culture of cotton declined in the other English islands, it continued to flourish more and more in Jamaica till 1766, when it received a severe check. The government finding that the cotton of its own colonies was not sufficient to employ the national manufactures, then took off the duties which had formerly been imposed upon foreign cottons. The granting of such a freedom as must necessarily increase the importation, and reduce the price of an unwrought commodity, deserves the highest praise: a provident administration, however, would have proceeded farther; it would have granted a temporary bounty upon all cottons imported from the British settlements, in order to prevent the planters from feeling the diminution in price, which must at first arise from a foreign competition. But it has been the misfortune of our ministry, for some time past, to do things only by halves; to see but one side of an object: hence that series of blundering measures, to use no harsher term, and inefficacious exertions into which the nation has been led, by a set of men whose hearts perhaps are not worse than those of their fellow-subjects, but whose ideas are too contracted to discern the true interests, and whose spirit is too feeble for the government of a great and widely extended empire.

Whatever may be the fate of their cotton, the inhabitants of Jamaica have no occasion to be afraid of competition in one culture, namely that of ginger. This plant, which never grows above two feet high, is rather bushy. Its leaves exactly resemble rushes, only they are smaller. It is propagated by one of its shoots, which is planted towards the end of the rainy season, and springs up in a week's time. When the leaves turn yellow, and are withered, the ginger is ripe. It is then pulled up, and exposed to the sun or wind to dry. The roots, which are the only useful part, are flat, broad, of different forms, but mostly resembling the foot of a goose. Their substance is close, heavy, white, firm, and of the consistence of a turnip. The culture of ginger is easy, and by no means expensive. A single man may undertake it; and the root has this double advantage, that it will keep for many years in the ground without rotting, and as long as is necessary after it is gathered, without being in the least injured. But if ginger requires little labour, it absorbs a vast quantity of nutritive juices; insomuch, that

a piece of ground which has produced three or four crops of ginger, is so much exhausted that nothing will after thrive upon it.

When the Europeans first visited the West India islands, the natives made use of ginger; but their consumption of that, as of most other articles, was so small in proportion to their territory, that nature afforded them a sufficient quantity without the assistance of cultivation. The colonists, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, grew passionately fond of this hot spice. They ate it in the morning to quicken their appetite: they served it up at table preserved in several different ways: they used it after meals to facilitate digestion, and at sea as an antidote against the scurvy. This fashion was adopted in Europe: ginger was used on every occasion; and it was commonly mixed with pepper, which was then very dear. But this eastern production fell gradually to a more moderate price, and ginger went out of repute. The culture has accordingly been dropped almost every where except at Jamaica, and the price has fallen as low as ten shillings the hundred weight. The annual export of this article is computed at six hundred thousand pounds weight, which is consumed chiefly in the north of Europe.

Besides ginger, Jamaica furnishes another spice; namely, pimento. There are several sorts of pimento, more or less pungent. The tree which bears that sort called *Jamaica Pepper*, commonly grows on the mountains, and rises to the height of about thirty feet. It is very straight, moderately thick, and covered with a greyish, smooth, and shining bark. The leaves exactly resemble those of the laurel. The flowers blow at the extremities of the branches, and are succeeded by berries somewhat larger than those of the juniper. They are gathered green, and spread in the sun to dry; after which they turn brown, and acquire that spicy smell, which has obtained to pimento the name of All Spice. It is very useful to strengthen cold stomachs that are subject to crudities.

But all these articles are inconsiderable compared with that of sugar. The art of cultivating and preparing this commodity was introduced into Jamaica by Thomas Modiford, an opulent planter from Barbadoes. His large capital, together with his skill and activity, enabled him to clear an immense tract of land; and his consequence both as a man and a cultivator, raised him to the government of the island in 1663. Neither his own successful example, nor his solicitations, however, were able to prevail upon men habituated to arms and idleness to apply to the labours of agriculture. But some years after, when the colony of Surinam was ceded to the Dutch, fifteen hundred unfortunate men, destitute of the means of subsistence, who transported themselves to Jamaica, proved more tractable. Necessity inspired them with industry, and their profperity excited emulation. These beginnings of improvement were happily supported by the large sums that were daily poured into the island, by the uninterrupted success of the Buccaneers. Part of this money was employed, as already observed, in the contraband trade, and part in erecting buildings, purchasing slaves, implements of husbandry, and household goods for the rising plantations. The face of things was wholly changed; and Jamaica soon exported vast quantities

quantities of sugar, superior in quality to that of any of the other English islands.

This culture has continued to increase, even when that of coffee was joined to it. The coffee-tree had enriched the Dutch and French settlements, before the English planters thought of cultivating it, notwithstanding the vast consumption of coffee, both in the colonies and the mother country. It was first attempted with success in Jamaica; which, with the ceded islands, now furnishes as much as the British dominions can consume. Government has indirectly encouraged this beneficial culture, by augmenting the duty upon foreign coffee. The annual amount of all these different articles, with some others of less importance, is computed at thirteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the number of inhabitants in Jamaica at twenty thousand whites, five thousand free negroes and mulattoes, and an hundred and forty thousand slaves*.

This produce and population, though very considerable, is by no means what might be expected from an island that contains four millions of acres. One fourth of that space is not distinguished by any traces of improvement. All the interior part of the country is an uncultivated waste. There are no plantations except on the coasts, and even these are not entirely cleared. Most of the planters possess immense tracts of land, but one fifth of them is not put to any proper use. It is difficult to account for this backwardness, as Jamaica is favoured with the finest roads and harbours, and every thing that can facilitate exportation, unless we ascribe it to the badness of the soil. But that is allowed to be, in general, equal to any in the West Indies; and though the excessive and constant coolness of the mountains would be so injurious to all tropical productions, that it would be in vain to attempt any plantations there, the intermediate space between the mountains and the sea-coast is interspersed with vallies, hills, and plains, where immense quantities of cotton, cacao, coffee, and indigo at least might be raised.

Sugar is cultivated all around the island, but more especially on the southern coast, which the Spaniards inhabited, and where the English have multiplied more than in any other part. The chief cause of that preference was a safe and commodious bay or harbour, which can contain a thousand of the largest ships. This inestimable advantage to a trading people laid the foundation of Port Royal; which though it stands on a narrow neck of land, that affords none of the necessaries of life, not even fresh water, became a famous city in less than thirty years. It contained two thousand houses very handsomely built, and a proportional number of inhabitants. This prosperity was produced by a constant and quick circulation of trade; Port Royal being the chief mart for the commodities of the island, for the booty of the Buccaneers, and the fountain of the contraband traffic carried on with the Spanish settlements. In a word, few cities in the world ever united in the same compass an equal share of opulence, business,

* Writers differ widely in regard to the quantity of sugar annually exported from Jamaica; but it cannot be less than eighty thousand hogheads. The rum, which is the best in the West Indies, is computed at twenty thousand puncheons.

and pleasure; and none perhaps, such an active scene of industry with such an entire corruption of manners.

Port Royal continued to increase in wealth and wickedness, till the 24th of June 1697, when an earthquake, which shook the whole island to its foundations, overwhelmed this city with the ocean, and buried nine tenths of it eight fathoms under water. The sky, which was clear and serene, in a moment became dark, threatening, and red; a rumbling noise was heard underground, spreading from the mountains to the plains; the solid rocks were split; hills widely separated came close together; infectious lakes appeared on the spots where the land had been swallowed up; whole plantations were removed several miles from the place where they formerly stood; enormous chasms were opened in the earth, whence issued pestilential steams; the ships were shattered to pieces, or thrown ashore over the tops of the buildings, and the sea was covered with trees, which the earth had thrown up, or the winds torn away^u. Scarce a house in the island remained undamaged, and thirteen thousand lives are said to have been lost, besides three thousand by a contagious distemper that broke out soon after.

But though Port Royal perished in this general wreck of nature, which is thought to have left an ill disposition in the climate of Jamaica, the situation was too advantageous to be abandoned. The people had scarce recovered from their consternation when they began to rebuild the city; but it was destroyed by fire, about six years after. Notwithstanding this second disaster, the town was again rebuilt, and again destroyed in 1722, by one of the most terrible hurricanes that ever visited the earth. These repeated calamities, which seemed to mark out Port Royal as a devoted spot, induced the assembly to pass an act for removing the custom-house and public offices to Kingston, a place advantageously situated towards the middle of the bay. Port Royal is, however, still a considerable town; is the station of the British fleet in those latitudes, and defended by one of the best forts in the West Indies. This fort, which is built upon the extremity of the neck of land that narrows the entrance of the bay, is called Fort Charles, and mounts upwards of an hundred pieces of cannon.

Kingston, which is plentifully furnished with fresh water, and all manner of natural accommodations, is now become a flourishing city, and the centre of all the trade of the island. It contains about sixteen hundred houses, and near twelve thousand inhabitants, including masters and slaves. The houses are well built, and the streets of a convenient wideness, regularly drawn, and cutting each other at equal distances and right angles. Kingston, however, notwithstanding its prosperity, has never become the capital of the island. That title is still due to St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, which stands upon the banks of the river Cobre, a considerable though not navigable stream. It is the residence of the governor, and the place where the general assembly and courts of justice are held. Though a town of less trade, and inferior in size to Kingston, it is more gay; being chiefly inhabited by persons of fortune, and by the princi-

* Philosophical Transactions, vol. II.

pal officers of the crown. A greater number of elegant carriages are there seen than in many European cities, and the assemblies are more frequent and splendid.

While admiral Knowles was governor of Jamaica, an attempt was made to remove the seat of government from Spanish Town to Kingston, for the convenience of the commercial part of the colony. But personal hatred against the projector of this innovation; the harshness of the measures he employed to carry it into execution; the habitual attachment which most people are apt to acquire for places as well as things; and the numberless private interests which must necessarily be affected by such an alteration, all conspired to suggest insurmountable objections to a plan, which, though liable to some inconveniencies, must have been attended with many solid advantages. The promoters of the new system, on their side, supported it with a contemptuous haughtiness; and the animosities between the two parties were ready to divide with domestic dissensions a colony, which was then surrounded by foreign enemies, and in danger of falling a sacrifice to cruel and intestine foes. This matter will require some illustration.

A. D. 1759.

When the Spaniards were compelled to evacuate Jamaica to the English, they left in the island a number of negroes and mulattoes, who, fore from the yoke of slavery, embraced the laudable resolution of retiring into the mountains, and there to maintain that liberty which they had acquired by the expulsion of their tyrants. Having accordingly entered into some agreements necessary to preserve their union, they planted maize and cacao in the most inaccessible places of their retreat. But the impossibility of subsisting till harvest, obliged them to come down into the plain, and pillage for a subsistence. The English bore this plunder the more impatiently as they had nothing yet to spare: they declared war against the negroes; many of whom were massacred, and the greater part of the survivors submitted. Only fifty or sixty fled back to the rocks and mountains, there to live or die in freedom.

Policy, which is never influenced by compassion, and which while it guards the liberties of one people, seeks the slavery of another, thought it necessary to reduce or exterminate this handful of fugitives; but their acquaintance with the interior part of the island, with all its defiles, woods, and fastnesses, rendered that destructive scheme impracticable. It was therefore dropt, without any attempt being made to mollify the temper of the independent negroes. Their hatred of their exterminators continued; and every slave rendered desperate by the hardships of his condition, or the dread of punishment for offences committed, was soon taught to seek an asylum in the mountains, where he was sure of finding companions ready to protect him from the rod of his master and the oppressions of servitude. The number of fugitives daily increased, in spite of every attempt to hunt them down, till the 29th of June 1690, when they thought themselves strong enough to act offensively. They accordingly fell upon the English plantations in separate bands, and committed horrid ravages. In vain was the greater number of them cut off, and the rest driven back to their rocks and caves; in vain were forts erected and garrisoned at proper distances, in order to restrain their incursions;

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they ventured, notwithstanding all these precautions, and their repeated losses, to renew their ravages from time to time.

Those ravages, which were sometimes carried as far as Spanish Town, continued till the year 1735, when a new resolution was taken to exterminate the perpetrators of them. For this purpose, all the colonists formed themselves into regular bodies of troops, and marched against the rebels by different roads. One party, commanded by captain Stoddart, undertook to reduce the town of Nawny, which the negroes had built and fortified in the Blue Mountains; and by the help of artillery, a fortification erected without regularity, and defended by no great guns, though strong by nature, was soon destroyed, and the rebels were either dislodged or massacred. But the success of the other enterprises did not correspond with this: the victory was often doubtful, and the loss of men great. More elated with one advantage, than discouraged by ten defeats, the negroes were proud to contend, on a footing, with men under whose lash they had trembled, without daring to repine. If they were worsted, they had still some consolation: they had asserted their natural rights; displayed the independency of their spirit, and at least mingled their blood with that of their tyrannical masters. They rushed against the sword of the white man, that they might plunge a dagger into his breast; and when at length overpowered by numbers, or by the superior dexterity of their assailants, they took refuge in the most remote and inaccessible parts of the mountains, where they disposed themselves in small bands, and whence the English found it impossible to dislodge them.

Wretched as the lives of these men now were, they persevered in maintaining their independency, and frequently from their fastnesses spread desolation over the neighbouring country. Their barbarity, increased by the animosity arising from hostile opposition, and the necessities to which they were reduced by their antagonists, was now alike dead to the feelings of sympathy and deaf to the voice of supplication; so that the poorest colonists would not accept of the possession which the government offered them in the immediate vicinity of the mountains. Even settlements at a greater distance were deserted, and some of the finest lands in the island were left in the rude uncultivated state of nature. No body would undertake to clear plantations, at a time when every thicket was considered as an ambushade, and beheld as an object of terror; as a den for cruel and vindictive foes, ready to drink their blood.

Such was the state of the colony, when Edward Trelawney was appointed governor of Jamaica. That prudent and humane magistrate was sensible, that a set of men who for near a century back, had lived chiefly upon wild fruits, and who naked, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, had never ceased fighting against an assailant stronger and more skilful than themselves, could not easily be reduced by force; that such an attempt was besides impolitic, at a time when the mother-country was on the eve of a war with Spain, whose ships continually hovered round the island, and would not fail to supply the rebels with arms and provisions. He therefore had recourse to pacific overtures. He offered them not only lands to cultivate, which should be their own property, but liberty
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and independency. It was also stipulated, that they should enjoy those privileges under their own chiefs, who nevertheless should be subject to the controul of the governor of Jamaica, and to the inspection of certain white men appointed to reside among them.

These conditions, so much more honourable than any that had hitherto been granted to negroes, were readily accepted; and the treaty concluded in 1739, gave equal satisfaction to both parties. This treaty seemed to promise lasting tranquillity, as the authority of the chiefs was made to depend upon their good behaviour; but it must always be dangerous to have an exclusive body of free people in any colony, where their countrymen, in a state of servitude, compose the greater number of the inhabitants. The free negroes multiplied fast by propagation; and though they were guilty of no remarkable act of violence for twenty years, they never paid due attention to that article in the treaty, which obliged them, in future, to restore the fugitive negroes. By these dissident means they became numerous and strong; and while the flames of war raged both in Europe and America, they had formed a scheme, in concert with the working blacks, to murder all the white men in Jamaica, and seize upon the government of the island.

This conspiracy, which was to have been put in execution in 1767, was defeated by the impatience of those concerned in it. Some of the negroes who laboured under the pressure of slavery, transported into frenzy by the prospect of liberty, stabbed their masters, and set fire to their houses, before the appointed time. By that precipitancy their concert was broken; they were unable to resist the forces sent against them; their leaders were slain, and the whole body was dispersed. In this service, that part of the free negroes included in the treaty of independency, was particularly active. Afraid of losing their privileges, they hunted their countrymen, like wild beasts, and sold their blood, at a price fixed by government, upon the head of every insurgent slain by the hand of a negro.

The conspiracy, however, broke out with more alarming violence, a few months after it was thought to be finally extinguished. The number of rebels had been gradually increased by deserters from the several plantations; and they proceeded as formerly to murder all the white men they could master. The regular troops and the militia again flew to arms, and in conjunction with a large body of sailors, marched in pursuit of the fugitive negroes. They came up with them; defeated them in several rencounters; and either killed or took prisoners the greater part of them. All the prisoners were doomed to perish by the most excruciating deaths. One seems peculiar to the West Indies, and is singular for its inhumanity. Those who were supposed to be the chief promoters of the conspiracy, were tied alive to gibbets, and there left to expire slowly, exposed to the scorching sun of the torrid zone.

Not trusting, however, to the example of these awful punishments, certain regulations, dictated by the same barbarous spirit, were contrived to prevent future insurrections. These ordain, that if any negro be found out of his master's plantation without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave, he shall be severely punished; that every negro playing at any kind of game shall be publicly whipped;

whipped; that every proprietor of negroes, who shall suffer any of them to beat a drum or blow a horn, or make any extraordinary noise in his plantation, shall pay a considerable fine. It was further ordained, That every free negro or mulatto should, on pain of being imprisoned, wear upon his right shoulder a blue cross, as a badge; and that every mulatto, Indian, or negro, selling any thing but fresh fish or milk, shall be publicly whipped.

It is impossible to read these regulations without viewing the discovery of off America on the dark side. To subject that New World to the dominion of Europe, it was found necessary to slaughter its inhabitants; to replace them negroes must be purchased, as they only are able to endure the climate, and the labours requisite to make America a valuable acquisition; and to remove these Africans from their native country, and transport them into another, where they are destined to cultivate the earth without having any interest in its produce, they must be seized by force, and condemned to slavery. In order to prevent the revolt of the negroes, the natural consequence of severity and servitude, those men, whom we have made desperate by hard usage, must be restrained by atrocious laws. But the dominion of tyranny is ever insecure, and cruelty has a period in its own destructive nature. In a moment it may cease. The rancour of the negroes against their oppressors, in all the American islands, is excessive. They want only arms to render themselves independent: these may be furnished them by a foreign power, in order to accomplish the destruction of their masters. How severe, in that event, will be the vengeance! Such vengeance, however, is the natural consequence of trespassing on the liberty, and sporting with the feelings of man. The chains of slavery can only be cut by the sword. Injustice calls for retribution, crimes beget crimes, and blood is productive of blood.

Jamaica is peculiarly exposed to this danger from the fugitive negroes who still inhabit its woods and mountains. It therefore behoves government to secure, by a proper military force, an island of so much importance to England. One regiment, its common compliment, is not sufficient for that purpose, except in times of profound peace. Nature has happily placed Jamaica at the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, and made it a kind of key to that rich country. All ships going from Carthagenà to the Havana are obliged to pass by its coasts. It is more within reach of the several trading ports on the continent than any other island, and the many excellent roads with which it is surrounded, facilitate navigation on all sides. These advantages are however balanced by some inconveniencies. It is easy at first to get to Jamaica by the trade winds, taking the way of the little Antilles, but it is not so easy to sail out of it, whether the channel of Bahama or the Windward Passage be chosen as the course. The first gives the navigator full advantage of the wind for two hundred leagues; but as soon as Cape Antonio, the extreme point of Cuba towards the north is doubled, he meets with the same wind against him, which before was favourable, and runs besides the risk of being taken by the Guarda Costas of the Havana. This danger is succeeded by another; the winds and shoals on the coast of Florida, towards which the winds and currents drive with great violence. The other course is at-

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tended with no less difficulty and hazard. It terminates at Crooked Island, about eighty leagues from Jamaica, where ships get into the open sea; but before they can reach that place, they must strive against the easterly wind through the whole passage, coast along close under Hispaniola, in order to keep clear of the flats of Cuba, and then pass the straits between those two islands, where it is very difficult, in time of war, to avoid being intercepted by their privateers and other armed vessels.

Navigators coming from the Bahamas are exposed to none of those dangers or obstructions. These islands, the first which Columbus discovered in the New World, have been more neglected than they deserve. They consist of a range of several hundreds, most of which are no more than rocks just above the water; but others are of considerable extent, and naturally abound with all the tropical fruits. Among these is Guanahani, where the discoveries of Columbus began. As they produced no gold, the Spaniards made no settlement on them: but they carried off the hospitable and good natured inhabitants for the purposes of their avarice; and those unhappy men all perished in the mines of Hispaniola, or in diving for pearls on the coasts of Margareta and Cubagua. Not one of them had a single inhabitant in 1672, when the English landed a few men on the island called Providence; and those were all destroyed by the Spaniards seven or eight years after. This disaster, however, did not deter other Englishmen from settling there in 1690; but no sooner had they established a little colony, and built about two hundred houses, than the French and Spaniards jointly attacked them, destroyed their plantations, and carried off their negroes in 1703.

Discouraged by the total loss of their substance, the colonists removed to other places to seek employment, and were succeeded by pirates of their own nation; who, after exercising their violences on the coast of Africa, and in the remotest seas of Asia, but chiefly in the latitudes of North America, found a safe and commodious retreat in Providence. There they fixed their habitation for several years, insulting even the British flag with impunity, till George I. roused by the clamours of his people and the wishes of his parliament, fitted out, in 1719, a force sufficient to subdue them. The greater part accepted the proffered amnesty, and increased the colony which Woods Rogers brought with him from England. That colony may now consist of about three thousand persons, one half of whom are settled at Providence, and the other chiefly at Eleuthera, the largest and most fertile of this range of islands, equally known by the name of the Lucayos or Bahamas. Accustomed to live upon plunder, the inhabitants still retain too much of their former habits of life, or the dispositions of their ancestors. In time of war, their favourite employment is privateering, and in peace that of searching for wrecks, which it is affirmed they have the means of procuring. Hence the languid state of their agriculture; though the variety of their soil is a constant incentive to their industry, their avarice, and even their ambition. It is not indeed remarkably fertile, but there are particular spots sufficiently rich to insure the prosperity of a very considerable population.

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Those islands, which have hitherto been of little benefit to Great Britain, may at least prove serviceable by their situation, if not by their productions. They form a chain, which extends from the Gulph of Florida to the Windward Passage. There some other islands, called Caicos and Turk's islands, lately disputed by the French, begin, and continue the chain as far as the middle of the northern coast of Hispaniola. Between these islands, there are five passages for the largest ships. The most considerable of Turk's islands, and the great Caicos, have lately been fortified by the British government; and as they afford a good anchorage, and a safe retreat for privateers, at the same time that they command the narrow channel which divides them from Hispaniola, the ships coming from that rich island must generally fall into our hands.

The Bermudas or Summer Islands, once so celebrated, do not promise equal advantages. This cluster of islands, distant about three hundred leagues from the Antilles*, was discovered in 1527, by John Bermudas, a Spaniard, who gave them his name, but did not attempt any settlement. They appear afterwards to have been visited by his countrymen, though never regularly inhabited by any human being, before 1612, when sixty Englishmen there fixed their abode. The population increased rapidly; because both the salubrity of the air, and the fertility of the soil, especially the latter, was greatly exaggerated. People resorted thither from the Antilles for the recovery of their health, and from the northern colonies to enjoy their fortune in tranquillity, in a temperate climate, and beneath a serene sky. Many royalists, during the government of Cromwell, retired to the Bermudas, in anxious expectation of the death of their oppressor. Waller, among the rest, crossed the ocean, and celebrated these happy islands, where he resided some years, in an elegant but unequal poem. He imparted his enthusiasm to the ladies; among whom Bermuda hats, made of palm-leaves, were long the fashion, and came to be considered an essential part of dress.

The charm, however, was at length broke, and the Bermudas sunk into that insignificance which must be the lot of every colony that is destitute of productions for exportation. These islands are very numerous, though their whole compass is not above sixteen leagues. Their soil is very indifferent, and there is not a single spring to refresh it. The inhabitants are therefore obliged to procure all their water from wells dug in the earth, and that is generally brackish, or from reservoirs for the preservation of what the clouds distil. Maize, vegetables, and excellent fruits, afford however plenty of wholesome food for about five thousand white inhabitants; but they possess few articles of commerce, and have no outward connexions, except by some ships passing from North America to the Antilles, which stop sometimes at these peaceful spots to take in refreshments.

Some attempts have been made to improve by new branches of industry the condition of the inhabitants of the Bermudas. It has been wished that they would try to cultivate silk, then cochineal, and lastly, that they would plant vineyards; but these projects have been merely proposed: no

* The Bermudas do not properly belong to the American archipelago; but as they are too inconsiderable to claim a particular division, they are here brought under review.

assistance has been given by government to enable them to carry them into execution. They themselves, consulting their own necessities, have confined their ingenuity to humbler objects: they have begun with success the weaving of sailcloth; a manufacture well adapted to plain and moderate men, and which grows every day more flourishing. It is also intimately connected with a former branch of their industry. For upwards of a century past, small ships have been built at the Bermudas that are unequalled in swiftness and durability. They are constructed of cedar of their own growth. Attempts have been made to imitate them at Jamaica and the Bahama islands, but without success. They are chiefly employed in the trade between North America and the West Indies, and generally navigated by Bermudians, who are excellent seamen.

The principal inhabitants of those islands have lately formed a society, the laws of which do honour to humanity. They have obliged themselves to form a library of all books of husbandry, in whatever language they are written; to procure all sober persons of both sexes, an employment suitable to their inclination; to bestow a reward upon every man who shall introduce into the colony any new art, or contribute to the improvement of any one already known; to give a pension to every journeyman mechanic, who after having assiduously continued his labour for forty years, shall not have been able to lay by a stock sufficient to enable him to pass his latter days in tranquillity; and lastly, to indemnify every inhabitant of the Bermudas, who shall have been oppressed either by the minister or the magistrate.—Who can help here putting up a wish, that these advantages may ever be preserved to this industrious colony; that, happy in their labour and in their poverty, they may continue to enjoy in a state of innocence the benefits of a pure and serene sky, uninfected by the poison of luxury; that, strangers themselves to ambition and envy, the rage of war may be silenced upon their coasts, as the storms of the ocean that surrounds them are broken against their rocks.

Such were the English settlements in the West Indies before the commencement of the late war, the successes of which confirmed to Britain Great the possession of several valuable islands, that now serve to extend her empire and increase her commerce. At the head of these stands Tobago, which is about thirty leagues in circumference. It is not like most of the other Caribbees, full of barren rocks or unwholesome morasses. Plains of considerable extent are here crowned with gently rising hills, whose declivities are every where fit for cultivation. From these hills flow innumerable streams, many of which seem intended by nature to turn the sugar-mills. The soil, sometimes sandy, is constantly black and deep. Along the north and west sides of the island, which is not exposed to those dreadful hurricanes so common in the islands more remote from the continent, are many safe and commodious harbours.

Tobago was formerly exceedingly populous, as we may credit tradition. Its inhabitants long withstood the fierce and frequent attacks of the savages from the continent; but at length wearied out with these incessant hostilities, they dispersed themselves in the adjacent islands. Their place was supplied by two hundred natives

natives of Flushing, who landed at Tobago, already claimed by England, in 1632, in order to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony. The neighbouring Indians, encouraged and assisted by the Spaniards of Trinidad, conspired and effected the ruin of a settlement which gave umbrage to both. All who attempted to resist their fury, were killed or taken prisoners, and those who escaped soon deserted the island. The Dutch were succeeded by the Courlanders, under the protection of England; and these were dispossessed in 1658, by the subjects of the republic. But the Dutch did not long enjoy the fruits of their violence: they were expelled by the English in 1666, again put in possession of the island by the French, and violently driven out by the same power in 1677.

From that era Tobago, left desolate by the vain glorious Lewis XIV. was regarded as a neutral island till 1763, when it was ceded in full right to Great Britain by the ninth article in the treaty of Paris. The settlement formed in consequence of this treaty has made rapid progress, and promises to be one of our most valuable colonies. It already consists of near three hundred plantations, and exports annually about five thousand hogheads of sugar, besides other valuable productions. The culture of sugar alone, it is affirmed, may be carried to the incredible extent of fifty thousand hogheads.

Granada, another of the ceded islands, which lies to the leeward of Tobago, and is about nine leagues long and five broad, yields already a vast produce. Its plains are intersected by a few mountains of moderate height, and watered by a number of considerable streams, some of which even deserve the name of rivers. Its soil is of different kinds, but in general a rich, deep, black mould, which is remarkably fertile. It has never felt the rage of a hurricane any more than Tobago. These advantages, inestimable in themselves, are rendered more precious by two excellent harbours; namely, that of Calvini, at the south-east extremity, and that of Fort Royal, the capital of the island, on the south-west side. The harbour of Fort Royal is so capacious, that sixty ships of the line may there ride with ease, and in perfect safety.

Though the French as early as the year 1638, had formed the project of settling in Granada, they did not carry it into execution before 1664. On their arrival, they gave a few hatchets, some knives, and a barrel of brandy to the chief of the natives; and imagining they had purchased the title with those trifles, assumed the sovereignty, and soon acted as tyrants. The Caribs, unable to contend with them by open force, took the method which weakness always inspires to repel oppression; they murdered all whom they found defenceless or alone. The troops sent to support the colony, pursued the course marked out by all the conquerors of America; that of extirpating the natives. The remainder of these miserable men took refuge upon a steep rock, resolving rather to throw themselves from the top of it, than submit to an implacable and vindictive enemy. The French wantonly called this rock *le Mont des Sauteurs*, "the Hill of the Leapers;" and it still retains that name.

* This claim was founded on a visit made to it by Sir Robert Dudley, during the reign of Elizabeth, and a resolution formed to people it, but never carried into execution.

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The conquerors, however, were justly punished for all their cruelties by a rapacious, violent, and inflexible governor. Most of the colonists, no longer able to bear his tyranny, retired to Martinico, and those who remained on the island condemned him to suffer death after a formal trial. In the whole court of justice that tried this petty despot, there was only one man, named Archangeli, who could write, and he was an Italian. The person that conducted the impeachment was a farrier, who, instead of his name, made an impression with a horse-shoe; and Archangeli, who acted as clerk, wrote gravely round it, *A la que de Monsieur de la Brie, Conseiller Rapporteur*:—"MARK OF MR. DE LA BRIE, COUNSELLER FOR THE COURT *!"

But Granada, though relieved from its oppressor, acquired no degree of importance till the beginning of the present century. About the year 1714, an universal change was observed; and this advance towards prosperity was effected by its connexion with Martinico. That island was then laying the foundation of its opulence. It sent an immense quantity of productions to France, and received many valuable commodities in return. The richest of these manufactures were sent to the Spanish coasts. Its ships touched at Granada, in order to take in refreshments. The trading privateers, who undertook this navigation, taught the people of Granada the value of their soil, which only required cultivation. They did more. Some traders furnished the inhabitants with slaves and utensils to erect sugar works. An account was established between the two colonies; and Granada was gradually paying off its debts by its rich produce, and had almost closed the balance, when the war in 1744 interrupted the communication between the two islands, at the same time that it put a stop to the progress of the sugar plantations.

This loss was supplied by the culture of coffee, which was pursued, during the hostilities, with all the activity and eagerness that industry could inspire; and the peace of Aix-la Chapelle, in 1748, revived all the labours of Granada, and opened all its former sources of wealth. The cultivation rose to eighty three sugar plantations; two million, seven hundred and twenty five thousand, six hundred coffee-trees; one hundred and fifty thousand, three hundred cacao trees, and eight hundred cotton shrubs. The colony, in a word, made a progress rapid in proportion to the fertility of its soil, till it fell under the dominion of England.

In the first enthusiasm raised by an acquisition of which the highest ideas had been formed, some blunders were committed, which disappointed the hopes of the new planters, and proved disadvantageous to the nation. As every one was eager to purchase estates in Granada, they sold for much more than their real value. This caprice, by tempting the old colonists, who were injured to the climate, to part with their plantations, has drained England of fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, at the same time that it has been accompanied with an unnecessary waste of her inhabitants. The number of slaves has, however, been increased as far as forty thousand, and the annual produce of the island has been raised to three times its amount, under the French government.

* Labat, tom. IV. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vi. p. 534.

The exports of Granada will be further augmented by the neighbourhood of a dozen of small islands called the Granadines, which are dependent on the colony. They are from three to eight leagues in circumference, and the soil is excellent; but they do not afford a single fountain of water. The air, however, is wholesome; and as the ground, covered only with bushes, has not been screened from the sun, it exhales none of those noxious vapours so fatal to the husbandman, on turning up most of the new lands in the West Indies. Cariuacou, the only one of those islands cultivated by the French, produces a great quantity of cotton; and the culture of sugar has succeeded remarkably well at Becouya, the largest and most fertile of the Granadines, which is no more than two leagues distant from St. Vincent, also the property of Great Britain.

When the English and French, who for thirty years had been ravaging the Windward Islands, began to give some consistence to their settlements they agreed in 1660, that Dominica and St. Vincent should belong to the Caribs. Some of those savages, who had hitherto been dispersed, retired into the former, and the greater part into the latter. There they lived in the woods, in scattered tribes, under the guidance of an old man, whom age and experience alone had advanced to the dignity of ruler. The dominion passed successively into every tribe, where the oldest always became chief; that is to say, the head and father of the nation.

While things proceeded in this chain, the population of these children of nature was suddenly augmented by a race of Africans, whose origin has never been precisely ascertained. It is said that a ship, carrying negroes for sale, foundered on the coast of St. Vincent; and that the slaves who escaped the wreck, were received as brethren by the savages. Others pretend that these negroes were fugitives, who had deserted from the plantations of the neighbouring islands. A third tradition says, that this foreign race sprung from the blacks whom the Caribs took from the Spaniards, in their different wars with those tyrants of the New World; and if we may credit Du Tertre, the most ancient historian who has written an account of the Antilles, these terrible savages spared the captive slaves, while they bathed their hands in the blood of their masters; brought them home, and restored them to liberty, that they might enjoy LIBERTY! such was their emphatical expression for that freedom, which no man has a right to withhold from any of his fellow creatures, and the privation of which is worse than death. Nor did their kindness stop here: for by whatever chance these strangers were brought into the island, the proprietors of it gave them their daughters in marriage; and the race that sprung from this mixture, were called Black Caribs. They have preserved more of the primitive colour of their fathers, than of the lighter hue of their mothers; and they are otherwise distinguished. The Red Caribs are of a low stature, the Black Caribs tall and stout; and this doubly savage race speaks with a vehemence that resembles anger.

Notwithstanding their original good agreement, some differences soon arose between the two races. The people of Martinico resolved to take the advantage of those misunderstandings, in order to raise themselves on the ruin of both parties.

ties. Their pretence for interfering was, that the Black Caribs gave shelter to the slaves, who deserted from the French islands. Imposture is generally the forerunner or injustice: those who had been falsely accused, were afterwards attacked without provocation. But the smallness of the numbers sent against them; the jealousies of those who were appointed to command the expedition; the defection of the Red Caribs, who refused to assist such dangerous allies, even against their rivals, with the promised succours; the difficulty of procuring subsistence, and the impossibility of coming up with enemies, who concealed themselves in woods and fastnesses, with a variety of other adverse circumstances, all conspired to disconcert this rash and dangerous enterprise. It was accordingly given up, after the loss of many valuable lives.

But the gallant resistance of the Caribs did not prevent them from suing for peace. They even invited the French to come and live with them, swearing sincere friendship and inviolable concord. The proposal was agreed to; and in 1720, the year following the hostilities, many of the inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. Vincent. The first who went thither settled peaceably, not only with the consent, but by the assistance of the Red Caribs. This success induced others to follow their example; but these, whether from jealousy, or some other motive, taught the savages a fatal secret. That people, who knew of no property but the fruits of the earth; because they are the reward of labour, and uninstructed reason taught them, that every man has a right to reap what he has sown, learned with astonishment, that they could sell the earth itself, which they had always looked upon as belonging to mankind in general. This information induced them to measure fields and fix boundaries; and from that instant peace and happiness were banished from their island. The partition of lands occasioned divisions among men.

The causes of this revolution in property deserve to be traced, as they are intimately connected with the history of human nature. When the French settled in St. Vincent in 1720, they brought slaves along with them to clear and till the ground. The Black Caribs, shocked at the thought of resembling men who were degraded by slavery, and fearing that some time or other their colour, which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enslaving them, took refuge in the thickest part of the forest. In this situation, in order to imprint on their tribe an indelible mark of distinction, which might be a perpetual token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as soon as they were born. The full grown men and women, whose heads would not bend to this strange shape, dared no longer be seen in public without that visible sign of freedom; but the next generation boldly ventured forth, and appeared as a new race*.

The Flat-headed Caribs, who were nearly of the same age; tall, well made men, hardy and fierce, came and erected huts by the sea side. No sooner were they made acquainted with the price which the Europeans set upon the lands

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV.

that they inhabited, than they claimed a share with the other islanders. This rising spirit of avarice, the result of more distinct ideas of property, was at first appeased by some presents of brandy, and a few sabres. But not content with these, they soon demanded fire-arms, that they might be on a footing with the Red Caribs, to whom such arms had been granted; and at last they were desirous of having their share in all the future sales of land, and likewise in the produce of past sales. Provoked at being denied a part in this brotherly partition, they formed themselves into a separate tribe; swore never more to associate with the Red Caribs; chose a chief of their own, and declared war.

The number of the combatants might be equal, but their strength was by no means so. The Black Caribs had every advantage over the Red that strength, valour, and perseverance, must ever acquire over a feeble body and a timorous spirit. But that sense of equity, that instinctive justice, which is seldom denied to savages, made the victors consent to share with the vanquished all the territory lying to the leeward. It was the only one which both parties were desirous of possessing, because there they were sure of receiving presents from the French. The Black Caribs, however, had soon reason to repent of their generosity: they found themselves losers by a treaty which they themselves had drawn up. The new planters who came to the island always landed and settled near the Red Caribs, where the coast was most accessible. This preference roused that enmity which was but ill extinguished. The war broke out a fresh; and the Red Caribs, who were always worsted, retired to the windward of the island. Many took to their canoes, and went over to the continent or to Tobago; and the few who remained, lived separate from their former associates.

The Black Caribs, conquerors and masters of all the leeward coast, now required of the Europeans, who belonged to different nations, a new price for the lands which they had already purchased. A Frenchman offered to shew the deed of conveyance of some land which he had bought from a Red Carib. "I know not," replied a Black Carib, "what thy paper says; but read what is written on my arrow. There you may see, in characters which do not lye, That unless you give what I demand, I will go and burn your house to-night *." In this manner did a people, who had not learned to read; reason with those who derived such consequence from knowing how to write. They urged the right of force with as much assurance, and as little remorse, as if they had been acquainted with divine, political, and moral casuistry.

But time, which introduces a change of measures with a change of interests, put an end to these disturbances. The French became, in their turn, the tyrants of St. Vincent; which was still, however, considered by England as a neutral island. They no longer occupied themselves in breeding poultry and cultivating vegetables; manioc, maize, and tobacco, in order to supply Martinico. More important cultures, which employed eight hundred white men, and three thousand blacks, were attempted with success. The annual amount of these commo-

* Raynal, liv. xiv.

cities was by no means inconsiderable, when St. Vincent fell into the hands of the English, to whom it was secured by the treaty of Paris.

The French colonists, unacquainted with the subtle politics of princes, entertained not the least doubt of their title to the lands which they had cleared. Their surprise was therefore inexpressible, when they were informed, that Great Britain thought herself authorized to strip them of their possessions, unless they would ransom those very fields which they had already redeemed from the waste and uncultivated state of nature by the labour of their own hands, and which they either held by a grant from the original inhabitants, or had acquired by the great law of force. Their complaints, however, were disregarded: a general order was issued to sell the lands indiscriminately, as if no such settlements had been made. England considered them as invasions, and France made no stipulation for the security of her subjects. Disgusted rather than oppressed, as the fine was very moderate, many of them went over to St. Lucia, where lands were freely granted to those who would clear them. But the emigration was by no means universal. When the first emotions of discontent were over, the more prudent part of the French planters considered, that they would gain more by ransoming their own lands, than by settling upon fresh grounds which should cost them nothing; and that the colony, which had never yet been upon any solid foundation, and where their property was always insecure, must acquire stability and vigour under the British government.

St. Vincent is about eight leagues in length, and near seven in breadth. It is agreeably diversified with hills and vallies, and watered by a variety of streams, twenty-two of which are large enough to give motion to the sugar mills. The soil is remarkably favourable to the culture of cacao, arnotto, and even sugar. The French colony applied themselves chiefly to the planting of coffee, of which they exported annually three millions weight, at the time the island was ceded to England. But this culture is now almost entirely neglected for that of sugar. The leeward side of the island on which the English first settled, afforded the new colonists but a small quantity, being rugged and mountainous. This circumstance made them desirous of possessing the plains on the windward side. The Caribs, who had taken refuge there, refused to resign their possessions: the English took up arms to compel them; and though they defended themselves with obstinate courage, they were at last humbled. Hard conditions, however, were not imposed upon them. A district in the northern part of the island, comprehending about one third of the whole, was secured to them by a treaty concluded in 1775. The colony has since enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and promises every thing that can be expected from such a spot.

Dominica is more extensive, and no less fertile. It is thirteen leagues in length, and nine at its greatest breadth*. The centre is occupied by inaccessible moun-

* These are the dimensions assigned to this island by the compiler of the *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, a work on whose accuracy the French prize themselves; and they are told us in the dark where their government has any interest or claim. The anonymous author of the Present State of the West Indies assigns Dominica, however, only eight leagues and an half in length, and four as its greatest breadth. He diminishes the size of St. Vincent in nearly the same proportion.

tains, which pour down numerous rivers of excellent water upon a rich but irregular country; abounding in excellent timber for every purpose, and producing in the greatest perfection all the tropical fruits and plants. Some of these rivers are navigable for several miles from the sea, (a circumstance very uncommon in the West Indies) and contribute to the more easy conveyance of those commodities which they have served to produce by their refreshing influence. Its size, accompanied with so many natural advantages, must in time render Dominica a very valuable colony. It is supposed to contain near twice as many acres of improvable land as Barbadoes.

This island was discovered in 1493, by the great Columbus, who gave it the name of Dominica, because the discovery was made on a Sunday. The Spaniards, however, took no farther notice of it; and that famous English navigator the earl of Cumberland, who visited it in 1598, found it inhabited only by its own children, the Caribs, who made no opposition to his landing. If he made no settlement on the island, it was owing merely to a defect in his commission, where no clause was inserted for such purpose. George Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, afterwards touched here in his way to Virginia with some recruits; and though the English had yet attempted no establishment in Dominica, Charles I. made no scruple to insert it along with Barbadoes, in the earl of Carlisle's patent. But the French, become sensible of the value of this island, inflamed the natives against the English, and were able, by various means, to prevent any durable settlement being made upon it till 1748, when it was formally declared neutral by the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle.

The French, however, observed a most insidious neutrality; for when Dominica, towards the conclusion of the late war, was reduced under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain, to which it is secured by the treaty of Paris, almost the whole windward coast was settled by the subjects of his most Christian majesty. The French colony, in a word, consisted of six hundred white people, and two thousand slaves, who were successfully employed in cultivating cotton, coffee, and cacao, or in breeding poultry and raising provisions for the consumption of Martinico. But it was not for the sake of cotton, coffee, or cacao, which, however, prevent the wishes of the planter; nor for the sake of sugar, which will not disappoint his hopes, that France employed so many intrigues to obtain possession of Dominica. An object of greater importance than a mere commercial colony entered into her distant political views. She perceived that this island, by its position between Martinico and Guadeloupe, and only at a small distance from each, would, in the hands of her rival, become equally alarming to both islands; that in time of war, its safe and commodious roads would enable the English privateers and squadrons to intercept, without risk, the navigation of her colonies, and even to cut off the communication between her two principal settlements. But if the situation of Dominica renders it formidable to France, and consequently important to England, independent of its valuable produce, this situation also exposes it to danger. The British ministry ought therefore to keep a watchful eye on a spot, which nature has made the key of the Windward Islands,

BOOK III. and which every motive of interest, ambition, resentment, safety and conveniency, must prompt the French to recover from the hands of their powerful neighbours, and now declared enemies.

The court of France, among other attempts to discredit Dominica in the eyes of the English, both before and during the negotiating of the treaty of Paris, represented it as destitute of any harbour, and altogether unfriendly to navigation. But this description is found to be false; for although no regular port has yet been discovered, there is safe and convenient anchorage in the bays and coves which indent the whole coast. The principal of these, deep, sandy, and capacious, named Prince Rupert's Bay, is situated at the north-west end of the island, and well sheltered from the winds on all sides by the surrounding mountains. In that bay has been lately traced out the plan of a new town, to be called Portsmouth; and it is to be hoped that the name will prove auspicious. The Caribs, formerly so numerous in this island, are now reduced to a few families; so that the English have little to fear at Dominica, or indeed in all the West Indies, except from the French. Let us now enquire how far the policy of Great Britain in regard to her colonies in those latitudes encourages or enables them to resist a foreign force.

All the free inhabitants in the English West India islands are formed into a body of militia. This regulation, which neither exposes them to the caprices of a governor, nor to the insulting pride of regular troops, is perfectly agreeable to the independent spirit of the Creoles; and that militia, little inferior in point of discipline to European soldiers, is much beyond them in ardour and courage. They want nothing but numbers to be able fully to defend themselves, and occasionally to annoy the enemy; for which purposes they are infinitely more fit, by being habituated to the climate, than raw troops, which in the West Indies can never meet an enemy in the field with above half their complement. But the too great disproportion between the blacks and whites, makes the militia little more than sufficient to keep the slaves in awe. This disproportion has not always been the same in the English islands. They formerly contained a greater number of white men: but these have gradually disappeared with the decrease of the smaller cultures, as their place has been chiefly supplied by sugar-plantations, which require a more considerable extent of territory, and a larger stock to carry them on. They have successively taken refuge in North America, or the ceded islands, where the number of blacks has been multiplied in a still greater proportion, than in the original settlements.

Other causes have conspired to augment this evil. England perhaps, at present, contains as many indigent and idle men as at the time of the first emigrations from Europe to America; but that spirit of adventure and enterprise, which was roused by the novelty of the object, has in a great measure cooled; and far from being encouraged, it has been stifled by our West India planters, who chuse to do every thing by negroes, which can possibly be done by them. In vain do the laws require every proprietor to have a certain number of white servants in proportion

position to the blacks on his plantation: this regulation has proved ineffectual to remedy the abuse. The planters chuse rather to run the risk of paying a small penalty, than to act in conformity to a law the observance of which would be more expensive to them than the penalty inflicted on the breach of it. Their avarice makes them blind to the hazard to which they expose the sum total of their affairs, as well as to the interests of the mother-country; for independent of that security, to which white men are so essential, the sale of our manufactures in the colonies is, in a great measure, proportioned to the number of such inhabitants, as it is well known, that one white man, by the most moderate calculation, consumes more European commodities than three negro slaves.

All these considerations evince the necessity of increasing the number of white inhabitants in our West India islands by the most liberal concessions, premiums, and encouragements of every kind; and also of sending, till such increase shall take place, especially in time of war, a certain number of troops to co-operate with their brave militia, if we would extend a reasonable hope towards the preservation of such valuable possessions against the invasions of an enemy, whose government is almost entirely military. Though Great Britain has never laid any direct impost upon her colonies for the support of such an establishment, they are more burdened with taxes than those which belong to less moderate governments. Obligated to remedy the evils of war, and to provide for their defence, they have erected fortifications by voluntary contributions. These have been large, and ruinous in their consequences, by the debts which they have obliged the colonies to contract; and the civil administration, in manifest contradiction to the republican spirit, by which most of our colonies were established, has always been very costly. Public business has never been transacted without great expence.

But these heavy contributions and accumulated expences do not hinder the lands in the English islands from bearing a very high price. The Europeans and Creoles vie with each other in purchasing them; and this competition enhances their value. Planters are allured by the certainty of finding a better market for their commodities in the mother-country, notwithstanding the enormous duties which they pay on entering it, than other nations can find elsewhere. Besides, the English islands, though protected by no great internal force, are less exposed to invasion and devastation, than those belonging to other powers, though better garrisoned and fortified: her fleets secure them. The navigation of a people born for the sea supports itself by its own strength in war as well as in peace. This observation leads to a general conclusion.

The strongest fortrefs must soon surrender unless it receives a constant supply of men and provisions. A garrison in the West Indies can receive no effectual succours or supplies but by sea. Hence it is evident, that there is no other way to preserve our colonies in those islands, but by a formidable navy. It is on the docks, and in the harbours of Britain, that the bastions and ramparts of her West India settlements must be raised. While the mother-country shelters them, as it were, under the wings of her ships—so long as she shall fill up with her fleets the vast interval that separates her from these settlements, the offspring of her industry and

power, her parental attention to their prosperity will secure their attachment, and enable them to repel every invader. The advantage and invigorating power is mutual. While Britain retains the possession of those islands, whose produce annually loads eight hundred ships, navigated by sixteen thousand seamen, she will have it in her power to protect them, and even to bring under her dominion, as formerly, the settlements of her rival. The winds are at her command, and all the elements conspire to promote her glory. She wants only able ministers and commanders, while she continues to reign mistress of the sea, to subdue the whole West Indies; and as she is now embroiled with France, perhaps the most eligible step she can take is the reduction of the principal islands belonging to that crown. She would then engross the commerce of the American archipelago, and that would enable her to preserve the sovereignty of the ocean; which, in the present state of things, may be considered as the sovereignty of the earth. Her manufactures, in that event, would attain a degree of prosperity which they have never known; her customs would be doubled; and the ferment in her colonies on the continent would be appeased, by the prospect of such an advantageous mart for their productions as would then be opened to them by a free intercourse with all the West India islands, as well as with the European dominions of the mother-country.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A M E R I C A.

B O O K I V.
N O R T H A M E R I C A.

C H A P. I.

A general View of the State of North America when first discovered, with an Account of the Character, Manners, Customs, civil and religious Institutions of the original Inhabitants.

THAT vast continent, which extends from the bottom of the Gulph of Mexico to Hudson's Bay, and from the peninsula of California to the north pole, when first visited by the Europeans, was inhabited by a number of small nations, or free and independent tribes, who subsisted chiefly by hunting, and among whom the right of private property was either entirely unknown, or but imperfectly understood. Countries occupied by such people, were almost in the same state as if they had never been inhabited: immense forests covered the greater part of those uncultivated regions; and as the hand of industry had not taught the rivers to flow in a proper channel, or drained off the stagnating waters, many of the most fertile plains were overflowed by inundations, or converted into marshes. The condition of the people was as rude as the face of their country: they were all in a state that may be denominated savage; and notwithstanding some trifling diversity in their character, their manners, and institutions, the qualities belonging to the members of all the different tribes have

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such a near resemblance, that they may be delineated with the same lines, and painted with the same colours. They seem all to be branches of one common stock*.

This observation might naturally lead us into an enquiry concerning the first peopling of America; a subject which has long divided the opinions of the learned, and distracted the minds of the religious. But as every such enquiry must terminate in conjecture, it is sufficient to observe, that both reason and scripture tell us that the purpose of the Author of nature was, that the earth should be peopled; and it is peopled. The means employed for that end, it is impossible for us, in every instance to know. Continents and islands, now widely separated, may have been formerly united. Without admitting such a supposition, or granting that the Creator every where scatters the seeds of plants and animals, it is impossible to account for the state in which several islands, remote from any land, have been discovered. Some of these have been found inhabited only by serpents, and such noxious reptiles as could not well compose part of the crew of any vessel, except that of Noah's ark; and it rested upon mount Ararat: others, at a greater distance from any continent, or its contiguous islands than America, have been possessed, when first visited by our navigators, by a people considerably advanced in arts and civility †. America might be peopled from the north of Europe or of Asia, from which it is separated only by a narrow channel, if not really united to both continents. It might be peopled from the coast of Africa, by means of a chain of islands, which almost pave the way to Brazil. But the native Americans have no resemblance, on which any reasoning can be founded, either to the Europeans, Africans, or Asiatics, in their bodily constitution, or in the frame and temper of their minds; and no traces of the manners or arts of either have been discovered among them. Even the plants and animals in the New World, a few towards the northern extremity excepted, are entirely different from those in the old. If it was necessary, however, that man should migrate from the ancient continent, we must trace him from the north-east of Asia; for the Americans, from Cape Horn to the southern confines of Labrador, have some similitude to the Tartars and Kamchatkans, but none to the inhabitants of Europe, and as little to those of Africa. The Esquimaux, who inhabit the country that stretches from Labrador to the pole, may be supposed, as we shall afterwards have occasion to shew, to have migrated from the north of Europe. But let us leave, at present, such idle inquiries to vain speculators and systematical theologians, and proceed to an actual survey of the character, manners, customs, and institutions of the North American Indians, without considering them in any other light than as human beings, who must somewhere have had a beginning.

* The Esquimaux, as formerly observed, must be excepted from this description. Of them therefore, as well as of the Natches, distinguished by their civil and religious institutions, a particular account shall be given in treating of their several countries.

† The author here alludes to Otaheite and the Society Islands.

The natives of North America, like all the original inhabitants of the New World, the Esquimaux excepted, are of a reddish brown, nearly resembling the colour of copper*. Their features are naturally regular, but often distorted by art, in order to render their aspect more fierce. The men have no beards, nor either sex hair on any part of the body but the head, the covering of which is black, coarse, and lank. Their persons are well proportioned, remarkably straight, and tall even beyond the common standard of any European nation; but their limbs want that muscular contraction, and their shoulders that spread, which is requisite for any vigorous exertion or laborious employment. Habit and necessity, however, inure them to suffer hunger and fatigue beyond what seems possible for human nature; and the lightness of their make, assisted by their active course of life, endows them with a surprising degree of agility. They resemble animals of prey, rather than beasts of burden.

The complexion of their minds corresponds with this character drawn from their external form. The North American Indians are grave even to sadness, and vindictive to a degree that the most obdurate natures only can contemplate without horror. When they have received an injury, they disguise their sentiments; they appear reconciled, that they may be enabled more conveniently to execute their terrible vengeance. No length of time is sufficient to allay the rancour of an Indian, no distance of place great enough to secure its object: he crosses the steepest mountains, he pierces the most impracticable forests, and traverses the most pathless deserts for several hundred miles together; bearing the inclemency of the seasons, the fatigue of the journey, and the extremes of hunger and thirst, not only with patience but cheerfulness, in hopes of satiating his revenge with the blood of the offender*. Such is the strength of private animosity!—and public resentment, as we shall have occasion to see, is no less violent among this relentless race.

But unless when roused by such a strong passion, or when engaged in some of the functions of war or hunting, the Indians loiter away their time in thoughtless indolence. Their aversion against labour is so great, that neither the hope of future good, nor the apprehension of future evil, can surmount it. Even among those more improved tribes, where the career of industry is begun, and where the laborious arm has made the first essay of its power, the improvident and slothful genius of the savage state predominates. Labour is deemed ignominious and degrading, and it is only to work of a certain kind that a man will put his hand. The greater part is devolved entirely upon the women, while the warrior or the hunter reposes in his cabin †; for, to continue the metaphor, the beast of prey is a sluggard.

In some parts of North America, nature seems to have indulged the laziness of the people, by the liberality with which she ministers to their wants. The vast

* The uniformity of this colour, which, as formerly observed, is the same in all latitudes, has much perplexed those naturalists, who ascribe the blackness of the negroes to climate, and those theological theorists who would people America from the ancient continent.

† Laftau. Charlevoix. Adair.

† Charlevoix, Hist. de la N. France, tom. III.

rivers, which intersect that immense continent, abound with an infinite variety of the most delicate fish; and the great lakes, and marshes formed by the overflowing of the waters, are filled with all the different species, and swarm in such shoals, that in some places they are caught without art or industry. But the contiguous tribes only can sustain themselves in this manner. The greater part of the Indian nations, dispersed over the forests with which their country is covered, do not procure subsistence with the same facility; for although those forests are plentifully stored with game, considerable efforts of activity and ingenuity are requisite in the pursuit of it. Necessity excited them to the one, and taught them the other. Hunting became their principal occupation; and as it calls forth strenuous exertions of courage, of force, and of invention, it is deemed an employment no less honourable than necessary. As may be expected, it is peculiar to the men, who are trained to it from their earliest youth. A bold and dexterous hunter ranks next in fame to the distinguished warrior; and an alliance with the former, is often courted in preference to one with the latter*.

Hardly any device, which the ingenuity of man has discovered, for ensnaring or destroying wild animals, was unknown to the North Americans in their native forests, even before they had any intercourse with the Europeans. While engaged in this favourite exercise, as well as necessary occupation, they shake off the indolence peculiar to their nature; the latent powers and vigour of their minds are roused, and they become active, persevering and indefatigable. Their sagacity in finding their prey, and their address in killing it are equal. Their imagination and their senses being constantly turned towards this one object, the former displays such fertility of invention, and the latter acquires such a degree of acuteness as appear almost incredible. They discern the foot steps of a wild beast, which escape every other eye; they can trace it like a hound by the smell, and follow it with certainty through the pathless forest. If they attack their game openly, their arrow seldom errs from the mark; and if they endeavour to circumvent it by art, it is almost impossible to elude their toils. Among several tribes, their young men were not permitted to marry, until they had given such proofs of their skill in hunting as put it beyond doubt that they were capable of providing for a family †.

This consideration naturally leads man to a more advanced state of society. The chase, even where prey is abundant, and the dexterity of the hunter much improved, affords but an uncertain maintenance, and at some seasons it must be suspended altogether. If a savage trusts to his bow alone for food, he and his family will be often reduced to extreme distress. Hardly any region of the earth furnishes man spontaneously with what his wants require. In the mildest climates, and most fertile soils, his own industry and foresight must be exerted in some degree, to secure a regular supply of food. Their experience of this surmounts the abhorrence of labour natural to the Indians, and compels them to have recourse to culture as a subsidiary to hunting. Hence throughout all North America, we meet with no nation of hunters that does not practice some species

* Charlevoix, Hist. de la N. France, tom. III.

† Id. *ibid.*

of cultivation. Their agriculture, however, is neither expensive nor laborious. As game and fish are their principal food, all they aim at by cultivation is to supply any occasional defect of these. The clearing of the ground is the business of the men, and their indolence is satisfied with performing it in a very slovenly manner. The labour of cultivation is left to the women; who, after digging, or rather stirring the field, (with wooden mattocks and flakes hardened in the fire, (before the Europeans furnished them with iron implements) sow or plant it*.

The fair sex: cannot be held in high estimation in a country where such severe and humiliating tasks are imposed upon them. The indifference, or rather insensibility, of all the natives of America in this respect, as we have had occasion more than once to remark, is indeed the most striking feature in their character. The charms of beauty seem to have no influence on their obdurate hearts. That passion which was destined to perpetuate life, to be the bond of social union, and the source of tenderness and joy; love, the strongest passion in the human breast, appears scarcely to be felt by the North Americans, and has never inspired them with one soft or generous sentiment, or given birth to one illustrious action. Almost a stranger even to instinctive desire, and proud of excelling in strength and courage, the Indian views his female with coldness and disdain, as an animal of a less noble species. He is at no pains to win her favour by the assiduity of courtship, and still less solicitous to preserve it by indulgence and gentleness†.

This inattention of the Americans to their women, has struck every intelligent traveller who has had occasion to observe their manners. The fact is not disputed; the only difficulty is, how to account for it. One ingenious writer‡, considering the beardless countenance and smooth body of the Americans as indications of want of vigour, occasioned by some vice in their frame, has assigned this languor of desire to the same cause. He has ascribed both to the temperament of that portion of the earth which they inhabit. But two authors of no less eminence §, have very justly observed, that political and moral causes have considerable influence in modifying the degree of attachment between the sexes; that in a state of high civilization, this passion, inflamed by restraint, refined by delicacy, and cherished by fashion, occupies and engrosses the heart; that, no longer a simple instinct of nature, sentiment heightens the ardour of desire, and the most tender emotions of which our frame is susceptible, soothe and agitate the soul. This description, however, applies only to those, who, by their situation, are exempted from the more pressing cares and labours of life; for among persons of inferior rank, who are doomed by their condition to incessant toil, the dominion of love is less violent. Their solicitude to procure sub-

* Their chief grain is Maize, or Indian wheat, of which the women make a kind of bread. They have also a kind of bean, which seems peculiar to the country. Charlevoix, ubi sup. Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts's Bay, chap. vi.

† Hennepin, Mœurs des Sauvages. Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts's Bay, chap. vi.

‡ The author of *Recherches & Voyages sur les Américains*.

§ Raynal and Robertson.

sistence, and provide for the first demand of nature, leaves little leisure for attending to her second call. The diminution of this passion, it is urged, must be still more considerable in the savage state, where subsistence is always precarious, and often scanty; where men are almost entirely engaged in the pursuit of their enemies, or in guarding against their attacks, and where neither dress nor reserve are employed as arts of female allurements; that, in such a state, the attentions of the Americans to their women would be extremely few, without admitting any physical defect in their frame.

In opposition to these reasonings may be urged, the ardent passion of the negroes for the companions of their toils, in the most depressed condition in human life, and where woman has certainly fewer allurements, and man fewer motives to procreation or amorous intercourse, than in any state, how savage soever, in which he enjoys liberty and health. But be the cause what it may, the effect is certain: woman is every where treated with indifference or contempt by the North Americans; yet marriage is universally established among them, and its rights understood. The idea of an indissoluble tie, however, never entered the thoughts of a people passionately fond of liberty, and impatient under restraint of every kind; hence their natural levity and caprice often furnish a pretext for separating. Instead of being an union of interest and affection between equals, marriage becomes among them, the unnatural conjunction of a master with a slave. The husband, instead of receiving a dowry with his bride, generally obtains her from her parents in consideration of certain presents or services*; and this circumstance, added to the low estimation in which women are held by his countrymen, leads him to consider her as a female servant that he has acquired, and whom he has a right to treat as an inferior †. Instead of employing his greater strength in the labours necessary for their mutual support, he exerts it only to depress the wife, who is condemned to every office of toil and drudgery, and is in fact no better than a beast of burden ‡.

In this humiliating state of depression, it cannot be expected that the American women should be prolific. The vigour of their constitution is exhausted by such

* Leftau, vol. I. Charlevoix, vol. III.

† If it is necessary to combine another moral cause with that physical frigidity peculiar to the Americans, in order to account for the servile subjection, and cruel depression of the women, those liberties which, before marriage, they are universally accustomed to grant to various lovers, may perhaps have some operation. This freedom of commerce may also perhaps blunt the edge of desire in early youth, and render the young men little solicitous of favours which they can at any time obtain, and which are even bestowed without asking; but it will not account for their want of attachment, which must proceed from want of choice, and consequently from a defect in mental sensibility. Nor is the condition of an Indian by any means unfavourable to such attachment. That indolence in which he passes great part of his time, by leaving the mind vacant, has ever been deemed friendly to love; and those toils and perils, those meetings and partings, which diversify the life of the hunter and the warrior, are calculated to excite the most lively and lasting passions between the sexes, as they furnish the most perfect exercise for the tenderness of the heart.

‡ The Indians applaud themselves for this management, and blame the European husbands "for spoiling good working creatures." Hutchinson's, Hist. Massachusetts's Bay, chap. vi.

excessive fatigue as is naturally unfriendly to population, and the fear of augmenting their toils induces them to take various precautions in order to prevent too rapid an increase of their offspring. Among others, they generally nurse their children for several years: their husbands never approach them during that interval; and as they seldom marry early, the period of their fertility is over before they can finish the long but necessary attendance upon two or three successive births*. When twins are born, one of them is commonly abandoned, because the mother is not equal to the task of rearing both; and when a mother dies while she is nursing a child, all hope of preserving its life expires, and it is buried together with her in the same grave†. All feeble and distorted infants are likewise abandoned to their fate‡. Hence that uniform symmetry and perfection in the external figure of the North American Indians, which has been so much celebrated by travellers, and ascribed by certain philosophers to the vigorous and sound state of their parents, and the freedom of the children from artificial restraints.

The inhabitants of America, however, are by no means destitute of natural affection, though necessity obliges them to set bounds to the increase of their families. They feel this instinct in its full force; and as long as their progeny continue feeble and helpless, no people exceed them in tenderness and care: but it is only an instinct, and like the fondness of brutes, to which it is perfectly analogous, ceases almost entirely, as soon as their offspring are able to provide for themselves. They sometimes employ exhortations or entreaties, in order to correct the faults of their children, but never stripes or menaces; from a conviction that no man has a right to domineer over another, and a dread lest such paternal corrections might check that spirit of independency which is the pride of an Indian. They suffer them to be absolute masters of their own actions; and in the cabin or hut of a North American, a father, a mother, and their posterity, live together like persons assembled by accident, and whom no common bond unites||. They do not seem to feel the obligation of the duties arising from their natural connexion.

From the domestic state of the North Americans, the transition is easy to the consideration of their civil government and political institutions. They were divided, on the arrival of the Europeans, as has been already observed, into small independent communities. But the territory of each tribe was extensive; for while hunting is the chief source of subsistence, a great extent of country is requisite for supporting an inconsiderable number of people. In proportion as men multiply and unite, the wild animals on whom they prey, diminish, or fly to a greater distance from the haunts of their enemy. The increase of society in this state, is therefore limited by its own nature, and its members must either disperse, like the game which they pursue, or fall upon some better method of procuring

* Charlevoix, tom. III. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 37.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Churchill's Collect. vol. VI. p. 108. Even where the tenderness of parents induces them to endeavour to rear all their children without distinction, so great and numerous are the hardships of savage life, that few of those who labour under any original frailty attain the age of manhood. Creuxii, Hist. Canad. p. 57.

|| Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III.

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food than by hunting*. Beasts of prey are by nature solitary and unsocial; they go not forth by choice in herds, but delight in those recesses of the forest where they can roam and destroy unobserved. A nation of hunters, to resume our former simile, resemble such animals both in occupation and genius. They cannot form into large communities, because it would be impossible to find subsistence, and they must drive to a distance every rival who may encroach on those domains, which they consider as their own †. Accordingly, though scattered over vast regions, the numbers in each of the North American tribes, or nations, were small: they were far removed from each other, and engaged in perpetual hostilities or rivalry ‡.

Among a people who subsist by hunting and fishing, the idea of property, as it regards the individual, is very obscure, and does not extend beyond the weapons and the utensils which he employs, or the fur with which he cloaths his shoulders; and which is worn as a kind of trophy, or symbol of his victory, as well as a necessary defence against the inclemency of the weather. He can found no claim to the animals while wild in the forest, or to the fish while hid in the bosom of the lake, as they have not been bred under his inspection, nor nourished by his care. Game cannot be appropriated before it is caught: where it is so plentiful that it may be obtained with little trouble, every man freely shares it with his neighbour; and where it is so rare that the labours or dangers of the chase require the united efforts of a tribe or village, what is killed becomes common stock, belonging to all who have contributed, by their skill or their courage, to the success of the excursion. The forest or hunting grounds, are deemed the property of the tribe, from which it has a title to exclude every rival nation, but no individual arrogates a right to any of these, in preference to his fellow citizens. They belong alike to all; and thither, as to a general and undivided store, all repair in quest of sustenance ¶.

Even agriculture, which most tribes blend with the practice of hunting, has not introduced a complete idea of property among the North Americans: the same principles by which they regulate their chief occupation extend to that which is subordinate; they still follow, with respect to the soil and the fruits of the earth, the analogy of their principal object. As the men hunt, the women labour together; and after they have shared the toils of the seed-time, they enjoy the harvest in common. The field in which they have planted, like the district over which they are accustomed to hunt, is claimed as a property by the nation, but is not parcelled out in lots to its members. Among some tribes, the increase of their cultivated lands is deposited in a public granary, and distributed among

* Robertson, Hist. Americ. book IV.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ In North America the word *nation* is not of the same import as in the other parts of the globe. It is applied to small tribes or societies, not exceeding sometimes two or three hundred persons, but occupying provinces larger than some kingdoms in Europe.

¶ Ferguson, Hist. Civil Society, part II. sect. ii. Robertson, Hist. Americ. book IV. Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Brickill, Hist. N. Carolina.

them, at stated times, according to their wants: among others, though they lay up separate stores, they do not acquire such an exclusive right of property, that they can enjoy superfluity while those around them suffer want *.

Where the idea of private property is not established, there can be no distinction among men but what arises from personal qualities: and these can only be conspicuous on such occasions as call them forth into action. Hence the natives of North America retain in an high sense of equality and independence. They know of no degree of subordination except what results from the distribution of functions, which follow the differences of age, talents, and dispositions. In times of danger, for example, or affairs of intricacy, the wisdom and experience of age are consulted, and prescribe the measures that ought to be pursued: when they take the field against the enemies of their country, the warrior of most approved courage in like manner, leads the youth to battle: if they go forth in a body to the chase, the most expert or adventurous hunter is foremost, and directs their motions; but during seasons of tranquillity and inaction, when no opportunity is afforded of displaying those talents which give an ascendant, all pre-eminence ceases †.

Every circumstance indicates that all the members of the community are on a level. They are clothed in the same simple garb; they feed on the same plain fare; their houses and furniture are exactly similar. No distinction can arise from the inequality of possessions, where the society is the only proprietor. Whatever forms dependence on one part, or constitutes superiority on the other, is entirely unknown: all are free men; all feel themselves to be such, and assert with firmness the rights which belong to that condition. This sentiment of independence is imprinted so deeply in their nature, that no change of condition can eradicate it, or bend their minds to servitude: accustomed to be absolute masters of their own actions, they disdain to execute the orders of another; and having never known controul, will not submit to correction ‡.

Among people in this state, little authority can be assumed by government, if that term can indeed be applied to such a rude convention, and the sense of civil union must be very imperfect. Even when they follow a leader into the field, the North Americans cannot brook the pretensions to a formal command: they listen to no orders; and they come under no military engagements, but those of mutual fidelity and equal ardour in the enterprise §. Where the right of separate and exclusive possession is not introduced, the great object of law and jurisdiction does not exist. When occupied in the common fatigues of the chase, or

* *Id. ibid.* Dr. Ferguson's informations on this subject, as he himself informs us, were chiefly from "living witnesses, who in the course of trade, of war, and of traffic, have had ample occasion to observe the manners of the original North Americans." *Essay on the Hist. of Civil Society*, part I. sect. ii.

† Ferguson, *ubi sup.*

‡ Robertson, *Hist. Amer.* book IV. Many of the natives of Florida, when they found that they were treated as slaves by the Spaniards, died of grief, and many destroyed themselves in despair. Vega, *Conq. de la Florid.*

§ Charlevoix, *Hist. N. France*, tom. III.

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engaged in the operations of war; while exposed to the same toils and dangers, the members of a tribe perceive that they are part of a political body. They are sensible of their own connexion with the companions in conjunction with whom they act; but during the intervals between such common efforts, they are scarcely conscious of the ties of political union. No visible form of government is established; and the names of *magistrate* and *subject*, of *noble* and *mean*, are as little known as those of *rich* and *poor* *.

If a scheme of public utility is proposed, the members of the community are left at liberty to chuse, whether they will assist in carrying it into execution. No statute commands any service as a duty, nor has any one a right of imposing his will upon another. Every measure is voluntary, and flows from the native impulse of the mind. The old men, indeed, without being invested with any constitutional authority, employ their natural influence in advising, or in prompting the resolutions of their tribe, and the leader in a former expedition pleads his successful prowess; but the statesman is distinguished only by the attention with which his counsel is heard, and the warrior by the confidence with which the youth of his nation follow him to the field. Power is no more than the natural ascendancy of the mind; the discharge of office no more than the natural exercise of the personal character; and while the community acts with an appearance of order, there is no sense of disparity in the breast of any of its members †.

In these happy, though informal proceedings, observes Dr. Ferguson, where age alone presides in the council; where youth, ardour, and valour in the field, give a title to the station of leader; where the whole community is assembled on any alarming occasion, we may venture to say, That we have found the origin of the senate, the executive power, and the assembly of the people, institutions for which ancient legislators were so much renowned. The senate among the Greeks, as well as the Romans, appears to have been originally composed, as its name imports, of elderly men. The military leader at Rome, in a manner not unlike to that of the American warrior, proclaimed his levies, and the citizens prepared for the field, in consequence of a voluntary engagement. The suggestions of nature, which directed the policy of nations in the wilds of America, were followed before on the banks of the Eurotas and the Tyber; and Lycurgus and Romulus found the model of their institutions, where the members of every rude nation find the earliest mode of uniting their talents and combining their forces ‡.

But the object of government among savages is rather foreign than domestic. They do not aim at maintaining order and police by public regulations, or the exertions of any permanent authority; they only labour to preserve such union among the members of their tribe, that they may watch the motions of their enemies, and act against them with concert and vigour. The first step towards establishing a public jurisdiction has not been taken among the North American Indians. The right of revenge is left in private hands. If violence is committed,

* Ferguson, ubi sup.
ubi sup.

† Colden's History of the Five Nations. Ferguson,
‡ Essay on the History of Civil Society, part II. sect. ii.

or bloodshed, the community does not assume the power either of inflicting or of regulating the punishment. It belongs to the family and friends of the person injured or slain to avenge the wrong, or accept of the reparation offered by the aggressor. If the seniors interpose, it is to advise, not to decide. But though families, like so many separate tribes, are subject to no inspection or government from abroad, they are, in the mean time, the parts of a village or canton. Many such cantons assemble to constitute a national council, or to execute a national enterprise; and when the Europeans made their first settlements in America, six such nations had formed a league, had their amphictyones or states general, and by the firmness of their union, and the ability of their councils, had obtained an ascendancy from the mouth of the Mississippi to that of the river St. Laurence*. They appeared to understand the objects of the confederacy, as well as the interests of the separate nation; they studied a balance of power: the statesman of one country watched the designs and proceedings of another, and occasionally threw the weight of his tribe into a different scale. They had their alliances and their treaties; which, like the nations of Europe, they maintained or broke upon reasons of state: they remained at peace from a sense of necessity or expediency, and went to war upon any occurrence of provocation or jealousy †.

Such occurrences were frequent. Though strangers to the idea of separate property vested in any individual, the rudest of the North American nations, as already observed, were well acquainted with the rights of each community to its own domains. That right they held to be perfect and exclusive, entitling the possessors to oppose the encroachment of neighbouring tribes: and as it is of the utmost consequence to prevent them from destroying or disturbing the game in their hunting grounds, they guard this national property with a vigilant attention. But as their territories are extensive, and the boundaries of them not exactly ascertained, innumerable subjects of dispute arise, which seldom terminate without bloodshed. Those violences produce others. The hostile dispositions inspired by interest and jealousy are rendered more inveterate by revenge.

This passion, which burns with such violence in the breasts of savages, that eagerness to gratify it may be considered as their most peculiar characteristic, is inextinguishable among the natives of North America; where the right of redressing his own wrongs being left in the hands of every man, injuries are felt with exquisite sensibility, and can seldom be expiated but by the blood of the offender. In carrying on their public wars, the Indians are influenced by the same spirit, as in prosecuting private vengeance. Nor are they singular in this particular. In small communities, every individual is touched with any injury or affront offered to the body of which he is a member, as if it were a personal attack upon his own honour and safety. The desire of revenge is communicated from breast to breast, and soon kindles into rage. Hence war, which between extensive kingdoms is carried on with little animosity, is prosecuted by the petty North American tribes with all the rancour of private quarrel: the resentment of nations is as

* Laftau. Cha.ivoix. Colden.

† Ibid. See also Ferguson, ubi sup.

implacable as that of individuals: they fight, not to conquer, but to destroy. When they engage in hostilities, it is with a resolution never to see the face of an enemy in peace, but to prosecute the contest with immortal enmity*.

The desire of vengeance is the first, and almost the only principle which a North American instills into the minds of his children: it grows up with them as they advance in years; and as their attention is directed to few objects, it acquires a degree of force unknown among men whose passions are dissipated and weakened by the variety of their occupations and pursuits. It resembles the instinctive rage of brutes rather than the anger of rational beings; and man, while under its dominion, becomes the most cruel of all animals. He neither pities, nor forgives, nor spares. The force of this passion is so well understood by the Indians, that they always apply to it in order to excite their people to take arms. If the old men of any tribe attempt to rouse their youth from sloth, if a chief wishes to allure a band of warriors to follow him in invading an enemy's country, the most persuasive topics of their martial eloquence are drawn from revenge. "The bones of our countrymen," say they, "lie uncovered; their bloody bed has not yet been washed clean. Their ghosts cry against us: they must be appeased. Let us go and devour the people by whom they were slain. Sit no longer inactive upon your mats; lift the hatchet, console the spirits of the dead, and tell them that they shall be avenged †."

Animated by such exhortations, the young men snatch their arms in a transport of fury, raise the Song of War, and burn with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies. "I go to war," exclaim they, "to revenge the death of my brothers: I shall kill, I shall exterminate, I shall burn my enemies; I shall bring away captives; I shall devour their heart, dry their flesh, drink their blood; I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups of their skulls ‡."

This rage often vents itself in irregular sallies against an hostile tribe; at which the heads of the community connive, as such expeditions tend to encourage a martial spirit, to inure their youth to hardships, and make them familiar with danger. But when war is national, and undertaken by public authority, the deliberations are formal and slow. The old men assemble; they deliver their sentiments in solemn speeches; they weigh with maturity the nature of the enterprise; and balance its beneficial or disadvantageous consequences with no inconsiderable degree of political discernment and sagacity. Their priests and soothsayers are consulted, and sometimes they ask the advice even of their women §. If the determination is war, they prepare for it with much ceremony. The youth of the principal village are summoned; the war-kettle is set on the fire; the war-songs and dances commence; the hatchet is sent to all the other villages of the same nation, and also to those of its allies: the flame spreads; and nothing is heard day and night over the whole territory, but hostile defiance and denunciations of vengeance ¶.

* Boucher, Hist. Nat. de N. France. Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Caden, vol. I.

† Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III.

‡ Buffon's Travels through Louisiana, vol. I.

§ Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III.

¶ Charlevoix,

ubi sup. Laftau, tom. II.

When by these, and other means, the fury of the nation is roused to the highest pitch, they proceed to the choice of a leader. After stratagem in war, and an exact knowledge of the country, qualities essentially requisite in such a commander, the chief inducements to his preference are, a fierce aspect and a strong voice, in order to strike terror into the enemy. The leader invites his followers to a feast, preparatory to their military expedition, where they enter into engagements of mutual fidelity and attachment: he begins the war song; which having continued for some time, in concert with his associates, he raises his voice to the highest pitch, and breaking suddenly into a sort of prayer, addresses himself thus to the God of War: "I invoke thee to be favourable to my enterprise! I invoke thy care upon me and my family!—I invoke you likewise, all ye spirits and demons good and evil! all ye that are in the skies, that are on the earth or under the earth, to pour destruction upon our enemies, and return me and my companions safe to our country *!"—All the warriors join their commander in this prayer, with shouts and acclamations: he renews his song, and is accompanied by his followers in the war dance.

The maxims by which the Indians regulate their military operations, as well as the spirit by which they are dictated, though extremely different from those which prevail in Europe, are well suited to their own political state. They never take the field in numerous bodies, as it would be impossible for them to provide for their subsistence, during a march of some hundred miles through dreary forests. Their armies are not incumbered with baggage or military stores. Each warrior, besides his arms, carries a mat, and a small bag of pounded maize; and with these he is completely equipped for any service. While at a distance from the enemy's frontier, they disperse through the woods, and support themselves with the game which they kill, or the fish that they catch; but as they approach nearer to the territories of the nation which they intend to attack, they collect their troops, and advance with greater caution. Yet even then, they proceed wholly by stratagem and ambuscade. They place not their glory in attacking their enemies with open force, and defeating them upon equal terms: to surprise and destroy is the greatest merit of a commander, and the highest pride of his followers †.

As war and hunting are the only occupations of the Indians, they conduct both with the same spirit and the same arts. They follow the track of their enemies through the forest; and by the keenness of their sight, it is said, they can trace foot-steps that are made on the shortest grass, upon the dry ground, and even upon stone, and from the nature of these foot-steps can discover to what nation the adventurers belong ‡. They endeavour to discover their haunts, in which they are wonderfully assisted by the quickness of their smell: they lurk in some thicket near to these; and with the patience of a sportsman lying in wait for game, will continue in their station day after day, until they can rush on their prey, when least able to resist them. If they meet no straggling party of the

* *Ib. id.*
Sauvages.

† Charlevoix, tom. III.

‡ Menepin, *Mémoires des*

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enemy, they advance towards their villages, but with such felicitude to conceal their approach, that they often creep on their hands and feet through the woods, and paint their skins of the same colour with the withered leaves, in order to avoid detection *; and if so fortunate as to escape the vigilance of the enemy, they set fire to their huts in the dead of night, and massacre the inhabitants, as they fly naked and defenceless through the flames. But if they find that their motions are discovered, notwithstanding all their ingenious precautions; that the enemy has taken the alarm, and is prepared to oppose them, they usually judge it most prudent to retire. They account it extreme folly to meet an enemy who is on his guard, or to give battle, upon equal terms, in an open field. The most distinguished success is a disgrace to a leader, if purchased with any considerable loss of his followers; and to fall in battle, instead of being deemed an honourable death, is a misfortune which subjects the memory of the warrior to the imputation of rashness or imprudence †.

This system of war was universal in North America, the Chilese excepted, among all the savage tribes dispersed through the different regions and climates of the New World: they all display more craft than boldness in carrying on their hostilities. Hence several celebrated writers have been led to conclude, that the Americans are naturally deficient in active courage ‡. “But when we reflect,” says an author to whom great respect is due §, “that many of these tribes, on occasions which call for extraordinary efforts, not only defend themselves with obstinate resolution, but attack their enemies with the most daring courage **, we must ascribe their habitual caution to some other cause than constitutional timidity. The number of men in each tribe is so small, and the difficulty of rearing new members amid the hardships and dangers of savage life so great, that the life of a citizen is extremely precious; and the preservation of it becomes a capital object in their policy.” But is it not more reasonable to suppose, that this caution is the effect of original disposition, than that political maxims should so strongly influence the conduct of savage nations boiling with revenge, and of individuals so destitute of every other kind of foresight as to sell for a trifle, in the morning, the hammoc in which they should sleep at night ††?—Besides, the desire of saving men ought to have had equal weight with our barbarous ancestors, so prodigal of their lives! and indeed with barbarous tribes in every quarter of the globe, among many

* Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Indians. Charlevoix, ubi sup.

† The author of *Recherches Philosoph. sur les Americ.* tom. I. p. 116, and tom. II. p. 53. Chevalier des Marchais, Voyage, tom. IV. Lord Kaims's Sketches on Man, vol. I. sket. i.

‡ Adair's Hist. of American

§ Dr. Robertson.

** This remains to be proved; for the affirmation of Lachitau and Charlevoix, advocates for the same opinion, are not sufficient to establish such a fact in opposition to the unanimous testimony of all military men, both French and English, who have been either the associates or the adversaries of the Indians in war, and who all declare that they never attack except when they have an evident certainty of victory, nor defend themselves against a superior or even an equal force, unless when the possibility of retreat is cut off.

†† See Robertson's Hist. of Americ. vol. I. p. 310, where much ingenuity is employed to prove, that the Americans are incapable of being influenced by distant consequences, or indeed by any motive but the impression of the moment.

of whom we find the most hardy valour, and a contempt of danger and of death, that has made them intrepidly meet the most numerous and best disciplined armies, and bravely challenge their enemies to the combat, even with an inferior force. In a word, the point of honour among savage nations seems to be dictated by instinct, and only reduced to a maxim of policy in more civilized ages. The American, like the fox, proceeds by stratagem: if surpris'd, he will resist rather than be slain: if seized, he will be torn to pieces, and expire without a complaint or a groan. But the European, like the lion, boldly faces his enemy, and is not so patient under sufferings which his erect mind has not taught him to fear or foresee.

This reasoning may be carried farther. Wrapt in their own wiles, like the animal of prey which they resemble, the Indians seldom observe the precautions most essential to their safety. They never station centinels around the place where they rest at night; and after marching some hundred miles to surpris'e an enemy, are frequently themselves surpris'd and cut off, while sunk in as profound a sleep as if they were not within the reach of danger*. But if, notwithstanding this negligent security, which often ruins their most artful schemes and hopeful enterprises, they catch the enemy unprepared, they rush upon them with the utmost ferocity, and tear off the scalps of all those who fall victims to their barbarous rage. These strange trophies they carry home in triumph, and preserve as monuments not only of their prowess, but of the vengeance which their arm has inflicted upon the people who were the objects of public resentment †. They are still more solicitous to seize prisoners, who are generally reserved for tortures so dreadful, as to make the fate of those that perish in the field to be envied; and it is in the amazing fortitude with which they endure these, that we discover that firmness of spirit for which the North Americans are so much distinguished. Their passive courage exceeds all conception: but patience under personal suffering, with a view towards which the whole life of an Indian seems to be regulated, depends upon a principle in the mind very different from that of valour, the spring of illustrious actions; and as the Americans are generally destitute of the latter, though endowed with the former in so eminent a degree, in like manner, some Europeans possessed of every heroic quality, and superior to the impressions of fear, have been known to sink under the slow assaults of pain. The one may be acquired by a Spartan discipline, or an American severity of life; but the other, unless the gift of nature, can only be inspired by the liberal principles of a Roman or an Athenian education.

The Indian captives are commonly treated with some degree of humanity, till they reach the enemy's frontier. Then the victors dispatch some of their number to inform their countrymen of the success of the expedition, and the prisoners soon begin to feel the wretchedness of their condition. The women of the village assemble, together with the youth who have not yet attained to the age of bearing arms, and forming themselves into two lines, through which the unhappy captives must pass, beat and bruise them, with sticks and stones, in a

* Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Lahontan, tom. II.

† Lafitau,

cruel manner * ; as at least an expreffion of their hatred of their enemies, and their thirst of vengeance, if they are not entitled to a share in the honours of war. This first gratification of their hostile rage, is followed by lamentations for the loss of such of their countrymen as have fallen in the service, accompanied with words and actions which seem to indicate the most deep and real sorrow: but in a moment, by one of those singular transitions of the human mind which philosophy would in vain reconcile to system, on a signal given, their tears cease; and, as if disciplined in grief, suddenly passing from the keenest excess of anguish to the most extravagant transports of joy, they begin to celebrate their victory with all the wild exultation of barbarous triumph †.

Meanwhile the fate of the prisoners remains undecided. That is left to the old men, who meet and deliberate concerning it. Some are destined to be tortured to death, in order to satiate the revenge of the conquerors, and some to replace the members which the community has lost in the course of that or former wars. Such as are reserved for this milder fate, are led to the huts of those whose relations have been slain, with certain ceremonies. The women meet them at the door, and if they receive them, their sufferings are at an end: they are adopted into the family; and according to the phrase usual on such occasions, are seated on the mat of the deceased. They assume his name; they hold the same rank; and are treated thenceforth with all the tenderness due to a husband, a father, a brother, or other kinsman. But if from any caprice, or the unrelenting desire of revenge, the women of any family refuse to accept of the prisoner who is offered to them, his doom is fixed. No quality or accomplishment can save him from torture and death, nor any arm rescue him ‡.

The prisoners, while their fate is in suspense, appear altogether unconcerned about what may befall them. They talk, they eat, they sleep, as if they were perfectly at ease in their minds, and under no apprehensions of impending danger. Even when the fatal sentence is announced to them, far from seeming to decline the conflict, or attempting to avoid it by a voluntary death, they receive the information with an unaltered countenance, raise their death-song, and prepare to maintain the honour of their nation, by suffering like men. Resolved to put their constancy to the most severe trial, their conquerors assemble as to a solemn festival; and a scene ensues, the bare description of which is sufficient to chill the heart with horror, wherever men have been accustomed by milder institutions to respect their species, and to melt into tenderness at the sight of human misery.

The captives are tied naked to a stake, but so as to be at liberty to move round it. All who are present, men, women, and children, rush upon them like furies. Every species of torture is employed that the rancour of revenge can invent. Some burn their limbs with red hot irons, some mangle their bodies with knives; while others tear the flesh from their bones, pluck out their nails by the roots, and rend, twist, and snap their sinews. They vie with each other in refinements of cruelty. Nothing sets bounds to their rage but the dread of abridging the life

* Lahontan, tom. II.
: Id. *ibid.*

† Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Laëtou, II.

of the sufferers, with which the exercise of their vengeance must terminate; and such is their barbarous ingenuity in tormenting, that by avoiding to hurt any vital part, they often prolong this scene of anguish for several days. In spite of all that they feel, the unhappy victims continue to chant their death-song with a firm voice: they boast of their own exploits; they insult their tormentors, and reproach them with want of skill in revenging the death of their friends and relations: they warn them of the vengeance which awaits them, in retaliation of their fate, and excite their ferocity by the most provoking threats and denunciations*.

The noblest triumph of an American warrior is to display undaunted fortitude amid such dreadful sufferings; and by a strange kind of affection, their tormentors are directed to be most cruel where they intend the highest respect. The coward is put to death by the hands of women; and if any one betrays symptoms of timidity, he is often dispatched at once with contempt, as unworthy of being treated like a man †. But the brave are supposed to be entitled to all the trials of courage and patience that men can invent. Animated with those sentiments, they endure without a groan, what seems almost impossible for human nature to support. They appear to be not only insensible to pain, but to court it. "Withhold!" said an aged chief of the Iroquois, when his insults had provoked one of his tormentors to wound him with a weapon which he deemed inglorious; "withhold these stabs of your knife! let me rather die by fire, that those dogs your allies from beyond the sea, may learn by my example to suffer like men ‡." This awful struggle between constancy in suffering and obstinacy in tormenting, is at length terminated by the death of the prisoner, whom some chief, either in a transport of rage, or out of compassion, generally dispatches with his club or dagger§.

These barbarities are often succeeded by a spectacle no less shocking. That fell spirit of revenge which envenoms the heart of a savage, frequently prompts the unfeeling Americans to devour those unhappy persons, who have been the victims of their fury and cruelty. This practice, which as we have frequently had occasion to observe, prevailed in the southern continent, and in several of the islands, was also common in various districts of North America**. Even among those tribes where no such practice has been in use since the arrival of the Europeans, it appears to have been formerly familiar, as it is incorporated into the very idiom of their language. The phrase by which the Iroquois express their resolution of making war against an enemy is, "Let us go and eat that nation;"—and if they solicit the aid of a neighbouring tribe, they invite it to "eat broth made of the flesh of their enemies ††." Hence too the custom, al-

* Circumstances similar to these have been related by a variety of authors, but accompanied with such particulars as are altogether horrid and disgusting. A selection was therefore necessary to give truth to the description, taken in a general view, as well as to render it bearable to human feeling; and such a selection has been made by the abbé Prevot, *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. XV. p. 58, 59, and by Dr. Robertson, *Hist. Americ. book IV.* from which this account is chiefly copied.

† De la Potherie, tom. II.

‡ Colden, vol. I.

§ Charlevoix, *Hist. N. France*, tom. III. Lafitau, tom. II. Lahont, *Voyages*, tom. I.

** De la Potherie, tom. II. †† Charlevoix, *Hist. N. France*, tom. III. De la Potherie, tom. II.

most univerfal among the natives of North America, when they engage in hoftilities, of fufpending over the fire the war rattle *, though no longer made fubfervient to fuch horrid feafts.

The amazing ftadinefs with which the North Americans endure the moft exquisite torments has induced fome authors to fuppofe, that colder blood, thicker humours, and a conftitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampnefs of the air, may blunt the irritability of the nervous fyftem. It has even been affirmed, that they are fcarce ever convulſed in the agonies of death, and that they endure the moft fevere chyrurgical operations, the amputation of a leg or an arm, without ſhrinking, or uttering a fingle groan †. But we can hardly believe that the conftitution of the Americans is fo different in its texture from that of the reſt of the human ſpecies, or indeed of the animal creation, as to account for this remarkable diverſity in their behaviour. It muſt flow chiefly from a principle of honour, inſtilled early, and cultivated with ſuch care, as to inſpire man in his rudeſt ſtate with an heroic conſtancy, to which philoſophy has in vain endeavoured to form him, when more highly improved and poliſhed. This invincible firmnefs he has been taught to conſider as the principal diſtinction of his nature, and the higheſt attainment of a warrior: the ideas which influence his conduct, and the paſſions that take poſſeſſion of his heart are few: they operate therefore with more deciſive effect, than when the mind is crowded with a multiplicity of objects, or diſtracted by the variety of its purſuits; and when every motive that operates with force on the mind of a ſavage, prompts an Indian to ſuffer with dignity, he will bear what might ſeem to be impoſſible for human patience to ſuſtain ‡.

“ It gave me joy,” ſaid an old man to his captive, “ that ſo gallant a youth was allotted to my ſhare. I propoſed to have placed you on the mat of my nephew, who was ſlain by your countrymen; to have transferred all my tenderneſs to you, and to have ſolaced my age in your company; but maimed and mutilated as you now appear, death is better than life: prepare yourſelf therefore to die like a man †.” He did ſo, and ſet at defiance all the rage of his tormentors for three days; at the end of which he expired, without ſo much as an involuntary motion. But when the fortitude of the Americans is not rouſed to exertion by ſuch ſentiments, their feelings of pain are nearly the ſame with thoſe of the reſt of mankind. Nor is that patience under ſufferings, for which they are ſo juſtly celebrated, an univerſal attainment: the conſtancy of many of the captives is overcome by the burning rage of pain; and their weakneſs and lamentations complete the triumph of their enemies, at the ſame time that they reſpect diſgrace upon their country and kindred †.

But if nature has not interpoſed, to render the Americans inſenſible to thoſe torments which are ſo frequently their lot, diſcipline has come in aid of principle to enable them to ſupport the keenest attacks of anguiſh. As paſſive fortitude

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 46.

‡ Ulloa, Notic. American.

† Robertson, Hiſt. Americ. book IV.

‡ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III.

‡ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. De la Potherie, tom. II.

is the quality in highest estimation among them, it is the early study of the Indians to acquire a talent, which will enable them to act like men, when their resolution shall be put to the proof. Accordingly, as the youth of other nations exercise themselves in feats of activity and force, those of North America vie with one another in exhibitions of their patience under suffering. They harden their nerves by such voluntary trials, and gradually accustom themselves to endure the sharpest pain without complaining. "I have seen," says Charlevoix, "a boy and a girl bind their naked arms together, and place a burning coal between them, in order to try who could endure it the longest*." All the trials customary in America, when a youth is admitted into the class of warriors, or when a warrior is promoted to the dignity of captain or chief, are accommodated to this idea of fortitude, as we have already had occasion to observe. They are not displays of valour, but of patience; they are not exhibitions of the ability of the candidates to offend, but of their capacity to suffer. In North America, the previous trial of a warrior is neither so formal nor so severe, as among the tribes on the banks of the Orinoco †. But even here, before a youth is permitted to bear arms, his patience and fortitude are proved by blows, by fire, and by insults more intolerable to a haughty spirit than both ‡.

The perpetual hostilities carried on among the North American Indians are productive of the most fatal effects. As their imperfect industry does not supply them with any superfluous store of provisions, even in seasons of tranquillity, they are reduced to extreme want, when the irruption of an enemy desolates their cultivated lands, or disturbs them in their hunting excursions. All the people of the district that is invaded are frequently obliged to take refuge in woods or mountains, which can afford them no subsistence, and where many of them perish. Nor does their excessive caution in conducting their military operations §, and the solicitude of every leader to preserve the lives of his followers, as they seldom enjoy any interval of peace, prevents the loss of men, by famine and the sword, from exceeding the degree of population. Hence all their tribes are now fee-

* Hist. N. France, tom. III.

† These trials are more peculiarly solemn and excruciating among the Caribs or Galibis. See vol. I. book II. chap. v. p. 500, of this work.

‡ Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III.

§ This caution, which is supposed by two celebrated writers, (Robertson and Raynal) to have been dictated by political motives, and to be essential to the very existence of a people engaged in perpetual hostilities, appears to have no such operation; for where both parties are possessed of the same arts, and both, as in the present case, more intent upon surprising their enemies than vigilant in providing against being surprised themselves; in a word, where their caution consists rather in avoiding battle, than in avoiding danger, the loss of men will be fully as great as if they had made their attacks by open force. Nay, there is every reason to believe it will be greater. The surprises will be mutual; and the difference between the temper of the lurking villain and the declared foe, is conspicuous from the proceedings of the highwayman and footpad, up to the authorized violence of nations. Stratagem, which in its very nature involves an insidious purpose, is the inseparable companion of cruelty. Few men escape in the surprises of the Americans, and few prisoners were formerly spared; whereas when men meet one another in the field, personal opposition begets esteem: those who resist only are slain; and an ascendancy is soon acquired, by mutual trials of strength, which makes hostilities themselves less frequent.

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ble; and many, which were once powerful, have gradually wafted away and difappeared. Nothing now remains of feveral nations that were once confiderable, but the name*.

Reflections arifing from this continual decay, firft fuggelted to certain tribes the idea of adopting prifoners taken in war, as an expedient to prevent their total extindtion. The practice, however, is by no means yet univerfal. Repentment operates more powerfully among favages than confiderations of policy †; for the greater part of their captives was anciently facrificed to their vengeance; and it is only fince their numbers began to decline faft, that they have embraced milder meafures. But fuch as they do fpare, they naturalize in the manner already defcribed; and the new citizens, incorporated into fome family, renounce for ever their original connexions, and affimilate themfelves fo entirely to the people by whom they are adopted, that they immediately join them in hostile enterprifes, and even in expeditions againft their own countrymen.

A transition fo fudden, and fo repugnant to one of the moft powerful inftincts implanted by nature in the heart of man, would appear ftrange among any people; but among the members of fmall focieties, where national enmity is violent and deep-rooted, and among Americans whofe revenge is inextinguifhable, while in a ftate of freedom, it is yet more furprifing and unaccountable. It feems, however, to refult from the principles upon which war is carried on in the New World. As no exchange of prifoners ever there takes place, the moment a warrior is made captive, his country and his friends confider him as dead. He has incurred fuch indelible difgrace, by fuffering himfelf to be furprized or taken by an enemy, as would fubject him to eternal infamy, were he to return home: he therefore feels little reluctance, fince the ties which bound him to his tribe are irreparably broken, in forming a frefh connexion with a people, though formerly enemies, who, as an evidence of their friendly fentiments, not only deliver him from a cruel execution, but offer to admit him to all the rights of a warrior and fellow citizen. That fimilarity of manners observable in rude nations, and which is peculiarly perfect among the North American tribes, facilitates and completes the union; and induces a captive to transfer not only his allegiance, but his affection, to the community into the bofom of which he is received ‡. This affection is ftrengthened by his attachment to the family into which he is engrafted, and by which he is treated with the greateft tendernefs. Hence, as a celebrated writer very juftly remarks, the fame fate that loads the favage with chains, and difolves the ties of former contiguinity, if he efcape death, gives him new relations and friends §.

* Charlevoix. *Hift. N. France*, tom. III.

† For this obfervation the author is indebted to Dr. Robertson; and while he admires its juftnefs, he cannot help lamenting the inconfiftencies of the greateft men. Is it poffible that political confiderations, which could not reftrain the Americans from butchering their neceffary prifoners in cool blood, fhould operate fo powerfully upon them, while under the influence of hostile paffion, as to prevent them from ever voluntarily expofing their perfons?

‡ Robertson, *Hift. Americ.* book IV.

§ Raynal, *Hift. Philof. &c.* liv. xv.

But though war is the chief occupation of barbarians, and to excel in it their highest distinction and pride, their inferiority is always manifest when they engage in competition with more civilized nations. They are incapable of maintaining in the field the formality of uniform precautions; and are ever less vigilant to avoid being surprized themselves, than anxious to surprize their enemy. By reason of these disadvantages, though patient of hardship and fatigue, and qualified by their stratagem and ferocity to throw terror, into a more regular army; yet, in the course of a continued struggle, they must always yield to superior discipline and address. Hence the Romans were able to over-run the provinces of Gaul, Germany, and Britain; and hence the Europeans have ever maintained a decided superiority over the inhabitants of the New World, even when their arms have been the same*. The North Americans however, animated by an unconquerable spirit of freedom, still retain part of their original possessions; and though long encompassed by three formidable European powers, continue to exist as independent nations. The principal of these nations are the Algonquins, who occupy the north side of the river St. Lawrence, for an extent of near five hundred miles; the Hurons, Outawaes, and Illinois, seated on the lakes and rivers which bear their names; the Abnauques, who border upon New England; the Iroquois or Mohawks, who border upon the provinces of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and the Cherokees, who border upon Carolina**.

The arts and manufactures of savages must every where be few and simple, but more especially those of a people unacquainted with the use of iron, the great instrument of human labour and ingenuity †. Nature, however, has directed man, in his least improved state, to provide some covering against the inclemency of the weather ‡, by day, and some hovel or habitation, where he may rest at night. Those of the North Americans were of the rudest kind. The shoulders of the men were covered with a sort of cloak or mantle of the skins of wild beasts, and the loins of the women were surrounded with a petticoat of the same, reaching below the knee †. But though almost without dress, they were

* Many of the American tribes have substituted fire-arms in place of their bows and arrows; but they still adhere to their ancient maxims of war, and are unable to contend with an equal number of European troops. The Chilse is the only exception to this observation. As they originally attacked their enemies in the open field, they now advance to the charge not only with courage, but with discipline. Ovaña's Relat. of Chili. Their personal appearance only could induce us to suppose the brave and high spirited Chilse to be the same race with the rest of the natives of the New World.

** Adair's Hist. of North American Indians. Douglass's Summary, part I. sec. iii. An account of the ancient and present state of these, as well as of other Indian nations and tribes, shall be given when we come to speak of the European settlements in their neighbourhood.

† The Americans, as we have more than once had occasion to observe, were all unacquainted with the use of iron, and the greater part of the northern tribes were strangers to the use of metal of any kind.

‡ In certain mild climates men have been found entirely naked; but there cloaths were not necessary.

† Douglass's Summary, part I. sect. iii. Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts's Bay, chap. vi. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. IV. p. 39.

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not inattentive to ornament. They disposed their hair in many different forms, their ears were hung, and their necks surrounded with shells in the form of beads; they punctured and flained their skins with a great variety of figures; and vanity, not satisfied with these fantastic decorations, in which they spent much time, and submitted to much pain, disposed them to alter the natural form of their bodies. Their operations for that purpose begin as soon as an infant is born. By conpressing the bones of the skull, while still soft and flexible, they mould the head into a flat, a square, or a conical figure; and by these violent and absurd efforts, to derange the plan of nature, or improve upon her designs, they often endanger the lives of their posterity.

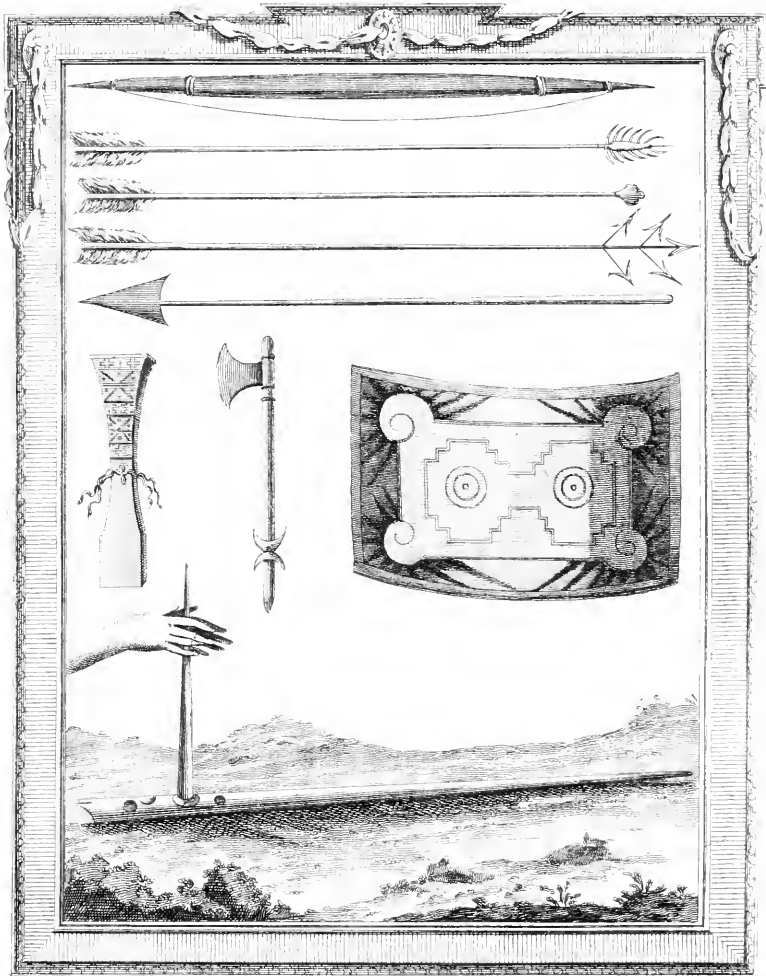
But in all their attempts either to adorn or to new model their persons, it seems to have been less the object of the North Americans to please, or to appear beautiful, than to give an air of dignity or terror to their aspect. Their attention to dress had more reference to war than to gallantry. The difference in rank and estimation between the two sexes was so great, as extinguished in some measure, their solicitude to appear mutually amiable. The man deemed it beneath him to adorn his person, for the sake of one on whom he was accustomed to look down, as to a slave. It was when the warrior had in view to enter the council of his nation, or take the field against his enemies, that he assumed his choicest ornaments, and decked his person with the nicest care*. The decorations of the women were few and simple. Whatever was precious or splendid was reserved for the men; and as the women in several tribes, were obliged to spend a considerable part of their time, every day, in painting and adorning their husbands, they could bestow little attention upon ornamenting themselves. Hence, among a race of men so haughty as to despise, and so cold as to neglect the softer sex, the women naturally became careless and slovenly; and that love of finery and shew, which has been deemed their favourite passion, by a very singular peculiarity in manners, was confined entirely to the savage hunter, and the warrior smeared with blood †.

The habitations of the North Americans were still more rude and imperfect than their dress. They were wretched huts, sometimes of an oblong, sometimes of a circular form, intended merely for shelter, without any view to elegance, and with little attention to conveniency. The doors were generally so low, that it was necessary to bend, or to creep on hands and feet in order to enter them. They were without windows or chimneys; the light being admitted, and the smoke conveyed out at a large hole in the middle of the roof ‡. One other circumstance relative to these miserable dwellings, which discovered less ingenuity than those of the beaver, only merits attention, as it illustrates the character of the people. Some of their houses were an hundred feet long, had fire places at certain distances, and were built for the reception of different families, who

* Charlevoix, *Hist. N. France*, tom. III.

† *Id. ibid.* Laffau, tom. II. Robertson, *Hist. Americ.* book IV.

‡ *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. XV. p. 43, 44.



Supplements of WAR made use of by the
AMERICAN INDIANS.

dwelt together under the same roof, without separate apartments, or any kind of screen or partition between the spaces which they respectively occupied *. This singular mode of habitation, as Dr. Robertson ingeniously remarks, may be considered not only as the effect of that community of goods which subsisted among the North Americans, but as a proof of their inattention and indifference towards their women; for if they had not been accustomed to perfect equality, such an arrangement could not have taken place; and if their sensibility had been apt to have taken alarm, they would not have trusted the virtue of their women amidst the temptations and opportunities of such a promiscuous intercourse *. The perpetual concord which reigns in habitations, where so many families are crowded together, is also worthy of notice; as it affords a striking evidence that they must be people either of a very gentle, or of a very phlegmatic temper, who, in such a situation, are unacquainted with animosity, brawling, and strife ††.

After securing himself against the inclemency of the elements, man, in his natural state, will perceive the necessity of providing weapons for his defence against his brother savages of the forest, both brute and human; and these weapons will, in time, be converted into arms for prosecuting his animosities or extending the empire of his ambition, as well as employed, by way of implements, in order to procure him the means of subsistence. The original weapons of the North Americans were bows and arrows; a spear, armed with sharp bones; and a short club of very hard wood, with one cutting edge, and a knob towards the end. This last weapon, which is generally known by the name of the tomahawk, has been improved, since their acquaintance with the use of iron, by the addition of a sharp pointed hatchet, opposite to the knob †. These weapons at once served them for the purposes of war and hunting, and even for those of agriculture, stakes hardened in the fire, in the manner of their spears, being their only implements of husbandry ‡.

The domestic utensils of the North Americans were both few and rude. Some of the southern and western tribes had discovered the art of forming earthen vessels, and of baking them in such a manner that they could endure the fire ||; but according to Charlevoix, the inhabitants of Canada had not attained even this humble degree of refinement. They were either unacquainted with any

** Id. *ibid*

* *Hist. Americ.* book IV. The same observation had been before made by lord Kaims. "When by ripening sensibility," says he, "a man puts a value on the affections of his wife, jealousy commences. Jealousy accordingly is a symptom of an increasing esteem for the female sex; and that passion is visibly creeping in among the natives of Virginia." *Sketches on Man*, vol. I. sect. i.

†† Lantau, tom. II.

† *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. XV. p. 51. Hutchinson, *Hist. of Massachusetts Bay*, c. vi.

‡ *Id. ibid*.

|| Hutchinson, *Hist. Massachusetts Bay*, chap. vi. "The Nargansets," says he, who lived on the bay of the same name, "supplied the neighbouring nations with earthen vessels for cookery and other domestic uses." This evidence is positive, and the author had every means of information.

other method of dressing their victuals but by roasting them on the fire, or had recourse to the troublesome expedient of hollowing a piece of hard wood into the form of a kettle, and filling it with water, brought it to boil by throwing red hot stones into it §.

The Indians discovered more ingenuity in the means of procuring their food, than in dressing it. The art of cookery is in small repute among savages: the question with them is to eat; to satisfy the stomach, and allay the cravings of hunger, not how to tickle the palate or provoke the appetite. Their bone-hooks, their lines made of wild hemp, their arrows pointed with flint, and their bows strung, and braced in the back with the sinews of deer, were curious examples of rude art*. But the greatest effort of their mechanical talent, as well as of their industry, was displayed in the construction of their canoes. Of these they had two sorts; one made by hollowing the trunk of a large pine or chestnut-tree, the other formed of the bark or rind of the birch-tree, with knees or ribs, and so light that two men can carry them with the greatest facility, yet tight and secure against the waves †.

After the perfect enjoyment of civil, or rather natural liberty, the most happy circumstance in the life of a savage is his exemption from religious tyranny. The altar has ever been the foot-stool to the throne; and the human soul has never submitted to the yoke of despotism, nor man felt abasement in the presence of man, till his mind was broken and enslaved by the shadowy terrors of superstition. The North Americans, who had no kings or permanent civil superiors, had neither priests, altars, nor pious ceremonies. But they were not without religion, though their creed was very simple. It consisted only of two articles, which ought perhaps to limit the creed of every country; the being of a God, and the immortality of the soul. The regular return of the seasons, the vicissitudes of day and night; rain and sun-shine, heat and cold; but more especially thunder and lightning, storms and tempests, suggest to the least cultivated rea-

§ Hist. de la N. France, tom. III. Hence Dr. Robertson concludes that the North Americans had no earthen vessels. "In North America," says he, "they hollow a piece of hard wood," &c. Hist. book iv. p. 376.

* Hutchinson, ubi sup. Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay.

† Hutchinson, chap. vi. Dr. Robertson admits the ingenuity of the Indians in this particular, but says "they will spend so many years in forming a canoe, that it is of en begins to rot with age before they can finish it;" and he adds a variety of arguments, borrowed from Spanish authors, (who think themselves bound to vilify a people that their countrymen have pillaged, oppressed, and massacred) to prove, that even since the Europeans have communicated to the Americans the knowledge of their instruments, and taught them to imitate their arts, that they "discover no talents for dispatch." Roger Williams, a protestant missionary, quoted by Hutchinson, speaks a very different language. "I have seen," says he, "a native go into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a basket of corn with him, and stones to strike fire. When he had felled his tree (being a chestnut) he made him a little shed or house of the bark of it, he puts fire, and follows the burning it with fire in many places: his corn he boils, and bath the brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish: but so he continues, burning and hewing, until he hath within ten or twelve days, (lying there at his work alone) finished his boat." Hist. Massachusetts Bay, chap. vi.

ion the existence of some Intelligence superior to itself, which must be the Cause of so many extraordinary appearances; and as fear is a stronger passion than gratitude, the first worship in all nations has been paid to the Author of Evil*. The next step of the human mind in its theological progress is the recognition of a *good* as well as an *evil* Principle. Some times it assigns these two qualities to separate Beings; but more commonly reasoning by analogy from its own dispositions, (for reason is the instinct of man) it has considered both as the different effects of the good will and displeasure of ONE. This Being, whom the North Americans denominated *The Great Spirit*, they regarded as the Cause of all things †. He was their God of Peace, as well as of War; the Lord of the Harvest, as well as the Lord of Hosts, the God of Vengeance, and the Author of Famine and Desolation. Their ideas of his nature, however, were very imperfect; and as they had no moral principles, or penal laws, they do not seem to have considered him as the Punisher of Vice, or the Rewarder of Virtue ‡. This may appear the more extraordinary, as they had a distinct notion of a future state; but men cannot ascribe to their gods qualities or institutions of which they have no example among themselves.

The second article in the North American creed was more clearly understood than the first. That hope of a happy immortality, which several learned and pious ecclesiastics have supposed to be brought to light only by the Gospel, appears to be natural to the human mind. The soul of man, even when least improved and invigorated by culture, shrinks from the thoughts of dissolution, and looks forward, especially in seasons of calamity and distress, with an instinctive longing, and fond expectation, to a future and better state of existence. Such an expectation was common over all North America. The least enlightened of its savage tribes do not regard death as the extinction of being. They all hope for an after-state, where they shall be for ever exempt from the evils, which embitter human life in its present condition. This they figure as a delightful country, situated towards the south-west, whence the wind generally blows during the finest weather of spring and summer ||; as a region whose forests abound with game, whose rivers swarm with fish, whose meads are covered with flowers, and whose fields are fruitful in corn; where curious cabins shall be provided for them, where famine is never felt, and where they shall enjoy the amusements of hunting, fowling, and fishing, without weariness, and without pain §. But who, it will be inquired, were the inhabitants of the North American elysium?—Not the humble, the meek, and the lowly in spirit; the charitable, the merciful, or the just, qualities for which their language had no terms, nor their mind any ideas: no! nor those whose knees were most frequently bent, or whose eyes were oftentest

* Hence the vulgar notion that the Indians worship the Devil.

† Charlevoix, *Hist. N. de la France*, tom. III. Lañtau, tom. I. ‡ *Id. ibid.*

|| “In the country whence this pleasant wind came, they supposed,” says R. Williams, “the Divinity would chuse to reside.” Let. to the Massachusetts Gov.

§ Hutchinson, *Hist. Massachusetts Bay*, chap. vi. Charlevoix, *Hist. N. France*, tom. III. De la Potheirie, tom. II.

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lifted up to the Great Spirit. Men can never suppose their gods to respect qualities which they do not respect themselves. Their heaven was reserved for the skillful haughtiest man, for the adventurous and successful warrior; for such as had surpris'd and slain the greatest number of enemies, who had tortured the greatest number of captives, and devoured their flesh with the greatest avidity *. In consequence of this idea, that the dead may not enter upon their new career unprovided, they bury with them their bows, their arrows, and other weapons, used in hunting or war, as well as some provisions, cloathing, and such domestic utensils as are most essential to their simple mode of life in this world †.

Such was, and still is the religion of the original North Americans, for the doctrines of Christianity have made small progress among them ‡; a religion calculated, according to their ideas of excellence, to form great, if not good men, as it assigns the most distinguished place in the best abodes to the most distinguished talents. It has also a tendency to make individuals happy during life, and to compose their minds in the hour of death, as it denounces no punishment against guilt in a future state of existence. But this private conveniency was a public evil. By lulling instead of rousing the feelings of remorse, in a land without penal statutes, and where the principles of morals were not understood, it left no curb upon the irregular sallies of passion, nor any barrier against the more deliberate acts of violence and injustice §.

But although the religion of the North Americans left them under few apprehensions with respect to their happiness after death, as every one had the apportioning of that merit on which he founded his hopes, they were not a little anxious in regard to their future fortune in this life. The human mind, is most apt to feel and to discover such a vain curiosity, when its own powers are most feeble and uninformed. Astonished at occurrences of which it is unable to comprehend the cause, it naturally fancies that there is something mysterious and wonderful in their origin; and alarmed at events of which it cannot discern the issue or the consequences, it has recourse to other means of discovering them than the exercise of its own sagacity. Wherever superstition is so established as to form a regular system, this desire of penetrating into the secrets of futurity is connected with it. Divination becomes a religious act; and priests, as the ministers of Heaven,

* Id. *ibid.*

† De la Potherie, tom. II. *Creuria, Hist. Canad. Hutchinson, ubi sup.*

‡ Roger Williams says, that when he had discours'd of the creation, the nature of the soul, and the necessity of saving it, the Indians readily assented; but when he spoke of the resurrection of the body, they cried out, "We will never believe this!" *ubi sup.* The success of other missionaries has not been greater. The grave temper of the North Americans prevents them from embracing any opinion from novelty.

§ A people who have no property, cannot perhaps be said to be guilty of injustice; but the community of goods among the North Americans, is by no means so perfect as to exclude all ideas of this kind. The fur appears always to have belonged to the individual; and except on public huntings, the whole produce of the chase. The fruits of the earth also, when earned by private industry, are the property of the cultivator, though shared with his indigent neighbours. Even the field is held to belong to the person who cleared it, as long as he chuses to occupy it; but he has no right to transfer it. *Gid. Hawley, MS. ap. Robertson.*

pretend

pretend to deliver its oracles to men. They are the only foothlayers, augurs, and magicians, who possess the sacred and important art of disclosing what is hid from other eyes. But among rude nations, who pay little veneration to any superintending Power, and who have no established rites or ministers of religion, their curiosity to discover what is future and unknown is cherished by a different principle, and derives its strength from another alliance.

As the diseases of man in the savage state, like those of the brute creation, are few, but extremely violent, their impatience under what they suffer, and solicitude for the recovery of health, soon inspired them with extraordinary reverence for such as pretended to understand the nature of their maladies, or to preserve them from their sudden and fatal effects. These ignorant pretenders, however, were such utter strangers to the structure of the human frame as to be equally unacquainted with the causes of its disorders, and the manner in which they will terminate; but enthusiasm, mingled frequently with some portion of craft, supplied what they wanted in science. They imputed the origin of diseases to supernatural influence, and prescribed or performed a variety of mysterious rites which they gave out to be of power sufficient to remove them*. That credulity and love of the marvellous, natural to uninformed men, favoured the deception, and prepared them to be the dupes of such impostors; who, taking advantage of human weakness, boast that they know what is past how far removed from their observation, and can foretell what is to come. Incantations, spells, and mummeries of various kinds, no less absurd than frivolous, are the means that they employ to expel the imaginary causes of malignity; and relying on these, they predict with confidence what will be the fate of the deluded patients†.

Thus, adds Dr. Robertson, superstition, in its earliest form, flowed from the solicitude of man to be delivered from present distress, not from his dread of evils awaiting him in a future life, and was originally ingrafted on medicine, not on religion‡. Oviedo, one of the first, and most intelligent historians of America, was struck with this alliance between the art of divination and that of

* Douglass, part I. sect. iii. He owns, however, that the Indian medicines, which are only simple indigenous herbs, whose virtues and properties were discovered by chance, and handed down from generation to generation, have had a peculiar continued success, and that their principal remedy, namely sweating in huts warmed by heated stones, and then upon immediate immersion in cold water, seems to be a rational practice; first by relaxing to give a free passage to the circulatory juices, and after a free passage is supposed to be obtained, by cold immersion to brace up again. This practice, and their ignorance of the nature of the distemper, occasioned great mortality when the small-pox first appeared in North America. Ubi sup.

† Robertson, Hist. Americ. book iv. In order to support the reputation of their prescience, it is conjectured they sometimes made use of poison. Hutchinson, Hist. chap. vi.

‡ Robertson's Hist. of America. book I. Douglass, a man of learning and abilities, in speaking of this original alliance between religion and physic draws a very different inference from it. "This," says he, "seems to be natural. Even among us, a civilized people, our priests, or gospel ministers, by the same aid, are very apt officiously to intrude into the office of a physician, and to use the sick as their patients as well as their penitents." In both we may discover the divine and the physician through the philosopher and the historian; but the divine is by far the most liberal inquirer. His investigation of this subject is one of the finest pieces of human reasoning.

physic, in the New World; and through all its various districts, (the comparatively civilized kingdoms of Mexico and Peru excepted,) as well as in Hispaniola, where he made his observation, whatever was the distinguishing name of their divines and charmers, they were all the physicians of their respective tribes. Their general name in North America was *Pewows* or *Oquis*; and as their function led them to apply to the human mind when enfeebled by sickness, and prone, in that season of dejection to be alarmed by imaginary fears, or amused with vain hopes, they easily induced it to rely with implicit confidence on the virtue of their spells, and the certainty of their predictions *.

Whenever men acknowledge the reality of a supernatural power and discernment in one instance, they have a propensity to admit it in others. The North Americans did not long suppose the efficacy of conjuration to be confined to one subject: they had recourse to it in every situation of danger or distress. When the events of war were peculiarly disastrous; when they met with unforeseen disappointments in hunting; when inundations or drought threatened their crops with destruction, they called upon the conjurers to begin their incantations, in order to discover the causes of those calamities, or to foretell what would be their issue †. Their confidence in this delusive art gradually increased, and manifested itself in all the occurrences of life. When involved in any difficulty, or about to enter upon any transaction of moment, every individual regularly consulted the *Oqui*, and depended upon his instructions to extricate him from the former, and to direct his conduct to the latter.

Even among the rudest tribes in North America, superstition appears in this form, and divination is an art in high esteem. Long before man had acquired such knowledge of a Deity as inspires reverence and leads to adoration, we observe him stretching out a presumptuous hand to draw aside that veil which Providence kindly conceals its purposes from human knowledge ‡. To discern and to worship a superintending Power, is an evidence of the enlargement and maturity of the human understanding; but a vain desire of prying into futurity is the error of its fancy, and a proof of its weakness §. From this weakness also proceeds the faith of the North Americans in dreams, their observation of omens, their attention to the chirping of birds and the cries of animals, all which they suppose to be indications of future events; and if any of these prognostics is deemed unfavourable, they instantly abandon the pursuit of those measures on which they are most eagerly bent §.

But, as a philosophic writer observes, this is a subject on which few nations are entitled to censure their neighbours. When we have considered the superstitions

* Charlevoix, N. France, tom. III. Dumont, tom. I. De la Potherie, tom. II. Hutchin-son, chap. vi.

† Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Dumont, tom. I.

‡ Robertson, Hist. of Americ. book iv.

§ Id. *ibid.*

§ Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. De la Potherie, tom. III. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV.

of one people, we find little variety in those of another: they are but a repetition of similar weaknesses and absurdities proceeding from a common source; a perplexed apprehension of invisible agents, that are supposed to guide all precarious events to which human foresight cannot extend. The mind, on such occasions, is the dupe of its own perplexities; and instead of relying on its prudence or fortitude, has recourse to divination, and a variety of obtrusives, which are only the more revered for being irrational. Meanwhile this weakness or folly does not always prevent that watchfulness, penetration, and courage, which men are accustomed to employ in the management of common affairs; and a Roman senator consulting futurity by the pecking of birds, a king of Sparta inspecting the entrails of a beast, or Mithridates consulting his women on the interpretation of his dreams, are examples sufficient to prove, that a childish superstition is consistent with the greatest military and political conduct*.

As the North Americans have comparatively few diviners, or pious quacks, they suffer less from this disease of the human mind than more civilized nations. But nothing can equal the extravagance of their credulity in regard to dreams. Ignorance is naturally prone to connect something mysterious with those nocturnal visions, and to ascribe them to the agency of some powerful spirit, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are suspended and lulled asleep, of watching over us during the absence of our senses. A soul, distinct from our own, seems to glide into us, in order to inform us of events yet in the womb of time; some genius, deputed by that Great Being to whom futurity is always present, seems to advertise us of things to come, that we may avoid misfortune or bear it with patience. This is more particularly the case in North America, covered with thick and extensive forests, often rendered more awful by dark fogs; where the mournful dashing of waves along the lakes and rivers that intersect the country, the portentous noises which every change of the wind, and every increase and diminution of the waters, are apt to raise in a lonely region full of echoes, and caverns, and cataracts; the grotesque and ghastly appearance of such a landscape by the light of the moon! objects like these diffuse a gloom over the fancy, which cannot fail to tincture the thoughts in the hour of silence and solitude. Besides, men whose sole occupations are hunting, fishing, and war, are continually exposed to fatal accidents, at the same time that their nerves are apt to be painfully affected by the inclemency of the weather, fatigue, and long abstinence. Hence new horrors haunt their lonely moments, and a deeper melancholy overshadows their imagination, even while awake; and when they sink into sleep, they are alarmed with frightful dreams: they imagine they are surrounded with enemies: they see their village surprised, and deluged in blood; they receive injuries and wounds: their wives, their children, their friends are carried off; they behold their dying agonies!—When they awake, the impression upon their minds is so strong, that they consider these visions as warnings from the Divinity; and that fear which first inspired them with this idea, augments their natural ferocity by the additional gloom which it throws over their thoughts. In this state of mind

* Ferguson, *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, part II. sect. ii.

they are guilty of the wildest extravagancies*. Their dreams, like all other prophecies, operate to their own completion.

From the civil, military, and religious customs of a people, their arts and industry, we pass naturally to their amusements, no less characteristic of their manners. Among savages in every quarter of the globe, the love of dancing is a favourite passion. As a great part of their time languishes away in listless indolence, without any occupation to rouse or to interest them, they delight universally in a pastime which calls forth the active powers of their nature into exercise †. Accordingly the Spaniards, when they first visited the New World, were astonished at the fondness of the natives for dancing: they beheld with wonder a people, cold and unanimated in most respects, kindle into life, and exert themselves with ardour, as often as they had an opportunity of joining in this favourite amusement ‡.

Among the North Americans, indeed, dancing ought not to be denominated an amusement. It is a serious and important occupation, which mingles in every occurrence of public or private life. If any intercourse is necessary between two Indian tribes, the ambassadors of the one approach in a solemn dance, and present the Calumet or emblem of peace: the Sachems or chiefs of the other, receive it with the same ceremony §. If war is denounced against an enemy, it is by a dance expressive of the resentment which they feel, and the vengeance which they meditate §. If the wrath of Heaven is to be appeased, or its beneficence celebrated; if they rejoice at the birth of a son, or mourn the death of a friend, they have dances appropriated to each of these situations, and suited to the different sentiments with which they are animated**. If a person is indisposed, a dance is prescribed, as the most effectual means of restoring him to health; and if he cannot endure the fatigue of that exercise himself, the Powow, or physical conjurer, performs it in his name, as if the virtues of his activity could be transferred to his patient ††.

All these dances are imitations of some action; and though the music by which they are regulated is extremely simple and tiresome to the ear by its dull monotony, some of the Indian dances appear wonderfully expressive and animated. The war dance is perhaps the most striking. It is the representation of a complete American campaign, and executed by the persons who compose it, with arms in their hands. The departure of the warriors from their village; their march into

* See Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 31, 32, where a number of these extravagancies are related.—What the Indians call dreams, appear to be often waking reveries, similar to those melancholy visions of the Scotch Highlanders, vulgarly denominated the *Second Sight*; to be produced by similar causes, and to be followed by similar consequences. The person from whom danger is apprehended often falls a sacrifice to the fear which it inspires, as the dread of death or misfortune sometime realizes it in the individual.

† Robertson, Hist. Americ. book IV.

‡ Gomara, Hist. Gen. chap. cxcvii.

§ De la Protherie, tom. II. Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. La Fontan, tom. I.

§ Lefitau, tom. I. Charlevoix, ubi sup.

** Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 74. Robertson, Hist. Americ. book IV.

†† Brickell, Hist. N. Carolina. De la Potherie, tom. II.

the enemy's country; the caution with which they encamp; the address with which they station some of their party in ambush; the manner of surprising the enemy; the noise and ferocity of the combat; the scalping of those who are slain; the seizing of prisoners; the triumphant return of the conquerors, and the torture of the captives, are successively exhibited; and the performers enter with such enthusiastic ardour into their several parts—their gestures, their countenance, their voice, are so wild and so well adapted to their various situations, that an European can hardly believe it to be a mimic scene, or view it without emotions of fear and horror. He imagines the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and mangled limbs, and that all present will fall a sacrifice to the fury of the combatants*.

It is somewhat remarkable, that among savages dancing should be an imitative art, and that it should have lost this characteristic in civilized nations. But the lively imagery of the Indian dances is not their most distinguishing circumstance. The songs, the dances, the amusements, of other nations, expressive of the sentiments which animate their hearts, are generally adapted to display or excite that sensibility which mutually attaches the sexes. Nay, so great is the ardour of this passion among some people, that love is almost the sole object of festivity and joy; and as rude nations are strangers to delicacy, and little accustomed to disguise any emotion of their minds, their dances are often extremely wanton and indecent. Such, for the example, is the Calenda, of which the negroes are so passionately fond, and such the feats of the dancing girls, which the Asiatics contemplate with so much pleasure: but among the North Americans, more cold and indifferent to their females, from causes which have been already explained, this passion mingles but little with their festivals and pastimes †. Their songs and dances are mostly solemn and martial: they are connected with some of the serious and important affairs of life; and having no relation to love or gallantry, are seldom common to the two sexes ‡.

An immoderate love of play, especially at games of hazard, which seems to be natural to all people unaccustomed to the occupations of regular industry, is likewise universal among the North Americans. The same causes, which so often prompt persons at their ease in civilized life, to have recourse to this pastime, render it the delight of the savage. The former are independent of labour, the latter does not feel the necessity of it; and as both are unemployed, they run with transport to whatever can stir and agitate their minds §. Hence the Indians, who at other times are so indifferent and phlegmatic; so silent, and so disinterested; as soon as they engage in play, become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their cloaths, their arms, are staked at the gaming table: they tear their hair and beat their

* Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. De la Potherie, tom. II. Lafitau, tom. II. Robertson, Hist. Americ. book iv.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Osbornæ, Collect. vol. II.

§ Robertson, Hist. Americ. book iv.

breast, while the throw is depending; and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or of hope, they will often risk their personal liberty, upon a single cast*.

The North Americans are also extremely addicted to drunkenness, from causes similar to those which make them fond of play. To obtain some composition of an intoxicating quality, seems to have been one of the first exertions of human ingenuity; and there is hardly any nation so rude, or so destitute of invention, as not to have succeeded in this fatal search. The most barbarous of the Indian tribes, have been so unfortunate as to attain this art; and even those who were so deficient in knowledge, as to be ignorant of the method of giving an inebriating strength to liquors by fermentation, can accomplish the same end by other means. The natives of North America, at the time of its discovery, were unacquainted with any intoxicating drink, but used for that purpose the smoke of tobacco, drawn up with a certain instrument into the nostrils, the smoke of which ascending to the brain, they felt all the transports and frenzy of intoxication †; and as the Europeans early found it to be their interest to supply them with spirituous liquors, for which they feel such a violent and insatiable desire as it is not easy either to conceive or describe, drunkenness became universal among them ‡.

Among polished nations, where a succession of various functions and amusements keep the mind in continual occupation, the desire for strong drink is regulated, in a great measure, by the climate, and increases or diminishes according to the variations of its temperature. In warm regions, the delicate and sensible frame of the inhabitants does not require the stimulation of fermented liquors; whereas in colder countries, the constitution of the natives, more robust and sluggish, stands in need of generous liquors to quicken and animate it: but among savages, the desire of something that has power to intoxicate, is in every situation the same. Hence all the rude tribes in the New World, whether natives of the torrid zone, or inhabitants of its more temperate regions, or placed by a harder fate in the severe climates towards its northern and southern extremity, appear to be equally under the dominion of this appetite §.

So great a similarity of taste, among people in such different situations, cannot be considered as the effect of any physical or constitutional want, but must be ascribed to the influence of some moral cause. While engaged in war or in the chase, the savage often finds himself in the most interesting situations, and all the powers

* Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Laflau, tom. II.

† Oviedo, lib. xv.

‡ Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts Bay, chap. vi.

§ Robertson, Hist. Americ. book IV. Guimilla, vol. I. Lozano Decrip. de Gran. Chaco. Ulloa, vol. i. Des Marches, tom. IV. Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Douglass's Summary, part I. sect. iii. Hutchinson, chap. vi. The author was once of opinion, that the excessive love of strong liquors among the inhabitants of the warmer regions, who are mostly subjected to the Spanish yoke, might proceed from a desire of obtaining at least a momentary oblivion from the miseries of their condition. But as, on more mature observation, he finds it to prevail equally among the independent tribes in those latitudes, it must be ascribed to some other cause: he has therefore exceeded the limits of his present subject to investigate it; and has availed himself of the ingenious reasoning of Dr. Robertson, on a point so interesting in the history of human nature.

of his nature are roused to the most vigorous exertions; but those animating scenes are succeeded by long intervals of repose, during which he meets with nothing that he deems of sufficient dignity or importance to merit his attention. He languishes and mopes in this season of indolence. The posture of his body is an emblem of the state of his mind. In one climate cowering over the fire in his cabin; in another, stretched under the shade of some tree, he dozes away his time in sleep, or in an unthinking, joyless inactivity, not far removed from it. As strong liquors awake him from this torpid state, give a brisker motion to his spirits, and enliven him more thoroughly than either dancing or gaming, while perfectly sober, his love of them is excessive*.

A savage, unless when engaged in action is a melancholy animal; but as soon as he tastes or has a prospect of tasting the intoxicating draught, he becomes gay and frolicsome. Whatever be the occasion or pretext on which the Indians assemble, the meeting always terminates in a debauch. Many of their festivals have no other object, and they welcome the return of them with transports of joy. As they are not accustomed to restrain any appetite they set no bounds to this. The riot often continues without intermission for several days; and whatever be the effect of their excess, they never cease drinking as long as a drop of liquor remains †. The persons of greatest eminence, the most distinguished warriors, and the chiefs most renowned for wisdom, have no more command of themselves than the most obscure member of the community. Their eagerness for present enjoyment renders them blind to its fatal consequences; and those very men, who in some situations seem to possess a force of mind more than human, are in this instance inferior to children in foresight, as well as reflection, and mere slaves to brutal appetite ‡. To be enabled to procure the means of this debauch, is the principal end which the North Americans pursue in all their treaties with the Europeans, and the great spur to their industry; and when intoxicated, they frequently lie exposed on the earth to all the inclemency of the seasons, which wastes them by a train of the most fatal disorders: they perish in rivers and marshes; they tumble into the fire; they quarrel; and in their frantic rage, often murder each other. In a word, the festivity seldom concludes without deeds of violence or bloodshed §; and drunkenness, which among civilized nations, is rather debasing than very destructive, among this rude people is a public calamity.

* "The only thing," says Ulloa, "in which they shew a lively sensation and alacrity, is for parties of pleasure, rejoicings, entertainments, and especially dancings; but in all these the liquor must circulate briskly, which seems to be their supreme enjoyment." Voyage, vol. I. book vi. chap. vi.

† Ulloa, ubi sup.

‡ Letter Edif. tom. II. Torquemad. Mond. Ind. vol. I. Ulloa, vol. I. book vi. chap. vi. "It is worth notice," says the last author, "that the women, whether maids or married, and also the young men, entirely abstain from this vice;" but in North America, persons of all ages and sexes indulge without distinction. Hutchinson, chap. vi.

§ The debauches of the southern Indians seldom produce quarrels; "but when tired of intemperance, they all lie down together, without minding whether near the wife of another, or their own sister, daughter," &c. Ulloa, ubi sup.

BOOK IV.

To enumerate all the detached customs which have excited the wonder of travellers in North America, would be endless; but there is one, no less singular than general, which must not be omitted. When their parents and other relations become old, or labour under any infirmity which their slender knowledge of the healing art cannot remove, they cut short their days with a violent hand, in order to be relieved from the burden of supporting and tending them. This practice prevails among the ruder tribes in every part of the continent, from Hudson's Bay to the river De la Plata; and however shocking it may be to those sentiments of tenderness and attachment, which, in civilized life we are apt to consider as congenial with our frame, the condition of man in the savage state leads and reconciles him to it. The same hardships and difficulty of procuring subsistence, which as already noticed, deter savages, in some cases, from rearing their children, prompts them to destroy the aged and infirm. The declining state of the one is as helpless as the infancy of the other. The former are no less unable than the latter to perform the functions of a warrior or hunter, or to endure those various distresses in which savages are so often involved by their want of foresight and industry. Their relations feel this; and incapable of attending to the wants or weaknesses of others, their impatience under an additional burden prompts them to extinguish that life which they find it difficult to sustain. This is not regarded as a deed of cruelty, but as an act of mercy. An Indian broken with years and infirmities, conscious that he can no longer depend upon the aid of those around him, places himself contentedly in his grave; and it is by the hands of his children or nearest relations that the thong is pulled, or the blow inflicted, which releases him for ever from the sorrows of life*.

After contemplating the North Americans under so many different views, arising from their natural, moral, and political situation, it only remains to form a general estimate of their character, considered as rational beings. Were it to be regulated by the common standard of European manners and sentiments, the Americans would appear low indeed. But in place of vulgar opinion, we must substitute the canon of universal reason, and endeavour to do justice to the natives of the New World, as well as to human nature †. The earliest function of an animal combined with an intellectual nature, is to receive the informations of sense; and one principal qualification of the living agent consists in the
force

* Cassini, Hist. de N. Reyn. de Granad. Guimila, vol. I. Ellis, Voyage to Hudson's Bay. Robertson, Hist. Americ. book IV. De l'Esprit par M. Helvetius.

† Dr. Robertson, in forming such an estimate, has not only made our present manners the criterion, but has extended all the peculiarities in the American character to the common nature of man: he has made him originally selfish, crafty, cruel, and unjust; he has supposed every virtue and every talent to be the effect of culture. In a word, it was only necessary for him to have gone one step farther, or to have spoke out, and made every virtue the effect of the soothing dew of grace. The modern presbyterians, by employing the arguments of Helvetius, a professed materialist, in order to vilify human nature, not only endanger that religion which they mean to support, but sap the very foundation of morals; whereas by adhering to the antiquated practice of their

force and sensibility of his animal organs. On these qualities, and the state of society in which he is placed depend, in a great measure, the virtues and talents of man. In proportion to the wants which his condition accustoms him to feel, and the exertions in which those engage him, his intellectual powers are called forth; and according to the connections which it establishes between him and the rest of his species, the affections of his heart are awakened.

It is only by attending to these two leading principles of organization and condition, allowing some small matter for instinctive temper, that we can reason with any degree of propriety concerning the character of individuals or of nations. Confined within the narrow sphere of what he deems necessary for supplying his own wants, the intellectual powers of man in the savage state must be extremely limited in their operations. But how narrow soever the bounds may be within which the knowledge of a savage is circumscribed, he possesses thoroughly that small portion of it which he has attained. It was not communicated to him by formal instruction: he does not attend to it as mere matter of speculation and curiosity; it is the result of his own observation, the fruit of his own experience, and accommodated to his condition and exigencies. While employed in the active occupations of war and hunting, he often finds himself in difficult and perilous situations, from which the efforts of his own sagacity must extricate him: he is frequently engaged in measures where every step depends upon his own ability to decide; where he must rely upon his own penetration to discern the dangers to which he is exposed, and upon his own wisdom in providing against them.

As the talents of individuals are exercised and improved by such exertions, a considerable share of political discernment is displayed by savages in conducting the affairs of their rude communities. The council of old men in an Indian tribe, deliberating on its interests, exhibits no imperfect image of the senate of more polished republics; and much address and eloquence are employed by the leaders, who aspire at acquiring such confidence with their countrymen as to have an ascendant in these assemblies*. In resolving with respect to peace and war their powers are more specially called forth; and if their consultations, on such emergencies, are often more formal than wise, and their schemes less deep than deliberate, it is owing to the peculiar genius of the people, who are phlegmatic and dull beyond all nations, rather than to any circumstance in their political

their apostle Calvin, in pushing boldly home the scripture doctrine of original sin, they would be equally successful in robbing the human soul of its virtues, and consequently regeneration would be no less necessary, at the same time that Christianity and morality would be safe.—Dr. Ferguson, whose benevolent heart diffuses itself over all his speculations, has fallen into a contrary error: he has ascribed to the Americans all the virtues and talents of man in his rude state, without making allowance for their physical insensibility or intellectual dulness. Both are warped by system; and though it would be presumption in the author of this work to place himself on a level with writers of such superior reputation, he hopes by steering a middle course, and occasionally adopting the reasonings of each, to draw a more just character of the natives of North America, than has been given by either.

* Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III.

situation*. Yet on many occasions, roused by such national objects, they employ a bold and figurative language, little suited to their general temper. "We have planted the tree," said one of their orators; "we have buried the axe under its roots: we will henceforth repose under its shade; we will join to brighten the chain that binds our nations together †."

From the qualities of the head, we naturally proceed to those of the heart. The North Americans, as already observed, seem to possess less sensibility to the charms of beauty, and less ardour of desire than the rest of mankind. The indifference consequent on this physical defect pervades their whole character. By rendering less intimate that union, whence all the charities of father, son, and brother first were known, the inferior relations are proportionally feeble. The affection of parents to their children is generally in proportion to the love between the parties; and where that is constantly languid, the family connexion must be imperfect, and the people but little acquainted with the feelings of compassion and mutual sympathy. Such we find to be the case among the North Americans; who are in a great measure strangers to those good offices which strengthen attachment, mollify the heart, and sweeten the intercourse of life, as well as to those which the infirmities of our nature frequently exact. This, however, is not the effect of selfishness, but of a natural harshness of temper, which is still more conspicuous in their treatment of the brute creation. Prior to their intercourse with the people of Europe, they had some tame dogs, which

* When the North Americans hire themselves as servants, they are observed to be less capable of improvement than the most ignorant Negroes just brought from the coast of Africa; and the most painful instruction, in the schools instituted for their benefit, has never been able to open their minds to science. (Douglass. Hutchinson.) This unaptness in the North Americans must be imputed chiefly to the bluntness of their organs; for their situation in early life, though not calculated to awaken the strongest curiosity, affords sufficient exercise both to the qualities of the heart and head, to fit their minds for instruction. Their first physical wants, according to Helvetius, the great preceptor of man, are more strongly felt than in an improved state of society. They are obliged to struggle with hunger and thirst almost as soon as they have an existence, and to provide for themselves as soon as they can walk; they are obliged to contend with enemies, both brute and human, as soon as their arm has acquired strength; and they are excited to surprise and entrap both, by the most powerful of all motives, self-preservation, seconded by the strongest incentive that the human soul recognizes independent of its physical well-being, the approbation of the community to which they belong, and under whose eye they are immediately placed. Yet these men are less capable of further improvement, and endowed with fewer excellencies of heart and mind than persons less favoured by their moral and political situation. What then remains, but to reject the debasing system of Helvetius and his disciple Robertson, that "the talents as well as the virtues of man depend entirely upon the state of society in which he is placed!"—(Hist. Americ. vol. I. p. 471.) Affection and force of mind must either be regarded as the inspiration of God, and original attributes in the nature of man, or the soul itself must be considered as a material substance, under the dominion of chance; as a machine put in motion by physical sensibility, which must stop when that sensibility is exhausted; which is liable to be separated by external accidents, and which must dissolve like the other parts of matter.

† Ferguson, Essay on the Hist. of Civil Society, part III. sect. vii.

accompanied them in their hunting excursions, and served them with all the ardour and fidelity peculiar to their species; but instead of that fond attachment which the hunter commonly feels towards those useful companions of his toils, the Indians require their services with neglect, seldom feed, and never care for them*.

But the North Americans are by no means destitute of virtues, though they are not of the gentle kind. It was their favourite maxim, That no man is naturally indebted to another; and therefore is not obliged to bear any imposition, or unequal treatment †. Thus, in a principle apparently sullen and inhospitable, they have discovered the foundation of justice, and observe its rules with a steadiness and candour which no cultivation has been found to improve ‡. The love of equality and the love of justice were originally the same; and although by the constitution of different societies, unequal privileges are bestowed upon their members, and although justice itself requires a proper regard to be paid to such privileges, yet he who has forgotten that men were originally equal easily degenerates into a slave, or in the capacity of a master is not to be trusted with the rights of his fellow-creatures.

That happy principle, which gives to the mind an elevation unknown to the highest attendant upon royalty, is the pride of the Indian: he considers independence as the unalienable right of man. Incapable of controul, and disdainful to acknowledge any superior, though limited in his views, he acts upon many occasions with astonishing force, and perseverance, and dignity. This sentiment is called forth into exertion by war, and directed by the spirit of patriotism, the strongest passion in their nature, unless we except revenge. The North American tribes are small; and therefore their political union is strong, notwithstanding their loose mode of association. Constantly combined against their neighbours, in prosecution of ancient enmities, or in avenging recent wrongs, their common interests and operations conspire to increase their attachment to their tribe, and to rouse their resentment against its enemies. Hence the ardour with which individuals undertake the most perilous service, when the community deems it necessary; and hence that zeal for the honour of their country, which prompts them to brave danger, that it may triumph, and to endure the most exquisite torments without a groan, that it may not be disgraced.—In a word, though stern and inexorable, though regardless of the amiable plea of humanity in conducting their military operations, or in the treatment of their prisoners, their ardent affection to their nation; their contempt of suffering, and of death in its cause; and their manly apprehensions of personal independence, render the North Americans a people worthy of admiration, though mingled with a sensation of horror. We will not perhaps withhold from them even a portion of our esteem, if we reflect that war has not always been carried on with the same spirit

* Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Robertson, Hist. Americ. book IV.

† Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III.

‡ Id. *ibid.* Ferguson, Essay on Civil Society, part II. sec. ii.

as in Modern Europe, where glory is more successfully obtained by saving and protecting, than by destroying the vanquished; and that the celebrated Greeks and Romans granted quarter only to enslave, or like the Americans, to bring the prisoner to a more solemn execution.

But whatever may be our opinion of this singular people, we will not thereby have the pleasure of mortifying them. They have at least as great a contempt for our manners, as we can possibly have for theirs. There is not perhaps in the whole history of human nature, a circumstance more remarkable than this mutual contempt which nations, under a different degree of civilization, bestow upon each other. Addicted to their own pursuits, and considering their own condition as the most eligible, all nations pretend to a preference, and in their practice give sufficient proof of their sincerity. It was a proverbial imprecation among the hunting tribes on the confines of Siberia, that their enemy might be obliged to live like a Tartar, and be seized with the folly of breeding and attending his cattle. The Tartar himself, accustomed to roam over extensive plains, and to subsist on the product of his herds, or by the pillage of more industrious nations, imprecates upon his enemy, as the greatest of all curses, That he may be condemned to reside in one place, and to be nourished by the top of a weed*. The North Americans, no less satisfied with their own lot, far from viewing that of men in a more improved state with admiration or envy, regard themselves as the standard of excellence; as beings the best entitled, as well as best qualified to enjoy real happiness, and give to others consideration or eminence, in proportion only as they approach to their own condition. They behold with amazement the inequality of rank, and the subordination which takes place in civilized societies, and consider the submission of one man to another, as a renunciation, no less base than unaccountable, of his native rights. Delighted with that state of indolent security in which they pass the greater part of their time, they wonder at the anxious precautions, the unceasing industry, and the complicated arrangements of Europeans, in guarding against distant evils, or providing for future wants, and execrate their preposterous folly, in thus multiplying the troubles and increasing the labour of life †.

This preference of their own manners is conspicuous among the North Americans on every occasion. Even the names by which the various nations wish to be distinguished, are assumed from such an idea of their own pre-eminence. The appellation which the Iroquois or Mohawks give to themselves, is “the Chief of Men ‡;” and the Cherokees, from an idea of their own superiority call the Europeans *Nothings*, or the *accursed race*, and congratulate their nation with the name of “the Beloved People §.” Men thus satisfied with their own condition, even the savage still less than the citizen, can be made to quit that manner of life in which he has been trained: he exults in that freedom of mind

* Abulg. Genealog. Hist. of the Tartars.

† Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. La Hontan, tom. II.

‡ Colden, vol. I.

§ Adair's Hist. of American Indians, p. 32.

which will not be bound to any task, and which owns no superior. However strongly tempted to mix with civilized nations, and to better his fortune; even where endeavours have been used to wean him from his original habits, and to render the accommodations of polished life familiar to him; even where he has been allowed to taste of those pleasures, and has been honoured with those distinctions, which are the chief objects of our desire, he seizes the first opportunity to break free from the restraints of law and politeness; the first moment of liberty brings him back to the woods again*. He droops and he pines in the streets of the populous city; he wanders dissatisfied over the open and cultivated field; he seeks the frontier and the forest, where, with a constitution prepared to endure the hardships and the difficulties of the situation, he enjoys a delicious exemption from care, and a seducing society, where no rules of behaviour are prescribed, but the simple dictates of the heart †.

Let us not hence however conclude, That the savage state is more congenial to the nature of man, than the civilized; or that he possesses those qualities, either of body or mind, which render him respectable or amiable, in the highest perfection in that state ‡. Man is a plant that grows in all climates, and thrives in every soil, though in some more than in others; which is found wild in the forest, but which like all other plants, is improved by culture; which puts forth more vigorous shoots, and whose branches are more verdant and numerous; whose leaves and flowers are more beautiful, and thicker sown; and whose fruit is not only more abundant, but of a finer flavour, and impregnated with more

* Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III. Prevot, Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 90, 91. Even where Indians have been reared from their cradle with the greatest attention, and where the greatest care has been taken by the missionaries to conceal from them all knowledge of the customs of their fathers, we are told by the same writers, that the *force of blood* has prevailed over education; that they no sooner found themselves at liberty, than they tore their cloaths in pieces, rushed into the woods, associated themselves with the wild Indians, and preferred their manner of life to that which they had formerly led. If this information may be depended upon, they must be possessed of an instinct similar to that of other wild animals, which leads them to join their kind, as soon as an opportunity offers, though nursed by a similar species in domestic life.

† Ferguson, Essay on the Hist. of Civil Society, part II. sect. ii. Such are the convivial meetings of the Americans already mentioned; where dancing, drinking, and gaming are mingled, as in our public assemblies, and where every one behaves with as much freedom as at a masquerade.

‡ It is a vulgar mistake to suppose, that savages are stronger or more healthy than men in civilized nations, though they are generally more able to endure the inclemency of the weather. This hardiness is the effect of their severe mode of life; which, after all, wastes their constitutions, even more than regular labour. Their enjoyments and conveniencies are few; and their talents are necessarily confined, for want of objects to call forth their ingenuity, or excite their emulation and ambition. Whatever tends to improve the bodily powers of man, or to secure him against bodily pains, which proper food and cloathing certainly do, must contribute to his happiness, and consequently be congenial to his nature; and whatever invigorates his highest natural powers, that condition which affords the fullest exercise to reason and imagination, and the finest play to passion, must contribute to the perfection of the human character, as well as to the happiness of the animal being.

powerful juices, when sheltered in the garden. It there retains all its native virtues, without the hardness of the wild stock. But if any attempt is made to make the tree bear above its strength, or to improve the delicacy of the fruit beyond a certain degree, it degenerates: its branches fall off; its leaves and flowers wither, or become more flaunting than ornamental; and its fruit possesses neither its original pungent virtues, nor the more agreeable qualities communicated to it by culture. It is fair to the eye, but its heart is often corrupted, and its juices poisonous.

C H A P. II.

The first Voyages of the Europeans to North America; some abortive Attempts at Settlement, by the French and Spaniards in Florida, and the Establishment of the English in Virginia.

NO sooner was the discovery of the New World by the Spaniards known in Europe, than the glory of Ferdinand and Isabella became the object of universal envy, and other princes and states began to turn their views towards that quarter. Among these was Henry VII. of England, whose commercial genius, prompted by the naval spirit of his people, had disposed him to listen to the overtures of Columbus*. Enraged at the disappointment of his well-founded hopes, by an unexpected whirl of fortune, notwithstanding his political foresight, and the ready patronage which he had extended towards a needy and neglected adventurer, his thoughts could find no rest until he discovered a competitor to the Genoese navigator. Such a competitor, and no unworthy one, he found in John Cabot, a Venetian mariner, who had long been settled in England. In consequence of letters patent granted by Henry, in 1496, for discovering a Northwest Passage to India by sea †, Cabot set sail from the port of Bristol the spring following, in a vessel fitted out by the king, and accompanied by three or four others, freighted by some merchants of that city. On the 24th of June he discovered land, to which he gave the name of Prima Vista, because it was the first he had seen. It happened to be part of the island now called Newfoundland. Cabot proceeded along the north shore of America till obstructed by the ice; then turned towards the south, and sailed along the coast as far as Cape Florida, where his provisions failing, he returned to Eng-

* Henry not only lent a favourable ear to the proposals of Columbus, at a time when they were rejected by every other prince, but paid a friendly attention to his brother Bartholomew, by whom they were offered; and who having fallen into the hands of pirates in his voyage from Spain, could not make such an appearance as is most calculated either to inspire respect, or procure confidence. The delay occasioned by this circumstance, and that only, deprived England of the honour of discovering America. See vol. I. p. 17 of this work.

† This, as we have more than once had occasion to observe, was also the original object of Columbus. See vol. I. book I. chap. ii.



DRESS and HABITATIONS of the FLORIDIANS.

land with the fame of a difcoverer, but without fulfilling the purpofe of his voyage †.

This difappointment, and the parfimonious temper of his royal patron, prevented Cabot from making any fecond attempt to difcover a northweft paffage to the rich countries of the Eaft, which at that time attracted the avidity of all Europe. Nor did the king manifelt any inclination to take poffeffion of the extenfive regions, which his fubjects and fervants had difcovered. This in attention is fomewhat furprifing, as Henry was one of the moft enlightened princes of his age; and it may be regarded as a proof, that men in thofe days had no idea of deriving advantage from a diftant uncultivated territory by means of colonization, unlefs where it was fuppofed to yield the precious metals. Of thefe the modeft candour of Cabot feems to have given no hope; and the rigid frugality of Henry, which ever narrowed the circle of his politics, difpofed him little to projects, the benefit of which was fo remote and doubtful.

It is lefs extraordinary that no attempt was made to derive advantage from the difcoveries of Cabot during the three fucceeding reigns. Henry VIII. in the earlier part of his life, was too intent upon gathering laurels on the continent of Europe to turn his views towards that of America; and during the latter part of it, the affairs of the church, and his own domeftic uneafineffes, his marriages, divorces, and the public trial and execution of his wives, prevented him from attending to any other object*. The reign of Edward VI. was a fhort and turbulent minority; and the matrimonial alliance of Mary with Philip II. of Spain, who extended his pretentions over the whole New World, in conjunction with her cruel and bigotted fpirit, which made England a fcene of barbarity and horror, prevented her fubjects from profecuting diftant enterprifes, or herfelf from afferting the claims of her crown.

Elizabeth was not influenced by the fame motives, nor were her fubjects expofed to the fame inconveniences; but that intereft which fhe took in the affairs

† Hakluyt's Colleft. vol. III. p. 4, 5. Hift. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 91, 92. The compilers of the modern part of the Univerfal Hiftory, and the celebrated author of the Account of European Settlements in America, reprefent this voyage as performed by Sebastian Cabot, a native of England; but though that young mariner, afterwards fo famous, accompanied his father, he was not of an age to extend the limits of navigation. Could writers fo generally well-informed be ignorant of a fact fo well attelted, or could the pitiful vanity of affigning the difcovery of North America to a youth born in England, but of Venetian extraction, in preference to his father, from whom he derived his knowledge, and who was in the fervice of the king of England, lead them to difguife the truth?—But John Cabot had not only the honour of difcovering North America, but of being the firft man who got fight of the Terra Firma of the New World, for Columbus did not difcover any part of it till 1498; fo that if priority of difcovery could conftitute a right to a country, inhabited by men who held their lands by the firft and beft of all titles, that of original preoccupation, the Englifh might lay claim to the whole American continent; and they are now in poffeffion of all that portion of which Cabot traversed the fhores.

* It was in this reign, however, and in the fervice of Henry, that Sebastian Cabot, who had been for fome time grand pilot of Caffile, doubled the North Cape of Europe, and gave a beginning to the Englifh Rufia trade and Greenland fishery. His object, in which he failed, was to difcover a North-Eaft Paffage to India and China; a fmall variation of his father's plan.

BOOK IV.

of France, Scotland, and the Low Countries, where the protestants were ready to sink under the bigotry and ambition of the house of Austria, confined her attention, and that of her people, almost entirely to the affairs of Europe. The animosity, however, which this struggle excited against Philip II. the head of that house, induced the English seamen to enter on board the Dutch privateers and ships of war, and even to commit hostilities against the Spaniards in their own vessels, before war broke out between England and Spain, or the Armada, falsely named invincible, threatened the liberties of their country, and roused that just indignation which every Englishman, but more especially every English sailor, feels at the very name of Spaniard. The most distinguished of these was Francis Drake, who assaulted the Spaniards even in the New World, the place where they deemed themselves most secure*. His success excited the ambition and avarice of other adventurers; and the knowledge which was by these means acquired of the different parts of the American continent, suggested to the celebrated Walter Raleigh the idea of a settlement, within the limits of those coasts formerly visited by John Cabot and his son Sebastian. But before we speak of that settlement, we must notice the prior attempts of the other European powers to make discoveries or plant colonies in North America.

A. D. 1551.

We have already had occasion to mention the voyage of Ponce de Leon to Florida, in 1512 †. Ignorant that it had been visited by any former navigator, and vested with apostolic powers, he gave it the name it bears, and took formal possession of it for the crown of Spain; but so little knowledge did he acquire of the country, though he found means to seize one of the natives, that he considered it as an island ‡. The vigorous opposition that he met with from

* Drake, who was a native of the county of Devon, had acquired considerable wealth by depredations committed against the Spaniards in the Isthmus of Darien; and having there got a sight of the Pacific Ocean, he was so stimulated by the love of riches and glory, that he did not scruple to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure, through seas at that time but little known to his countrymen, or to any European nation. Having obtained the queen's consent, he accordingly set sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four able sailors. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan; and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired: but apprehensive of being intercepted by the people whom he had plundered, if he took the same way homewards that he had pursued in going thither, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprise, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned by the Cape of Good Hope in 1580. Hakluyt's Collect. vol. III. He was the first Englishman that sailed round the globe, and the first commander in chief; for Magellan, whose ship made the same circuit, died in his passage, as we have already seen. Elizabeth conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the vessel that had performed so memorable a voyage; and when the Spanish ambassador remonstrated against Drake's piracies, she told him, that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole New World, and excluding thence all other European nations, naturally tempted brave men to make a violent invasion into those countries. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

† See vol. I. p. 50.

‡ Herrera, dec. I. lib. ix. c. 6.

the Indians prevented him from attempting any settlement, and as his chief motive for visiting this country, as well as for ranging through the Bahama Islands, was a fond desire of discovering the fabulous *Fountain of Youth**, he seems to have given himself no farther concern about Florida. Nor did the Spaniards, who were still unacquainted with every other part of North America, again visit it before 1525, when Stephen Gomez, a navigator of some note, who had coasted from the isthmus of Darien, in quest of the long-sought passage to the East Indies, landed towards Cape Florida, and insidiously carried off some of the natives, whom he sold for slaves. The same year Vasquez Dayllon landed two hundred men on the coast of Florida, with a view to conquest as should seem; but being a man of no conduct, the greater part of his followers were cut off, and the enterprize was abandoned †.

This disaster, and the unfavourable account given of the condition of the inhabitants by the Spaniards who escaped, made all thoughts of reducing the country be laid aside. But in 1528, Pamphilo de Narvaez, desirous of signaling himself by some memorable achievement, and of wiping off the stain which his reputation had suffered by his unsuccessful effort to dispute with Cortez the conquest of Mexico, sailed from Cuba with four hundred foot and eighty horse, in four stout vessels, in order to attempt the conquest of Florida. His anchoring place was so near land, that he could discover the huts of the natives from his ships: he went on shore to observe their temper: they fled on his approach, leaving behind them an utensil made of gold. Concluding that all their utensils were of the same metal, Narvaez disembarked his troops with transport, and took a new possession of the country for the crown of Spain. But he met with a melancholy disappointment, in regard to its riches. After wandering from place to place, in quest of what small quantity of the precious metals the inhabitants had among them; after being hospitably entertained by some of the savage tribes, and repeatedly attacked on his march by others; after losing the greater part of his men by hunger, thirst, or the arrows of the Indians, he himself fell a sacrifice to his credulous rapacity, and only four of his followers escaped to Mexico, to relate the disastrous fate of the rest ‡.

Such a succession of unfortunate attempts did not deter Ferdinando Soto from projecting a new the conquest of Florida. The high reputation which he had acquired for courage and conduct, in different parts of the New World, induced Charles V. to bestow on him the government of Cuba, that he might be the better enabled to carry his enterprize into execution; and his personal character, aided by the enthusiasm of the age, procured him a great number of followers of the first rank. He accordingly set sail from Old Spain in ten ships; and after touching at the Havana, he disembarked in the bay of Espiritu Santo, in 1539, the most formidable European army that had ever appeared in North America. It consisted of one thousand foot and three hundred horse. But in an immense country, thinly inhabited, and full of lakes, rivers, and marshes, pa-

* Id. *ibid.* † Herrera, dec. III. book ii. chap 6.
dec. III. book iv. chap. 4. III. Conq. de la Florida, par Garcilasso de la Vega.

‡ Herrera,

tience was almost the only military virtue which these adventurers had an opportunity of exerting; and their commander, who had been distinguished by his humanity and generosity, among the avaricious and bloody-minded conquerors of Peru, appears to less advantage in the wilds of Florida. Continually seduced, like Narvaez, by different and contradictory reports, in regard to the place where he should find the precious metals, he wandered from district to district, and from tribe to tribe, without ever attempting an establishment. In those romantic expeditions, his army was wasted by famine and fatigue, as well as by the occasional attacks of the Indians. He himself shared every danger and every toil: he bore more than his proportion in the common sufferings. Amid these he was seized with a fever, which, with his life, put a period to his troubles and disappointments; and the miserable remnant of his troops arrived in floats, or boats little better, at Panuco on the coast of Mexico, in 143*. Not a Spaniard was left in Florida †, or at least no subject of the crown of Spain.

This exception is made on account of the singular desertion of Diego de Guzman, a gentleman of Seville. Being much addicted to gaming, and having lost all he had at play, even to his arms, his horse, and a beautiful Indian captive, of whom he was passionately fond, he abandoned his countrymen, in order to preserve his mistress, after delivering up every thing else. He took refuge in the territories of her father, who was a cazique, or Indian chief; and no entreaties could prevail on him to return, though he was promised the restitution of his horse and arms, as well as the undisturbed possession of his girl. Enraged at such a behaviour, Soto threatened the cazique with his severest vengeance, unless Guzman was delivered up. "I have done nothing," replied the generous Floridian, "to oblige this man to stay, neither ought I to compel him to depart. He has voluntarily attached himself to my family, and I will yield him the protection of a son. If, on this account, the leader of the strangers shall see fit to slay the four Indian captains, sent to him as the messengers of peace, and lay waste my territories, he will only, like me, obey the dictates of inclination. He may do as he thinks proper: I cannot doubt of his power ‡." Soto was so much struck with this answer, that he dismissed the messengers, and gave up all thoughts of Guzman.

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vi. chap. 1. and lib. x. chap. 1, 2. Garcilasso, Conq. Florid. They submitted themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves, and were uncertain on what shore they should land. Herrera, ubi sup.

† The Spaniards at that time comprehended under the general name of Florida all the country that stretches from the bottom of the Gulph of Mexico to the other side of the promontory that narrows the channel of Bahama; but the scene of Soto's adventures appears to have been the present West Florida and Louisiana: and as a proof of his amazing perseverance, we are told by Herrera, (who had his information from the account of the expedition transmitted to the king) that the Spaniards sailed five hundred leagues down a great river, which must have been the Mississippi, after building the boats in which they made their escape. When they arrived at the sea they knew not where they were; a certain proof that they were unacquainted with the mouth of that river.

‡ Herrera, dec. IV. lib. x. chap. 1. Several of the chiefs in this country were hereditary princes, though their authority was very limited.

One circumstance that ought to have facilitated the progress of Soto was, the benefit of an interpreter. Soon after he landed, he met with John Ortis, one of Narvaez's followers, who had been taken prisoner, and whose superior knowledge and ingenuity had enabled him to conciliate the affections of the Indians, notwithstanding their hatred of his countrymen. Soto therefore was never ignorant of the sentiments of the people, with whom he either negotiated or contended. But though the natives of Florida and Louisiana, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, were in a more advanced state of improvement than any other people in North America, their towns were but few and inconsiderable; their cultivated lands were confined to a few fertile spots in the neighbourhood of such towns or villages, and their hunting grounds were extensive and desolate. The attempt to conquer such a country was absurd; and a man of Soto's abilities could never have fallen into such an error, had he not hoped to discover in that immense continent to highly favoured by nature, some comparatively civilized people, such as the Mexicans and Peruvians, with a large and opulent capital, whence the rude tribes had their gold and silver ornaments. Had he endeavoured at first to establish a settlement, he had a force sufficient to have insured success. The natives would have retired to a distance, and he might have taken possession of any part of the sea-coast he had thought proper. But the most enlightened Spaniard of that age, in invading any region in America, had no other ideas but those of mines, conquest, and plunder; of subjecting to servitude the people whom he had pillaged, and enriching himself by their sweat and their blood.

The next European expedition to Florida was planned with a very different view. Every one is acquainted with the cruel persecutions which the French protestants, under the name of Hugonots, suffered during the reign of Charles IX. The admiral de Coligny, who was at once the head and soul of the party, and one of the greatest and best men that France ever bred, anxious to discover some country, where his reformed brethren might find the means of prosperity, and enjoy their religious opinions in tranquillity, turned his eyes towards the New World. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1556, to form such an establishment in Brazil, he fixed upon the fertile but neglected province of Florida, where no Spaniard had set his foot since the unfortunate expedition of Soto. To this province the French like the English, had some pretensions, though of an inferior kind, as Verazzani, a Florentine navigator in the service of Francis I. had traversed in 1524 nearly the same shores that were formerly visited by Cabot*. The Spaniards, who though unacquainted with the continent beyond Cape Florida, extended their claims as far as the pole, took offence at this voyage; which gave the facetious Francis occasion to say, "What! shall the kings of Spain and Portugal quietly divide the New World between them, without suffering me to take a share as a brother?—I should be glad to see the article in Adam's will which bequeaths them this vast inheritance †."

* Hakluyt, Collect. vol. III. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII.

† Raynal, liv. xv.

James Cartier, a skilful mariner of St. Malo, resumed in 1534, the discoveries of Verazzani, who was torn to pieces by the savages in his second voyage. Cartier proceeded farther north than his predecessor, and observed the coast with more accuracy. He entered the river St. Laurence, and is said to have exchanged some European commodities with the Indians on its banks, but returned to France without attempting any settlement*: and the religious disputes which soon after distracted that kingdom, prevented any advantage from being taken of these discoveries, till the reign of Charles IX. when Coligny made use of them to favour his projected settlement in Florida; and the court, glad of any pretext to get quit of subjects which it held in abhorrence, readily granted its permission, though it had nothing less at heart than the prosperity of such an establishment, or of supporting its own pretensions against those of the crown of Spain.

Coligny committed the execution of his scheme to John Ribaut, an experienced mariner, and a zealous protestant; who sailed from Dieppe on the 18th day of February, 1562, with two vessels well equipped and manned, and a body of volunteers on board, among whom were several gentlemen of good repute. Ribaut landed on the east side of the promontory of Florida, on the first of May, and built a fort to which he gave the name of Charles, in honour of a king whom he hated, but for whom it was necessary to preserve some appearance of respect. It was situated in the midst of a delightful country, beneath a clear and temperate sky, and the neighbouring savages were gentle and hospitable. Having marked out a settlement round his slender fortification, Ribaut committed the care of the infant colony to one of his officers named Albert, and returned to France towards the end of July. But it soon appeared, that he had made a very imprudent choice of a lieutenant. Albert, instead of cultivating the ground, and encouraging the breeding of cattle, for the subsistence of the people under his command, roved about the country in quest of gold and silver mines, with all the improvident avidity of a Spaniard united to the levity of a Frenchman. He was no less tyrannical than inconsiderate. Those who complained were severely punished, and such as gave him umbrage were put to death. But all despotism must sooner or later have a period; Albert, who had rendered himself universally odious, was assassinated, and no person inquired by what hand the blow was struck. The person whom they chose as his successor was a prudent and moderate man: but things were gone too far to admit of a remedy without some assistance from Europe; and Ribaut not returning according to his promise, the miserable settlers constructed a rude vessel, and put to sea. Their necessities increased; and they were reduced to the frightful expedient of feeding upon one another by casting lots, when they were taken up by an English ship †.

Coligny, however, did not abandon his project. The delay of Ribaut had been occasioned by the civil wars, which raged at that time with great violence in France. But these being now in some measure composed, and the court seemingly reconciled to the admiral, he obtained from the king three ships well

* Hakluyt, vol. III. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII.

† Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

manned and victualled for carrying succours to Fort Charles. These were commanded by René Laudoniere, an officer of known merit, who had accompanied Ribaut to Florida, when the colony was first settled. On board were a great number of protestant mechanics, and gentlemen adventurers, but not one catholic. This precaution was prudently taken by Coligny, in order to prevent dissentions among the new colonists.

Laudoniere sailed from Havre de Grace on the 22d of April 1564, and arrived at Florida on the 22d of June. There it is conjectured * he was first informed of the fate of the former colony; but that is highly improbable from the distance of time that intervened between their desertion and his sailing. Coligny at least could not be ignorant of it, though from political motives he might perhaps endeavour to conceal it from the court and the public in general, till after the departure of the new adventurers; but to have concealed it from the commander, would have been an instance of imprudence and want of confidence unworthy of so great a man. However this may have been, it is certain that Laudoniere did not land at Fort Charles, but at the mouth of a river to which Ribaut had given the name of May, and where he had erected a column with an inscription in commemoration of his taking possession of the country for the crown of France. Here he met with an Indian chief named Saturiova, whom he had formerly seen, and who received him with the warmest expressions of affection, mingled with sorrow for the misfortunes of his friends who had been left in that country.

This friendly reception, together with the beauty and fertility of the neighbouring territory, induced Laudoniere entirely to neglect Fort Charles, and mark out the plan of a fort and settlement, to which he gave the name of Caroline, on the banks of the river May, about six miles from the sea. Meanwhile no opportunity was lost of acquiring information concerning the state of the interior country; and as the savages soon perceived the avidity of the French for the precious metals, they continually referred them to remote regions and impracticable mountains, in order to get quit of such troublesome guests. Men are easily persuaded to believe what they wish. They new colonists, seized with the general madness of searching for mines, neglected the labours of agriculture, and exposed themselves to incredible hardships and fatigues, in the pursuit of a visionary good, when a real and permanent one was in their power. This insanity reached even Laudoniere. Having received from Saturiova a small piece of silver, he inquired of that chief, whence he received it. Saturiova, whose whole conduct exhibits a remarkable example of savage sagacity, and who was well acquainted with the value which the French set upon gold and silver, replied that his own country yielded no such metal; that it was the produce of a distant land, the chief of which, named Timoppa, was his mortal enemy. Laudoniere offered to assist him in subduing this enemy; and Saturiova promised, in that

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 420.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1564.

event, to supply his new allies with as much gold and silver as they could desire*.

The French commander fell into the snare; but repenting of the agreement which he had made, or willing to discover the mines before he engaged in hostilities, he sent some friendly parties into the country to gather information. These adventurers were outwitted by the more artful savages, who soon obtained all their merchandise, and repayed them with empty promises. One while they were directed towards the Apalachian mountains, where a yellow mass was found which the French conjectured to be gold; at another, to the beds of certain rivers, where the same metal was rolled down in profusion, but always to regions at a great distance from the people of whom they inquired. Meantime Sauriova, dissatisfied with such pacific measures, pressed Laudoniere to remember his promise, to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies. That commander excused himself, on account of the necessity of completing his fortification: and hence arose new discontents. The young gentlemen who had engaged in the expedition, and who had nothing before their eyes but the wealth of the New World, were enraged to find themselves subjected, in a hot climate, to the toils of day-labourers. They mutinied; seized the governor's person; obliged him to sign a commission for them to commit depredations against the Spaniards; made themselves masters of two of his vessels, and commenced pirates. Their success did not correspond with their expectations; one of their vessels was taken by the Spaniards, the other returned to Fort Caroline, and part of the crew suffered death. Laudoniere spent his time in hunting after mines, in which he was perpetually deceived; and being disappointed in the supplies he expected from France, the colony was reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions, as the savages were tired of feeding them.

A. D. 1565.

In this extremity, when all the elements seemed to conspire against the unfortunate colonists; when the game disappeared in the forests, and the fish in the rivers and lakes †, four ships appeared in the mouth of the May. No conjecture was formed, but that they were come from France, and the joy of Laudoniere and his people was excessive. They were not, however, suffered to continue long in their error: their anxiety soon completed their disappointment. They found them to be English vessels, commanded by that celebrated navigator John Hawkins, who had put in there in quest of water, of which he was in as great want as the French were of bread ‡. Far from taking advantage of the distressed condition of the colony, he yielded them all the assistance in his power, especially when informed they were protestants. He even offered to convey them to

* Voyage de Laudoniere. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 470. From the ineffectual efforts since made to discover mines in this country, it is probable that the gold and silver ornaments found among the Indians had been procured from the wreck of some Spanish vessels upon their coasts, or brought from Mexico.

† Laudoniere, Voyage. It is truly surprising, says this author, that in all our distress no one ever thought of cultivating the ground; and yet this was what Caligny chiefly recommended to them.

‡ Id. ibid.

France; and diffidence only prevented Laudoniere from gratefully embracing the proposal. His less generous mind could not conceive, that so liberal an offer could be made without some interested design. He bargained however with Hawkins for some provisions and one of his ships, in which he proposed to embark for Europe, as soon as they had demolished the fort; concluding that they were entirely forgot both by the admiral and the court.

When Laudoniere and his people were ready to put to sea, they discovered several ships approaching the coast. They returned to the fort, and endeavoured to put the ruined works in some state of defence. But to their inexpressible joy, they soon perceived that their precautions were unnecessary. The ships belonged to Ribaut, who had been dispatched from France with a fleet of seven vessels, in order to succour the infant colony. Among the adventurers were many military gentlemen, who had been out of employment, in consequence of the peace between the two religions; and Coligny had taken the same precaution as formerly, to exclude catholics*. But the joy of Laudoniere, on this occasion, was mixed with anxiety. He did not doubt but his conduct had been misrepresented to the admiral and the king; and the first interview with Ribaut confirmed his fears. He learned that his behaviour had been painted in the most odious colours, and even his fidelity called in question. Ribaut, however, on hearing his story, was so fully convinced of his innocence, that he offered to leave him the command of Fort Caroline; and to found a new settlement for himself; but Laudoniere peremptorily insisted on returning to France, and vindicating himself to the court †.

While things were in this situation, before Fort Caroline was rebuilt, or Laudoniere ready to depart, and while the four largest French ships lay in the road, as they could not pass the bar of the river, six Spanish vessels appeared in view, and also came to an anchor in the mouth of the May. This fleet was commanded by Don Pedro Menendez de Avilez, a knight of the order of St. Jago. His arrival was not occasioned, like that of Hawkins, by one of the common accidents of navigation: it was of a serious and deliberate nature; it was the effect of causes, and followed by consequences of the utmost importance in the history of America and of mankind.

Menendez, whose character will more fully appear from his actions, was a brave and able officer, but a wild fanatic in religious matters. Popery and bigotry had extinguished every spark of humanity in his breast. Those qualities, joined to an extraordinary gravity of behaviour, recommended him to Philip II. who sent for him at a time when he was in disgrace with the courtiers, and appointed him to go to Florida, to examine carefully and take an exact chart of the coasts, in order to prevent the frequent ship-wrecks in the Channel of Bahama, and parts adjacent. Encouraged by this flattering attention, Menendez took occasion to recommend a settlement in so fine a country, still possessed by idolaters. It would give him pleasure, he said, to spend the last drop of his blood in spreading the true religion, and extending his majesty's dominions. Philip caught the

* Laudoniere, Voyages. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 446, 447.

† *Id. ibid.*

BOOK VI.
A. D. 1565.

flame. Menendez was empowered to plant a colony in Florida, and honoured with the title, as well as vested with the privileges of Adelantado. He lost no time in making preparations for his voyage; but before he was ready to sail, Philip got intelligence of the protestant settlement. Menendez was called once more into the royal presence, where, after the matter had been explained to him, the king observed that a greater force would be requisite to expel the heretics from Florida, than was necessary for a simple settlement; that suitable preparations should be made, and the expence defrayed out of the treasury. The zeal of Menendez was roused: he urged the necessity of setting sail, and of destroying the heretics before they had time to fortify themselves; and having published the purpose of his expedition, to which he gave the air of a crusade, he was soon joined by a crowd of adventurers. The king only furnished one great galleon, and two hundred and fifty men. Menendez had ten ships of his own; and before he passed the Canaries, the number of his followers amounted to two thousand.

This fanatical fleet was scattered in a storm. Only six vessels, and these much damaged, could be collected when they arrived in the West Indies. A council of war was held to deliberate on their future proceedings. After observing with a groan, that their force was now diminished more than one half, Menendez represented to them, that it was neither interest nor ambition, but zeal for the glory of God, which had induced him to engage in that enterprize; and as such was the purity of his intention, he thought he might venture to explain the mystery of the misfortunes that had befallen them. "God," said he, "is not willing that man should divide with him the success of the expedition: he will have it visible, that it is his own work; that it is acquired by the strength of his almighty arm. I therefore recommend that, weak as we are, an immediate attack be made upon the heretics in Florida*." His opinion was unanimously agreed to; and after visiting several parts on the coast, and surveying, with a view to a future settlement, the mouth of a river, to which he gave the name of St. Augustine, he sailed to the entrance of the May, where the French fleet, as already mentioned, was riding at anchor.

The subsequent events are big with horror. The four French ships that were without the bar, having cut their cables, found means to escape the insidious snares of Menendez, who at first pretended to treat them as friends; and the Spaniards seeing five smaller vessels at anchor before the fort, and the military drawn up in order, thought proper to decline the attack, and retire to the river St. Augustine. The four large ships now returned, and the French might have set their enemies at defiance, had not Ribaut determined to attack Menendez by sea. By this imprudent step he divided his strength, and exposed the colony to that ruin which overtook it. A storm drove him from the mouth of the river St. Augustine, when he had a chance of making himself master of the Spanish fleet; and, Menendez by a bold piece of generalship, left his ships and his new

* Gonzal. Barcia, Hist. de la Florid.

station, and marched over land to Fort Caroline, took it by surprize, and put all who fell into his hands to the sword. Men, women, and children perished by one undistinguished slaughter; and such as were afterwards taken, or who surrendered themselves, he ordered to be hanged upon a tree, with this inscription over them: "Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics, and enemies of God *.

Menendez now finding himself master of the French settlement, gave to Fort Caroline the name of St. Mattheo, and substituted the arms of Spain in place of those of France, and of the admiral de Coligny, which were placed over the principal gate. In the review which he made of his troops, he found only thirty men fit for active service; so great were the hardships which they had undergone, while animated by fanaticism, in that desperate expedition! With these he marched back to his fleet, leaving the government of St. Mattheo to Gonzalo Villerval, serjeant-major, with a garrison of three hundred men. His return to St. Augustine, was the cause of the most extravagant joy and exultation. All the military, preceded by the clergy, with the cross exalted, went out to meet the vanquisher of the heretics, and conducted him into the place in triumph †.

But the happiness of Menendez was disturbed by several untoward accidents. A fire reduced to ashes almost all the buildings at St. Mattheo. Soon after, the garrison of that place mutinied, and was with difficulty reduced to obedience. Nor were these his only misfortunes. The St. Pelage, his largest ship, on board of which he had embarked some French prisoners, taken on his arrival in Florida, in order that they might be tried, or rather tortured by the inquisition in Hispaniola, was carried off by the captives, who had mastered the crew, and he was joined by none of the ships that had been separated from his fleet in the voyage. His apprehensions of a visit from Ribaut, which had hastened his return to St. Augustine, gave him farther uneasiness. But his fears on that head were soon quieted.

The storm which had driven the French commander and his fleet from the intended attack upon the Spaniards, had carried him to the Channel of Bahama, where all his ships were shattered to pieces upon the rocks. Ribaut however, and the greatest part of the soldiers and sailors saved their lives, but nothing else. Destitute of arms or provisions, in an unknown country, and with no other guide but the sun and stars to direct their course to Fort Caroline, their miseries were inexpressible; and when they arrived at the river May, where they hoped to join their countrymen, and find some consolation after their unparelled sufferings, they perceived the Spanish colours flying on the fort. How to proceed in this extremity of their fortune, might have been doubtful to men with arms in their hands, and less exhausted by famine and fatigue: they might have attempted to recover the settlement, or at least have determined resolutely to defend themselves, and maintain their independency till relief should come from Europe.

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom XIV. p. 438. Laudoniere, and a few others, made their escape in a small vessel.

† H. A. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 439.

But the situation of Ribaut and his companions did not admit of such a conduct. He therefore sent two of his officers to learn the fate of Laudoniere, and demand what terms they might expect. They were carried before the governor, and told, that Laudoniere and his garrison had been sent in a good ship to France; and that if Ribaut and his party would surrender themselves, they should receive the same mild treatment.

On the return of the messengers, the French were divided in their opinions: they were sensible of the bigotted inveteracy of the Spaniards, and how meritorious they held it to keep no faith with heretics. Another officer was sent to the governor, or commander in chief, who proved it is said to be Menendez himself, and who confirmed his former promise with an oath, on the conditions prescribed. The French hesitated no longer. They agreed to deliver themselves into the hands of the Spaniards, and boats were sent to carry them across the river. But no sooner were they embarked, than they perceived that they were betrayed; and when they landed, they were tied four and four together. Ribaut endeavoured to expostulate with the Spanish officers on this treatment, and desired that he might be carried before the governor; but instead of receiving any satisfaction, a Spanish soldier came up to him, and asked if he was the French general. He readily answered in the affirmative. "Did you not then," replied the soldier, "require that those under your command should punctually obey your orders?"—"Without doubt," said Ribaut, who did not comprehend the purport of this conversation. "Be not then surprised," added the Spaniard, "if I also execute the orders of my commander;"—and instantly plunged a poignard into his heart. This was a signal for the Spanish troops, who threw themselves sword in hand upon the defenceless Frenchmen, and in a moment they were all slain*.

From the most impartial review of these horrible transactions, it seems demonstrable, that Menendez took no step but with the occurrence of the court of France, which considered the protestants in Florida as the worst of rebels and traitors, though they had been settled there under the charter, and by the authority of Charles IX. The character of this prince is well known: the massacre at Fort Caroline, seems to have been but a prelude to the massacre of Paris, and the butchery on the banks of the May to those which followed on the banks of the Seine. Foreign nations, however, were surprised that Charles did not resent, at least in appearance, the insult offered to his crown and dignity; and all that has been urged in his vindication is, that his connexions with Spain at that time did not admit of a different conduct. His connexions with that crown were indeed of the most infamous kind: nothing less was concerted between him and Philip, than a league for extirpating the whole protestant party, both in the Old and New World. But the cause of his slaughtered subjects was not neglected. Vengeance overtook the assassins; and justice, though not vested with the authority of law, was inflicted by the hand of a catholic on the bloodthirsty

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. The Spanish account of these barbarities differs in some trifling particulars, but the catastrophe is the same.

zealots of the Romish church in America, while Charles was maturing his plot for the destruction of the protestants in Europe.

The author of this vengeance was Dominique de Gourgues, a gentleman of Gascony, who had served with distinguished intrepidity against the Spaniards in Italy. His fortune, however, was not equal to his valour. Having the command of a detachment of thirty men, he was beset by a superior force, and taken prisoner; and such was the animosity of the Spaniards against his country or himself, on account of the slaughter which he had made before he surrendered, that, contrary to the laws of war, he was chained to the oar of a galley. As a farther misfortune, that galley was taken by the Turks, and de Gourgues was carried to Constantinople: but being afterwards sent to sea, he was retaken by the Maltese, in consequence of which event he recovered his liberty. From motives which no historian has pretended to reveal, he afterwards went to the coast of Africa, to Brazil, and several other places, in the character of a naval officer; probably in consequence of that taste which he might acquire for the sea during his servitude.

But whatever was the object of those voyages, or whatever advantage De Gourgues might derive from them, it is certain that, on his return to France, he was reputed one of the ablest and boldest navigators of his age. No sooner was he informed of the massacre of the French in Florida, than the remembrance of his former injuries rushed up in his mind; and these mingled with an ardent zeal for the honour of his country, made him determine to employ his whole fortune, and hazard the last drop of his blood, in order to inflict vengeance upon the Spaniards. In consequence of this resolution, he converted his whole substance into ready money, and likewise took up large sums upon credit. By these means he was enabled to build three frigates, on board of which he embarked one hundred and fifty soldiers and military adventurers, most of whom were gentlemen, and eighty sailors. His ships drew very little water, and were so constructed that they could be worked by oars in a calm; so that they were proper for entering the mouths of rivers, and every way fitted for his purpose.

With this small armament, De Gourgues sailed from Bourdeaux on the second of August 1567, but did not get clear of the coast of France till towards the end of the month. Hitherto his destination had been a secret to all the world, and was still so even to his own followers, though they believed that he had in view some object of very great importance. In order to conceal his real intentions, he had obtained a commission from the king's lieutenant of Guienne, to trade to the coast of Africa for slaves; but no sooner did he reach Cape de Verd, than he turned suddenly off towards America. After weathering a variety of storms, he happily arrived at Cape St. Anthony, the western extremity of the island of Cuba. Here he unbosomed himself to his people. He began with painting in the strongest colours, the cruelties which the Spaniards had exercised against the French in Florida. "Companions," said he, "you know the crime of our enemies: how great will be ours, if we longer defer to vindicate the honour of the French nation!—It is with this view that I have disposed of all my property,

and

and have even emptied the purses of my friends. I have placed my confidence in you; I have supposed you sufficiently jealous of the glory of your country, to sacrifice for it even your lives. Am I deceived? I will engage to set you an example; to be continually at your head; to be first where danger calls. Is there any one that will refuse to follow me*?"

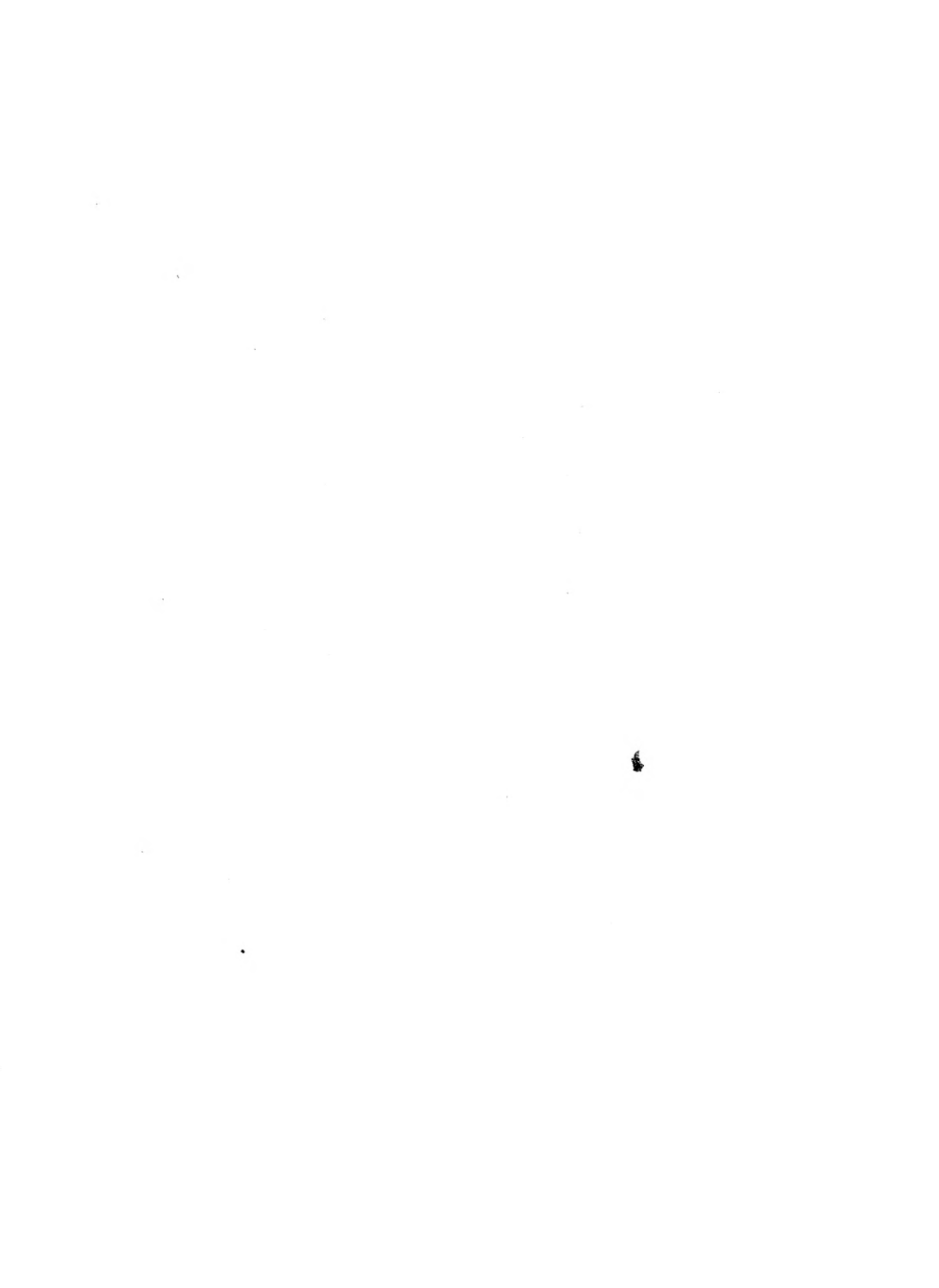
The boldness of this proposal at first occasioned some astonishment; but the military ardour of the young officers breaking suddenly forth into transports of joy, the whole company declared, that they were determined to live or die with their commander. De Gourgues did not permit that ardour which he had excited to cool. He took the opportunity of the first fair wind to pass through the Channel of Bahama, and found the Spaniards in such profound security in Florida, that they did not so much as suspect that any but their own ships could visit that coast. They saluted him as he passed the mouth of the river May, to which they give the name of St. Juan †; a civility which he took care to return. He landed about fifteen leagues to the east of that river, and was joyfully received by Saturiova, the ancient ally of the French, and other Indian chiefs, who were violently incensed against the Spaniards. By their assistance, and the valour of his own people, he took St. Mattheo, though strengthened with additional works, guarded by two new forts, and garrisoned with four hundred men, the greater part of whom were put to the sword; and the rest were only spared, that they might fall more deliberately by the hand of the executioner. He led them to the place where the French had been massacred, reproached them with their cruelty and perfidy, and by way of retaliation, ordered them to be hanged upon a tree, with this inscription over them, in answer to that formerly used by Menendez:—"Not as Spaniards, or as the spawn of Infidels, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers ‡."

After this terrible example of retributive justice, De Gourgues prepared to return to Europe. He was sensible that he had not sufficient force to defend himself against the power of Spain in the New World: he was uncertain when he should receive any succours, or even provisions; and though the Indians, filled with admiration of his valour, and delighted with a mode of proceeding so similar to their own, loaded him with caresses, he was afraid to trust to their friendship. When he arrived in France, his conduct was so generally applauded by people of all ranks, catholics as well as protestants, that the court durst not inflict on him that punishment to which it was so much inclined. But the civil wars in which that kingdom was long involved, and the awful fate that overtook Coligny and most of the distinguished leaders of the protestant party, in the general massacre of their religious brethren, prevented the French from asserting their claims to Florida, or attempting any settlement there. It is even doubted, whe-

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 449.

† This practice of changing the names of rivers and settlements has been very common among the European nations in America, and occasions great confusion in history as well as geography.

‡ Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. X.





Engraved by J. S. Walker.

ther the Spaniards had yet established themselves at St. Augustine, though they had for some time made it a military station, and it is at least certain, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, that it was long no more than a fort, to prevent other nations from settling in the country. In the meantime we must speak of settlements established with a very different view, and in whose existence mankind are more interested.

The English, during the course of their depredations against the Spaniards, become more fully sensible, as already observed, of the wealth of the New World, as well as more perfectly acquainted with the coasts of those countries to which they had a claim, began to turn their eyes towards that quarter. Their attention was farther awakened by the hostilities between the French and Spaniards in Florida. A territory which had occasioned the shedding of so much blood, it was thought must be of extraordinary value; and it was not doubted, but the neighbouring countries were equally rich: for every part of America was supposed to abound in mines of gold and silver. Mr. Raleigh, afterwards the famous Sir Walter, willing that England should share in those treasures, projected a settlement on the eastern coast of the North American continent. That talent which he possessed in so eminent a degree of bringing others over to his own opinion, by representing every object in a striking light, soon procured him associates both at court and among the merchants. The company that was formed in consequence of his magnificent promises, obtained from queen Elizabeth, in 1584, a patent* conformable to their views; and the same year they sent out two ships, commanded by Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, who came to an anchor in the Bay of Roanoke, in North Carolina. These two commanders took formal possession of the country for the crown of England; and worthy of the trust reposed in them, behaved with much affability and generosity to the natives, allowing them to make their own terms in what little commerce they carried on with them. The Indians did not fail to express their sense of such civilities by a corresponding behaviour. The adventurers were treated with great kindness, and returned to England highly pleased with their reception, but without attempting any settlement †.

The account which those successful navigators gave of the country that they had visited was highly favourable; and Raleigh took care no doubt to embellish the description. They had not indeed seen any gold, but the soil was so

* In this patent the queen reserves to herself a fifth of all the gold and silver, that should be discovered; a certain proof that mines were the chief object of the adventurers. Yet Raleigh is said, by the celebrated author of the *Account of the European Settlements*, to have looked beyond his age, and to have foreseen all the future advantages of England from her colonies; but this, conjoined with the account which he gave of the country, is positive evidence, that he was only the dupe of his prejudices. His temper was too fervid, and his mind too romantic, to find any project upon the slow but sure advantages of patient industry. Such advantages were never indeed perfectly understood, till those who fled from civil and religious tyranny had worked out their salvation and independency amid the wilds of nature. We shall afterwards have occasion to elucidate this subject.

† Purchas, Pilg. vol. IV. Hakluyt, vol. III.

BOOK IV.

fertile, the climate so mild, and the inhabitants so gentle, that every thing was to be hoped from so fortunate a discovery. The nation was all on fire at the prospect which was offered to its avidity. Even the queen herself was so much delighted with it, that, notwithstanding the hostilities in which she was engaged against Spain, she promised powerfully to support the adventurers; and in order to encourage them, by a flattering mark of her favour and protection, she knighted Raleigh, and consented that the country should be called VIRGINIA, in honour of one of her most suspected qualities*.

A. D. 1585.

The Spring following Sir Richard Grenville, Raleigh's principal associate, sailed from Plymouth with a fleet of seven ships, well provided with victuals, arms, stores, and a considerable number of volunteers, for the purpose of establishing a settlement. Grenville after touching at different parts, upon the coast of North America, landed at the island of Roanoke; where, after making some experiments upon the soil, he left an hundred and eight men, under the command of Ralph Lane, and returned to England. This officer, though unfortunate, was not unworthy of the charge committed to him. He was equally diligent and enterprising. Had he possessed less of the latter talent, perhaps it would have fared better with the colony. But we ought not to regulate our judgments by the success of events, so much as by the apparent expediency of the measures, and the ability with which they are executed.

Soon after the departure of Sir Richard Grenville, captain Lane prepared to make discoveries on the continent. With this view he proceeded in a boat along the coast to Cape Henry, at the entrance of the Bay of Chesapeake, without the least obstruction or molestation from the natives. This success encouraged him to extend his observations towards the west, but there he was less fortunate. The inhabitants, on his approach, set fire to their fields of maize, and retired with their families from the banks of the river Morotuc. It was evident that they were become jealous of the English, and suspected their design of settling in the country. Lane however was not discouraged by these threatening appearances. He relied on the advice and influence of Wingina, an Indian chief who professed great friendship for the English. This artful barbarian persuaded him, that near the source of the river Morotuc, now called Roanoke, he would meet with great quantities of gold, and find a passage to a vast ocean, on the shores of which pearls were found in profusion. Flattered with this fallacious hope, Lane pursued his course in boats up that river; and imagining he should be supplied with provisions by the natives on its banks, neglected to take a sufficient quantity along with him; in consequence of which want of precaution, he was reduced to the greatest extremity by famine. After rowing four days against a strong current, he found the country wholly deserted and laid waste by the inhabitants; but impelled by the thirst of gold, he pursued his voyage under the auspices of the guides furnished by the treacherous Wingina, until his crew, worn out with hunger and fatigue, obliged him to return.

* R. H. D.

When captain Lane arrived at the island of Roanoke, the insidious Wingina pretended great sorrow for his disappointment; and counterfeited so well, that he was again received into favour, and thereby furnished with the opportunity of setting on foot fresh machinations. He entered into private confederacies with the other Indian chiefs, and secretly prohibited his own subjects from supplying the English with provisions. He hoped, by this conduct, to oblige them to divide into small parties in search of subsistence, and in that straggling form to cut them off. Happily the conspiracy was discovered, and Wingina taken prisoner. But the issue must nevertheless have proved fatal to the colonists, as they were now involved in open war with the natives, had not Sir Francis Drake seasonably arrived on the coast. This gallant seaman had been intrusted with the command of a fleet to distress the Spaniards in the New World, in which service he succeeded even beyond his highest hopes, or those of the nation. He took successively St. Jago, Carthagena, St. Domingo, and burnt the two Spanish settlements, or forts, on the coast of Florida. He had been ordered to afford the colony at Roanoke all the assistance their situation might require. But he had no idea of their wretched state, which struck him at once with astonishment and compassion. He furnished them, at the desire of captain Lane, with provisions for four months, and a small vessel, well manned and equipped, in order to make discoveries upon the continent, or in case of necessity, to transport them to England. A storm, however, suddenly arose, and that vessel was wrecked upon the coast. This accident they considered as a declaration of Heaven against their establishment. In vain did Drake offer another ship to men worn out with fatigues and disappointments, and labouring under that infirmity of mind, which is their common attendant: they entreated him to take them on board his fleet; and the readiness with which he humbly complied, made a settlement be abandoned which at first had a prosperous aspect*.

Meanwhile the associates, zealous for the support of the new colony, on which they rested great expectations both of wealth and fame, had fitted out four ships to transport men and provisions to Virginia; for so all the country was then called, from the bays of Florida to the river St. Laurence. Sir Walter Raleigh took the resolution of visiting this country in person †; and the ship which he was to command being first ready, his impatience to visit his favourite

* Hakluyt, Collect. vol. III. Purchas, Pilg. vol. IV. Captain Lane and his people brought over some tobacco with them, which O. soon conjectures to have been the first seen in England. But it is highly improbable that the English could be ignorant of a plant, the use of which, in various ways, had so long been considered as an indulgence by the Spaniards. The incredulity of nations, at that time, was more imperfect, as to admit of such a supposition. It is certain, however, that the example of Sir Walter Raleigh, who first accomplished it as a gentleman and a scholar were able to attend, has made a habit of smoking fashionable in this island; and many humorous anecdotes are told of the surpris which it occasioned among the vulgar. Vid. Life of Raleigh by O. Davis.

† It is asserted by some writers that Raleigh never visited this country; but it would be offering the highest insult to the labours of Hakluyt, De Bry, and Prevost, to suppose they could so lightly repeat the same blunder.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1586.

settlement made him immediately set sail. He touched at Cape Hatteras, a little to the south of Roanoke; but after searching in different places along the coast, without being able to discover one Englishman, he left in chagrine a country which had proved so unpropitious to his sanguine hopes. Sir Richard Grenville, who had sailed about a fortnight later, arrived at the island of Roanoke with the other three ships, but could hear nothing of the colony which he had planted there the year before. Unwilling, however, to lose possession of the country, he ventured to leave fifty men on that island, in order to give a beginning to a new settlement; and having furnished them with provisions for two years, and arms for their protection, he returned to England, little more satisfied with his expedition than Raleigh.

Early in the year 1587, captain John White was dispatched with three ships, laden not only with provisions and stores, but carrying a considerable number both of male and female adventurers, in order to give a regular form to the colony. He had orders to remain at the settlement, in the character of governor, and to employ all his endeavours to conciliate the affections of the Indians: but on his arrival at Roanoke, he had the mortification to find only the bones of one of his countrymen, as he conjectured, near the fort, which was defaced; and the houses were overgrown with weeds. The fifty men left there by Grenville had been all slaughtered by the natives. But White, who was a man of a firm character, far from being discouraged by this fresh disaster, took up his habitation on the same spot; and his example was followed by the other colonists. Moneto, a friendly Indian, who had accompanied Amidas and Barlow to England, was baptized, and styled Lord of Dassamonpeake, the name of the nation to which he belonged: and this measure proved the means of conciliating the neighbouring tribes, with whom alliances were formed. The colonists, in consequence of a charter from the company, now formed themselves into a corporation, under the name of the "Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia*." Union was established; and every thing seemed to promise prosperity to the settlement, when the want of supplies made it necessary for the governor to return to England.

When Mr. White arrived in London, he found the mother country in a situation by no means favourable to his commission. The nation was under the utmost alarm on account of the Spanish Armada, which threatened the kingdom with a terrible invasion. Even when that storm was blown over, he found it difficult to procure any effectual supplies. Sir Walter Raleigh's fortune was exhausted, and his credit on the decline. At length, after an interval of almost three years, a slender reinforcement was procured, with which the governor set sail for Roanoke: but before his arrival, the colony had thought proper to abandon that island, as he learned from certain inscriptions on the bark of trees, and had retired to Croatan, an Indian town about fifty miles distant, on the south

* Smith's Hist. of Virginia. There are two histories of this settlement written by gentlemen of the name of Smith, and both of equal authority.

side of Cape Look-out. As Mr. White was proposing to steer for that place, his ships were assailed with a violent storm, which drove them out to sea, and shattered them in such a manner, that he judged it prudent to return to England, and abandon the colonists to their fate*. Nor was any other attempt made for their relief: so that they all perished either by famine or the arrows of the Indians; and the country which took its name from the maiden virtue of Elizabeth, was as completely forgot as if it had never excited public curiosity.

No Englishman appears to have visited any part of the extensive region then distinguished by the appellation of Virginia, from the inhuman return of governor White, until the year 1602, when Bartholomew Gosnold, one of his original associates, equipped a small vessel at his own expence, and sailed from Dartmouth, with thirty-two men. Instead of taking the route of the Antilles, like former navigators, he resolved to hold a direct course. The attempt succeeded; but on reaching the coast of America, he found himself a great way to the north of the districts formerly visited by his countrymen with a view to an establishment. He landed in the country now known by the name of New England, and towards the promontory called Cape Cod, in consequence of the great plenty of that fish which he found there. From the neighbouring hills, he perceived it to be part of the continent, almost environed with islands. To one of these he gave the name of Martha's Vineyard, because he found it overgrown with wild vines, and to some others that of Elizabeth's Islands, in honour of the queen. In one of the latter he made some experiments of English grain, which he found to answer remarkably well, and the climate proved no less favourable to the health of his people. After continuing here a month, during which he took occasion to visit the continent, and traded to considerable advantage with the natives for furs, he returned to England, with a very high idea of the beauty and fertility of the country which he had discovered †.

The fame of so successful a voyage revived the ardour of the English merchants; and those of Bristol, early in the following year, fitted out two small vessels under the command of Martin Pring, who held the same course with Gosnold, touched at the same places, and was no less fortunate ‡. Two years after, George Weymouth sailed from London, in a vessel equipped for the purpose of discovery, by the earls of Southampton and Arundel. On what part of the American continent he first landed is not exactly known; but he entered a river, supposed to be that of Connecticut, which was upwards of a mile wide, eight leagues from its mouth, had a bold channel from six to ten fathom deep, and every half mile beautiful coves and harbours, some of them fit to contain an hundred sail of ships. The land was very rich, tending all along to an equal

CHAP. II.
A. D. 1. 97.

A. D. 1603.

A. D. 1605.

* The prudence of Mr. White, on this occasion, is supposed to have been partly directed by an inclination to carry home a large booty which he had acquired from the Spaniards in his passage. Smith.

† Smith. Douglass. Hutchinson.

‡ This voyage was undertaken by the advice of Mr. Richard Hakluyt, so justly celebrated for his judicious Collection of Voyages.

BOOK IV.

plain, and the skirts of the woods were adorned with a green border of grafs. The trees were large and tall, and the country delightfully watered with fprings and rivulets. The natives, at firft, behaved with great civility, which Weymouth took care to return: but mutual fufpicions arifing, he feized fome of their principal men for his fecurity, and ungeneroufly carried them to England*.

April 20,
A. D. 1606.

Meanwhile Sir Walter Raleigh's patent having become void, in confequence of his attainder for a fupposed plot againft James I. a body of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants refolved to follicit his majefty, to impower them to raife a joint flock for planting colonies in Virginia. A grant was accordingly made to two companies, under one charter, of all the coaft of America from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. The one company confifted of adventurers of the city of London, who were defirous of fettling towards the fouth, or in what is properly called Virginia; the other of adventurers of Plymouth, Brittol, and Exeter, who chofe the country more to the north, or what is now named New England. Both companies were, however, enabled to eftablifh fettlements within any part of the above limits; but in fuch manner that the colonies of each company fhould be diftant an hundred miles from thofe of the other †.

In confequence of this grant, the London company immediately fitted out three veffels, under the command of Christopher Newport, an able and experienced mariner, with an hundred and ten adventurers on board, and all manner of implements for building and agriculture, as well as the neceffary arms for their defence. After a tedious voyage, and many difcontents among the adventurers, their little fquadron reached the Bay of Chefapeak, into which it was driven by a ftorm. The future colonifts landed on Cape Henry, where they were fuddenly attacked by the Indians. But the firft difcharge of the fire-arms difperfed thofe favages; who came next day in a friendly manner, and throwing down their bows and arrows as a token of their pacific difpofition, invited the Englifh to their town, and entertained them with the utmoft hofpitality ‡.

The firft bufinefs of the new colony was to open their inftructions; on which it appeared that Bartholomew Gofhold, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Radcliff, John Martin, and George Kendal, were appointed of the council. Wingfield was elected prefident, and Smith entirely left out of the council by his affociates, who appear to have been jealous of his fuperior merit, and the confidence reposed in his abilities by the company §. One of the members was immediately appointed to treat with the Indian chiefs, from whom he obtained leave to plant a colony on a convenient fpot, about fifty miles from the mouth of the river Powhatan, by the Englifh called James River. Here they erected a flight fort, barricadoed with trunks of trees, and furrounded by a number of little huts, to which they gave the name of James Town, in honour of the king. This fort was fituated on the point of a peninfula, fecured on each fide by navigable freams, and in the rainy feafon formed

* Smith.

‡ Purchas, Pilg. vol. IV.

† Smith's Hist. of Virginia, Append. No. I.

‡ Id. ibid.

into a perfect island. But notwithstanding these natural advantages, it was soon found that stronger fortifications were required for the protection of the colony. The natives of Virginia, like all the North American Indians, were entirely under the dominion of caprice; given to suspicion; and apt to pass, on the slightest injury, either real or imaginary, from the most perfect cordiality to the most rancorous hate. They surrounded the English settlement in the night; but finding the colonists on their guard, they retired according to their custom when discovered, without attempting any thing. This shew of hostilities, however, put the English on their guard: the plan of the fort was amended and enlarged; and by the 15th of June, it was finished of a triangular form, with three bastions, each mounting five pieces of cannon.

After this was effected captain Newport returned to England; and the settlement through the misconduct of the president and council, was soon exposed to all the miseries of famine and disease. In this extremity, recourse was had to the sagacity of John Smith, who first took upon him the direction, and was afterwards honoured with the administration of the colony. In endeavouring to procure provisions by traffic, he was taken prisoner by the Indians, and ready to be sacrificed to the vengeance of Powhatan, the most powerful chief in the neighbouring country, when Pocahontas, the daughter of that chief, interposed. She clasped his head in her arms, and laid her own upon the block, where his brains were to have been beaten out, to shew how much she desired his life. Powhatan was mollified, and Smith recovered his liberty. Nor did the kindness of this fair Indian stop here. Pocahontas supplied her favourite so plentifully with provisions, that he was enabled to save the lives of many, who must otherwise have perished for want*.

The arrival of captain Newport from England with supplies, removed these inconveniencies for a time. But the passion of searching for mines, and that contempt for every other object, but more especially for the labours of agriculture, which is its inseparable attendant, exposed the colony to new necessities. These the activity and sagacity of Smith enabled him in some measure to supply, by trafficking with the Indians, and occasionally raising contributions upon them, as well as by encouraging the culture of the earth. But no sooner did he depart for England, than every thing fell into confusion, and the greatest distress and misery ensued. His return was occasioned, partly by the turbulent jealousy of the people under his command, and partly by intelligence which he had received, that he was deprived of his authority. The company, grasping at present gain rather than future security, were dissatisfied with their returns. They made interest therefore with the king to grant them a new charter, containing larger powers and more ample privileges, than the former. Such a charter they obtained in May 1609.

By this second charter, the power and authority of the president and council of Virginia were expressly abrogated; and they were commanded, on their alle-

CHAP. II.
A. D. 1606.

A. D. 1609,

* Smith's Hist. of Virginia.

BOOK VI.
A. D. 1609.

giance, to pay obedience to such officers as should be appointed by the company *. Lord Delawar was prevailed upon to accept of the government of the new colony, and he appointed Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and captain Newport, his deputies, to take into their hands the administration, until his arrival. They accordingly set sail with a Squadron of eight ships, and a reinforcement of near five hundred men. Seven of these arrived safe at James Town; but their own ship was unfortunately wrecked upon the Bermudas, where they were detained about nine months. During this interval, the colony was in the utmost confusion, every one being ambitious to command, and none willing to obey. Captain Smith left them in the middle of these disorders; and those miseries, already mentioned, were the consequence of his departure. The stores were wasted in thoughtless prodigality by the new colonists, and the cattle slaughtered that ought to have renewed their stock. The Indians took advantage of their irregularities, and cut off great numbers of them. Faction was so violent, that the very measures necessary for self-defence were neglected; and the famine became so excessive, that they even pulled out of the graves the bodies of the Indians whom they had slain, and made use of their flesh, along with roots, as the means of preserving life †.

May 24,
A. D. 1610.

In this calamitous situation was the colony, when Sir Thomas Gates, and his associates arrived at James Town; where, out of between five and six hundred men left by captain Smith, about six months before, not above sixty persons of both sexes remained alive, and these more resembled spectres than human beings. But ill provided themselves, and strangers to the affairs of the settlement, the deputy governors saw no hope of establishing order among a set of men, whose hearts, even in their misery, were boiling with mutual hate, or of affording relief to those whom hunger itself had not been able to inspire with any laudable effort to procure food. It was therefore determined to abandon the settlement, and to set sail for England, as the only means of saving the wretched remnant of the colony. They accordingly embarked; but as they were falling down the river, they were met by the Lord Delawar, with three ships, well furnished with all necessaries. He persuaded them to return to James Town, which the prudence of Sir Thomas Gates had with difficulty saved from the flames, to which it was devoted by the voice of the unfortunate adventurers ‡.

The first act of the new governor was to assemble the colonists, to whom he made a short but pathetic speech. He reproached them for their idleness, dissoluteness, and discord, as well as on account of their want of resolution and public spirit; and he recommended a change of manners, in order to prevent the necessity of exerting that power with which he was vested, by drawing the sword of justice, to correct and punish the vices of those, whom he would much rather protect at the expence of the last drop of his blood. As an encouragement to their endeavours, he said, that he had brought such store of provisions as could not fail to be sufficient for their maintenance, if they were not wanting to themselves in

* Smith's Hist. Virginia, No. II.

† Smith's Hist. Virginia, Book III.

‡ W. Smith, Hist. Virg. Append. III. Douglass's Summary, part II. sec. xvi.

cultivating

cultivating the earth, and otherwise providing for their future subsistence. He at the same time constituted proper officers, and appointed every man his station and employment. Unity, order, and industry, took place of anarchy, idleness, and licentiousness. Such, in a word, was the vigour and activity of his lordship's administration, that he soon restored the affairs of the colony; and by a few well-timed examples of severity, mingled with a mild and paternal administration, he made himself feared by the neighbouring Indians, as well as loved and respected by his own people*.

While lord Delawar was employed in these patriotic toils, to which he had no other inducement but the service of his country and of mankind, he dispatched Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant, with part of the fleet to England, in order to lay before the company the state of the settlement. But whatever satisfaction they might derive from this, the commodities which he brought were so inconsiderable, that a solemn consultation was held, whether they should make a new contribution, or finally abandon all thoughts of establishing a colony in Virginia. The report of Sir Thomas Gates however, given upon oath, in regard to it, revived their expiring hopes. He affirmed that the soil was exceedingly fruitful, and produced in the greatest profusion grass, corn, fruits, and roots of all kinds; that European cattle multiplied there exceedingly, and that the vast abundance of fish, fowl, and venison, with which the country was stored, must always preserve the colony in the utmost plenty, as soon as they were properly furnished with the materials of hunting, fishing, and husbandry, under their present able governor; that if persons skilful in extracting pitch and tar, and in cultivating vines, hemp, flax, and silk, were sent over, they might easily supply Great Britain with the articles of a most valuable commerce; and that the settlement, instead of being a charge to the company, would soon yield returns beyond their most sanguine expectations.

Flattered with this prospect, the company resolved not to let an ill-timed parsimony obstruct such valuable ends. They accordingly dispatched three ships with a supply of provisions, live cattle, arms, ammunition, and all the necessary implements of industry. But the return of lord Delawar filled them with new fears. A bad state of health, occasioned by the change of climate, and the indefatigable diligence and activity which he had exerted to promote the interests of the colony, obliged him to quit a scene where he appeared to so much advantage, and acquired a reputation that has justly entitled him to the esteem of posterity; which, after the pleasure that the generous mind feels in doing good, is perhaps the strongest incentive to public or private virtue. His lordship, however, at his first interview, removed their uneasy apprehensions. He declared that he would venture his whole fortune on the success of the colony; and rather than so laudable an undertaking should be abandoned, he would return in person, feeble as he was, if they would only second his endeavours †.

* *Id. ibid.*† *Smith's Hist. of Virginia, book III.*

BOOK IV.

A. D. 1611.

In consequence of these reiterated assurances, Sir Thomas Gates was dispatched to Virginia, with six stout ships carrying three hundred men, one hundred live cattle, two hundred hogs, and every thing necessary to give prosperity to the colony, of which he was instructed to take upon him the government, in quality of deputy to lord Delawar. He immediately entered upon his administration, which was equally distinguished by its wisdom and vigour. He planted and fortified Henrico county, to the westward of the settlement; drawing lines, and securing them with palisades in order to prevent the irruption of the Indians, who seized every opportunity of carrying off the English cattle. But what contributed more

A. D. 1612.

especially to the safety as well as advancement of the colony, was the marriage of John Rolfe, a young gentleman of great merit, to the princess Pocahontas, who had formerly shewn such a predilection for captain Smith. In consequence of this marriage, which was entirely the effect of a mutual passion, the great chief Powhatan, who could never before be brought to a cordial amity with the English, was so much pleased with the respect paid to his daughter at James Town, that he concluded a sincere alliance with the colony, which ever after enjoyed a friendly intercourse and free trade, as well with himself as with all his subjects*.

A. D. 1613.

The example of this prince extended even beyond his own dominions. The Chickahomienies, a stout, brave, and free people, who had no single ruler, but whose councils, like those of most of the North American nations, were directed by their old men, sent ambassadors to Sir Thomas Dale, who had succeeded Sir Thomas Gates in the government of the colony, excusing all former injuries, and promising for ever to be the friends of the English. Their alliance was readily accepted, and the articles were ratified with the loudest acclamations of joy. They were jealous of their liberty, and of the power of the neighbouring chiefs; especially of Powhatan, whose connexion with the strangers, they were afraid, might be employed to oppress them. Nor was the new governor void of apprehensions in regard to this chief. He was desirous of another pledge of his fidelity. For this purpose, he dispatched Ralph Hamer, a person of distinction in the colony, to tell Powhatan, that his brother Dale having heard of the fame of his youngest daughter, intended to marry her to some worthy Englishman; an alliance which would be highly pleasing to her sister, who was very desirous of her company.

A. D. 1614.

The sagacious savage penetrated the governor's design, and replied with much composure and dignity: "I gladly accept of my brother's salute of love and peace; which, whilst I live, I will punctually and exactly keep. I likewise receive his presents, as tokens thereof, with no less thankfulness; but as to my other daughter—I hold it no brotherly part in him to endeavour to bereave me of my two children at once. For my own part, I desire no farther assurance of his friendship, than the promise he has given. From me he has already had a pledge— one daughter, which as long as she lives will be sufficient; and should she hap-

* *Id. ibid.* This is a striking example of the benefit of intermarriages with the Indians; which if more generally practised, would have effectually prevented the many massacres to which our colonies have been exposed.

pen to die, I promise to give him another. Tell him farther," added he, "that although he had no pledge, he need not be apprehensive of any injury from me or my people. There hath been enough of war and blood: too many have been slain on both sides; but through my means there never shall be more. I who have the power to perform it, have said it. I am grown old, and would gladly end my days in peace and quietness. Even though I should have just cause of resentment, I will not lift the hatchet. My country is large enough: I can go from you. This answer, I hope, will satisfy my brother *."

The governor was indeed not only satisfied, but ashamed to be intrusted by a savage in the confidence due to the faith of treaties. His suspicious caution, however, was not the effect of an ungenerous temper, but of zeal for the safety of the colony. This principle displayed itself with still more activity in another quarter. Understanding that the French had established a settlement in North America, within the limits of the company's charter, he sent thither captain Argol, who surprised Port Royal and St. Croix, two towns lying on each side of the Bay of Fundi, in Acadia, or what is now called Nova Scotia, and acquired a considerable booty in provisions and wearing apparel. In his return he also visited a Dutch settlement on Hudion's river; asserting that captain Hudson, in whose right, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, they claimed that country, being an Englishman, and acting under a licence from the king, could not alienate his discoveries from the English crown, and still less the discoveries of former navigators, or what lay within the limits of the royal grants. He therefore demanded possession in his majesty's name; and the Dutch governor being unable to resist, peaceably submitted both himself and his colony to the king of England, and, under him, to the governor of Virginia †.

It was during the government of Sir Thomas Dale, that the colony first began to cultivate the tobacco plant, which has ever since been the staple commodity of the country. He took care, however, that it should not interfere with the more necessary cultures, by ordaining, that no tobacco should be set, till a certain proportion of corn ground, according to the number of each family, had been first prepared and planted. But after his departure, which was occasioned by the exigency of his affairs in England, both this regulation and his example were forgot; and the new governor, together with all the people, tempted by the prospect of present gain, applied themselves so eagerly to the planting of tobacco, that the colony was again reduced to the greatest distress by famine.

Nor was this the only evil which that rising establishment was doomed to feel. Captain Argol, who had been raised to the government of the colony, through the influence of lord Rich, one of the heads of the company, seemed to consider his appointment only as the means of acquiring wealth by oppression and extortion. The company suffered no less than individuals by his rapacity. These disorders induced lord Delawar, whose commission was supreme, and superseded every other, to resolve once more to assume the government. He accordingly

* Pelat. of Ralph Hamer. ap. Purchas.

† Smith's Hist. of Virginia, Book iii.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1618.

set sail with two ships, and two hundred men, but unfortunately fell sick, and died in his passage; and Argol, in consequence of that event, continued to exercise his tyrannies a year longer.

A. D. 1620.

He was at last superseded by Sir George Yardly, who pursued the wise maxims of Sir Thomas Dale, in restraining the culture of tobacco, that the colony might be furnished with bread. This gentleman also convoked, soon after his arrival, the first general assembly that ever was held in Virginia. Desirous that the government should resemble the British constitution, composed of two houses of parliament and a sovereign, he increased the number of the council, and summoned representatives from all the plantations and towns. Regular courts of justice were established for the trial of civil causes; and property, which had hitherto been in a great measure precarious, was distinctly ascertained. Negroes, so serviceable in the cultivation of tobacco, were introduced, and the number of the colonists was soon doubled. Every thing tended rapidly towards prosperity; when the inexperience and misconduct of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had succeeded to the government of the settlement in 1621, threw every thing into confusion. Disorders multiplied upon disorders. The colony, torn by domestic feuds, was twice almost cut off by the Indians. In consequence of these, and other misfortunes and mismanagements, both at home and abroad, it sunk into such a state of languor and unimportance, that Charles I. dissolved the company, and took the government into his own hands, in 1626. From this æra we must date the true prosperity of Virginia. The remedy, though violent, was efficacious and salutary. But before we trace its beneficial effects, we must look back to the settlement of the other colonies.

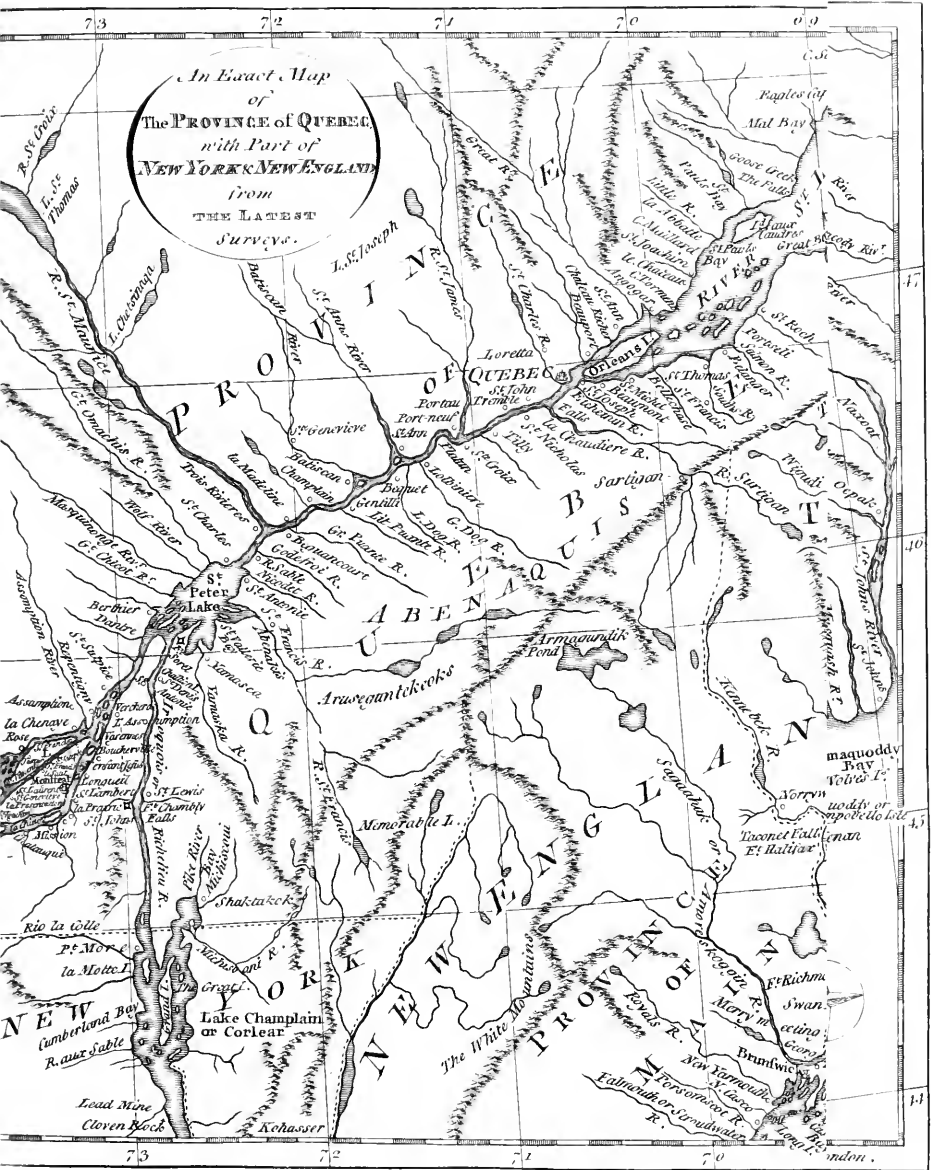
C H A P. III.

The Settlement of New England, and the Progress of that Colony to the Year 1691, when the NEW CHARTER was granted by King William III.

A. D. 1608.

WHILE the London company, supported by a set of public spirited noblemen and gentlemen, were establishing a colony in spite of every obstacle, in what was then called South Virginia, North Virginia or New England, was almost entirely neglected by the associated company of Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter. A settlement was indeed attempted in 1607, by some of the patentees, at Sagahadoc, near the mouth of Quenebec river; but George Popham, the president, dying the first winter, which was extremely severe, and his brother, lord chief justice Popham, the principal promoter of the design, about the same time in Europe, the adventurers abandoned what they denominated a cold, barren, and inhospitable desert, and all thoughts of establishing a colony in such a country were laid aside. It was the fate of New, like Old England, to thrive amid national convulsions; to rise into consequence during the horrors of persecution, and to owe its civil and religious privileges to a noble

An Exact Map of
The PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
with Part of
NEW YORK & NEW ENGLAND
from
THE LATEST
Surveye.



BOOK IV.
A. D. 1618.

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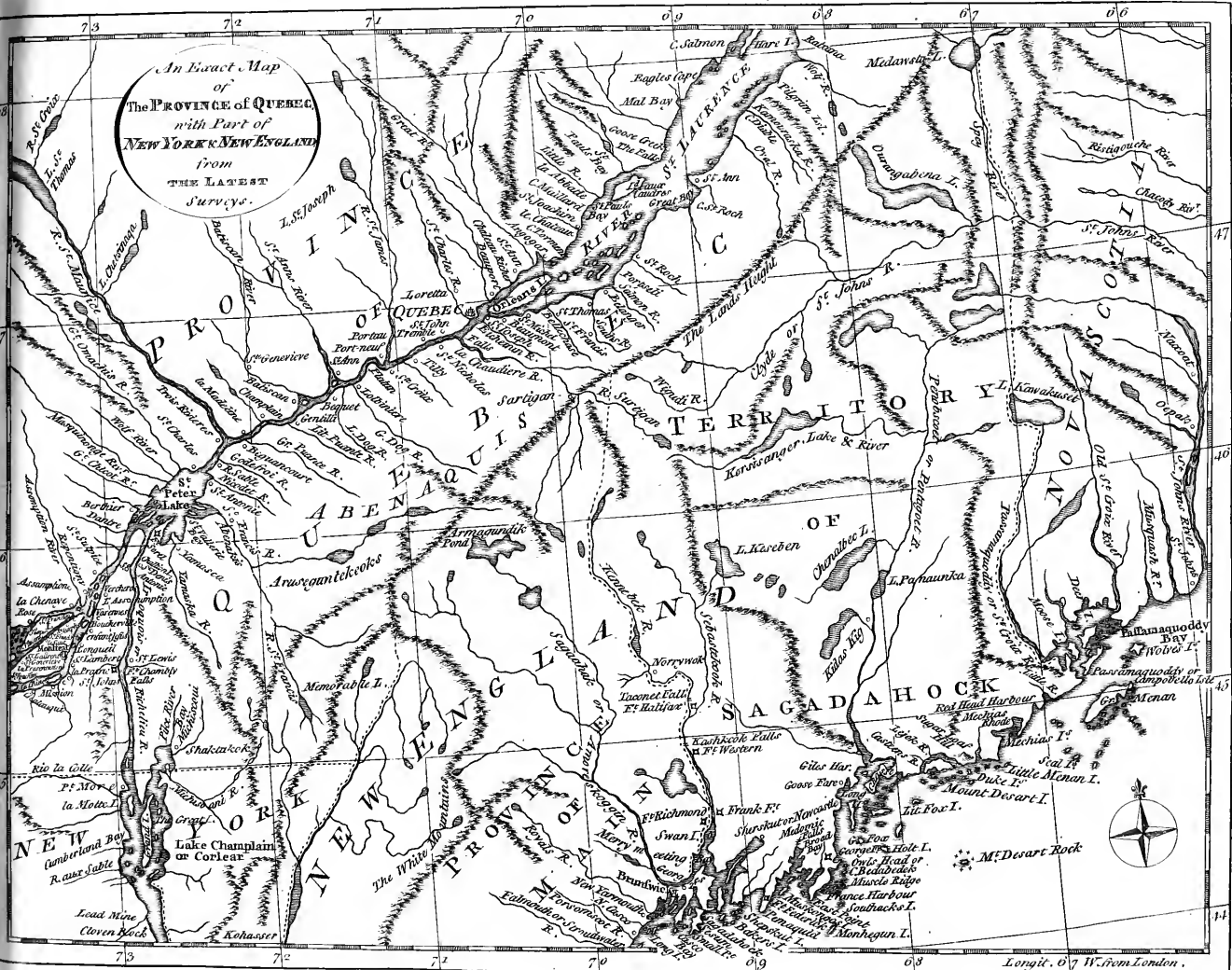
CHAP. III.

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A. D. 1608.

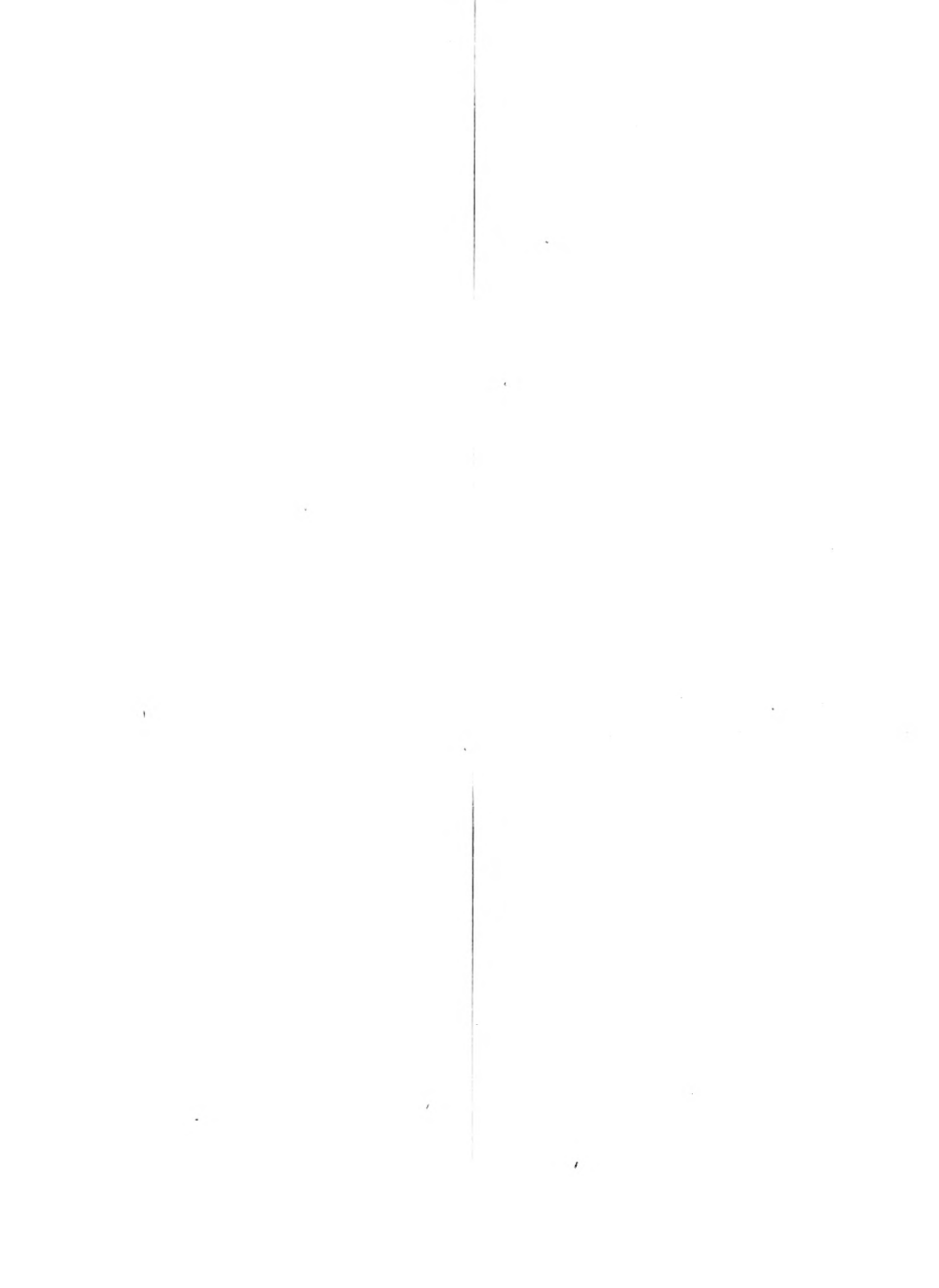
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Longit. 67 W. from London.

J. G. Koenig del.



noble disdain of regal and ecclesiastical tyranny, not to the plans of legislators or the generosity of princes.

We have already traced the civil commotions of the mother-country, as far as they are connected with her colonies; let us now consider those excited by religion. Every one knows the motives that induced Henry VIII. to throw off the authority of the pope; and few are unacquainted with the enormities of the Romish superstition. Roused by his passions and his caprices, and encouraged by the prevalence of the reformed opinions among his subjects, that great monarch, no less vigorous than violent, ventured to abolish whatever he thought amiss in the ancient religion, and to assume the supremacy over his own clergy.

This open schism was followed by another alteration in the reign of Edward VI. the son and successor of Henry. The religious opinions which were then changing the face of Europe, were freely discussed. Something was taken from every one; and out of these several systems or tenets arose a new communion, distinguished by the name of the *Church of England*. Rage and animosity against the catholic religion, was as little indulged as could be supposed in such a revolution: the fabric of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire; the ancient liturgy was preserved, so far as was thought consistent with the new principles; many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, were retained; and the distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued. No innovation was admitted merely from spite and opposition to former usage. The new religion, in a word, while it changed the genius of the ancient superstition, and rendered it more compatible with the peace and the interests of society, (by a happy moderation) cautiously avoided every rite that rendered it liable to the imputation of fanaticism. The establishment of the church of England was a work of reason.

But though such in general was the spirit of the reformation in this country, many of our reformers being men of more ardent tempers, indulged themselves in the most violent contrariety and antipathy to all former practices. Among these Hooper, who afterwards suffered for his religion with such extraordinary constancy, was particularly distinguished. This clergyman was appointed, during the reign of Edward, to the see of Gloucester, and made no scruple of accepting the episcopal office; but he refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habit, the cymar and rochet, which had formerly, he said, been abused to superstition, and were thereby rendered unbecoming a true Christian. The same objection was moved against the rayment of the inferior clergy. The surplice, in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many popular zealots. "What has Christ," said they, "to do with Belial? What has darkness to do with light?—If surplices, corner-caps, and tippets, have been the badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, why should the preacher of Christian liberty, and the open rebuker of all superstition, partake of the dregs of the Romish beast?—Yea, who is there that should not rather be afraid of taking in his hand, or placing on his forehead, the print and mark of that odious beast?"

* Burnet. Heylen. Keith.

BOOK IV.

These disputes, which had been started during the reign of Edward VI. were carried abroad by the protestants who fled from the persecutions of Mary; and as the zeal of those men had been whetted by the atrocious cruelty of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their opposition against the practices of the ancient religion to the utmost extremity. Their communication with Calvin and other reformers, who followed the discipline and worship of Geneva, confirmed them farther in this aversion; and though some of the refugees continued to adhere to king Edward's liturgy, the prevailing spirit carried them to seek a still farther reformation. On the accession of Elizabeth they returned to England; and being regarded with a general veneration, on account of their zeal and sufferings, they ventured to insist on the establishment of their projected model. Nor did they want countenance from many considerable persons in the queen's council; but that princess herself, so far from being willing to despoil religion of the few ornaments and ceremonies which were left it, was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer to the Romish ritual. She thought that the reformation had already gone too far, in shaking off those forms and observances, which, without striking men of more refined apprehensions, tend in a very innocent manner to allure, and amuse, and engage the vulgar*. She accordingly took care to have a law for uniformity strictly enacted: she was empowered by the parliament to add such new ceremonies as she should think proper; and though she was sparing in the exertion of this prerogative, she continued rigid in exacting an observance of the established laws, and in punishing all nonconformity. But the flame was restrained, not extinguished; and burning fiercer from confinement, it burst out in the succeeding reigns to the destruction of the church and monarchy.

The same bold and daring spirit, that accompanied these innovators in their addresses to the Divinity, which were free and rapturous, which made them disdain all rites and ceremonies, appeared in their political speculations. The principles of civil liberty, which during some late reigns had been little avowed in the nation, were strongly adopted by this new sect, who were denominated *Puritans*, on account of their pretending to a superior purity of worship and discipline. Elizabeth therefore, who little relished the doctrine of resisting or restraining princes, kept down the Puritans during her whole reign, with an uniform and inflexible severity. The party however, though depressed, was by no means destroyed; and the merit of their sufferings, the affected plainness of their dress, the gravity of their deportment, the use of scripture phrases upon the most ordinary occasions, and even their names, which had something striking and venerable, by being borrowed from the Old Testament, or having an allusion to religious matters, gained them general esteem among sober people of ordinary understandings.

When James I. ascended the throne, he had a fair opportunity of accommodating matters. No less than seven hundred and fifty clergymen of the puri-

* Heylin. S. 776.

tanical party signed a petition to this prince on his arrival in England; and many more seemed willing to adhere to it. They all hoped that James, having received his education in Scotland, and even professed an attachment to the church there established, would at least abate the rigour of the laws against men holding the same principles, if he did not shew them particular favour and encouragement. But this king's disposition had strongly taken another bias. The more he knew of the puritanical clergy, the less favour he bore them. He had remarked in their Scottish brethren a violent turn towards republican maxims, and a zealous attachment to civil liberty. These could scarcely have recommended them to any sovereign, and made them peculiarly obnoxious to James, whose mind was filled with lofty notions of kingship and high prerogative. He dreaded the popularity which this set of men had acquired in both kingdoms; and strongly inclined himself to mirth, and wine, and sports of all kinds, he apprehended the censure of their austerities, on account of his free and disengaged manner of life. Thus averse, from temper as well as policy, against the sect of Puritans, James resolved not only to prevent its further growth in England, but to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland.

Fortunately this prince wanted vigour to carry his designs into execution. The Puritans were harassed, but not extirpated, when his son Charles I. succeeded to his crown, as well as to the inheritance of his civil and religious opinions; and what was still more dangerous for those innovators, Charles was sincere. His piety, which had a mixture of superstition in it, led him to give himself entirely to the church and churchmen: and to complete his weakness and indiscretion, in this respect, he conferred the first ecclesiastical dignity in the kingdom, and a great sway in temporal affairs, upon Dr. Laud, who led him by the facility of his temper into a conduct that proved his ruin. This man, naturally weak, though not devoid of theological learning, was rendered blind to every rational consideration, by a bigotted zeal for the exaltation of the priesthood. He multiplied the ecclesiastical ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apostolical institution; and in order to enforce their observance, he had recourse to acts of arbitrary power exercised, through his instigation, by the king. He imprudently sheltered his innovations, which gave to the church of England all the pomp and pageantry of the Romish worship, beneath the shadow of the royal prerogative, at a time when the nation was under the most alarming apprehensions on account of the intrigues of a presumptuous queen, who brought with her from France an immoderate passion for popery and arbitrary power; and when the people were rather disposed to rob religion of its remaining ceremonies, and to retrench the power of the crown, than to indulge an extension of the one, or an addition to the other.

A spirit of resistance soon discovered itself in the debates of the commons. "If a man meet a dog alone," said one Rouse, a puritanical member, "the dog is fearful, though ever so fierce by nature; but if the dog have his master with him, he will set upon that man, from whom he fled before. This shews, that lower natures being backed by higher, increase in courage and strength: and certainly

tainly man, being backed with Omnipotence, is a kind of omnipotent creature. All things are possible to him that believes; and where all things are possible, there is a kind of omnipotency. Wherefore, let it be the unanimous consent and resolution of us all, to make a vow and covenant, henceforth to hold fast our God and our religion; and then shall we henceforth expect with certainty, happiness in this world*." But before this spirit of resistance was roused, or had acquired sufficient strength to protect those who were desirous of worshipping God in their own way, many of the Puritans had left the kingdom; and even after the commencement of the Grand Rebellion, many who were divided between submission and opposition, turned their views towards North America, where they hoped to enjoy in peace, amid the *wilderness*, as they termed it, that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them.

As early as the year 1608, and soon after the accession of James I. one Mr. Robinson and his church, in order to avoid the rage of persecution, had sought refuge in Holland. But though Holland is a country of the greatest religious freedom of any in the world, they did not find themselves better satisfied there than in England. They were tolerated indeed, but watched: their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of opposition; and being without power or consequence, they grew tired of the indolent security of their sanctuary. They were desirous of removing to a country, where they should see no superior. Other motives conspired with these to make them solicitous of a change of situation. Though they laid great stress on their particular tenets, which led them to expect an heavenly inheritance without any merit of their own, they were not wanting in their regard to morality. The manners of the Dutch were too licentious for them. Their children left them; some to become sailors, others soldiers in the Dutch service. Their posterity, in a few years, would have been Dutch, and their church at an end.

In order to avoid evils which they so much dreaded, as well as in hopes of attaining privileges which were denied them among foreigners, they applied to the Plymouth or North Virginia company, for a patent of part of the country included in their grant; and to render it probable, that their attempt at settlement would not, like all former undertakings of the same kind, prove abortive, they gave among others the following substantial reasons. "We are well weaned," said they, "from the delicate milk of our mother-country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land: we are knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which we hold ourselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole; nor is it with us as with other men, whom small obstacles may discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again. We have properly no home; and will therefore struggle hard to find one †." The Plymouth company was much pleased with this application, and some of the chief members addressed the king to grant the petitioners liberty in religion, un-

* Rushworth, vol. I. Parl. Hist. vol. VIII.

† Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts Bay, chap. i. These people were of the sect since called Independents.

der the great fear. This James refused: he promised, however, not to molest them; and though the petitioners hesitated for a time, they at last resolved to venture, without a special grant for liberty of conscience. They hoped that their remote situation would put them out of danger from the ecclesiastical courts.

As soon as these pious adventurers had obtained a patent from the Plymouth company, they therefore made the necessary preparations for their voyage, and embarked in one ship, to the number of an hundred and twenty persons. Their purpose was to have settled on Hudson's river, or the country near it; but the Dutch, as already noticed, having formed a settlement there, bribed their pilot to carry them farther to the north, so that they fell in with the land about Cape Cod, and took shelter in that harbour. The harbour is good, but the country is sandy and barren. This was discouraging, but it was too late in the season to put to sea again. They coasted about in their boat, till they found a place more proper for a plantation. Thither they brought their ship, and determined to take up their abode, though the harbour was not so good as the former. They gave to this place the name of New Plymouth, and chose as their governor one John Carver*.

The approach of winter, in a country entirely covered with wood, and at a distance from any human aid, afforded but a melancholy prospect to the new colonists; and the cold proved so extremely severe, that near one half of their number died of distempers occasioned by the hardships to which they were exposed. Fortunately none of the natives molested them, and hope in the protection of Heaven supported the survivors under their sufferings. The spring arrived, when they expected supplies from England, and the first Indian they saw was the messenger of peace. About the middle of March, a Sagamore or petty chief, who had been so much conversant with the English on those coasts as to be able to understand a little of their language, came in a friendly manner to visit the settlement at New Plymouth. He was so well pleased with his reception, that he brought several others of his countrymen to the colony, and among the rest the great Sachem or lord, Massasoit, with his brother and sixty attendants. He was received by the governor with all possible state; and in return for the civilities which he received, he not only bestowed upon the colonists, and their heirs for ever, all the lands in the neighbourhood of their city, but left one of his attendants to teach them how to plant maize, and to catch fish upon those coasts †.

Encouraged by this kindness, the new colonists applied themselves vigorously to the cultivation of the earth; and though they received no supplies from England for almost two years, their industry procured them a comfortable subsistence. In the meantime the project of settling this part of America revived in England,

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1619.

A. D. 1619.

Nov 11.

* Douglafs. Hutchinſon. Winſlow, ap. Purchas.

† Winſlow, ap. Purchas. The reaſon why the ſettlers requeſted ſuch a grant may be conſidered in two ways. New Plymouth was without the limits of the grant which they had obtained from the company; and they might, independent of ſuch conſideration, be deſirous either of ſatisfying their conſciences with a legal right, or of flattening the pride of the Indians.

BOOK IV.

Nov. 3,
A. D. 1620.

and a new patent was granted, incorporating the adventurers to the northern colony, by the name of the Council for the Affairs of New England. The limits of this colony were confined between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude*. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and captain John Mason were two of the most active members of this council. The first grant, within the bounds of the province of Massachusetts Bay, was obtained by Mr. Weston, one of the original Plymouth adventurers, who sent out two ships, in 1622, with fifty or sixty men, to begin a plantation at Wessiguesset, since called Weymouth. Being sickly when they arrived, these people received necessaries and refreshments from their neighbours at New Plymouth. They were a dissolute crew; soon expended all their stock; then robbed the natives, and offered other abuses to them. The Indians made their complaint to the colony of New Plymouth; but the abuses continuing, notwithstanding every exhortation of their exemplary neighbours, a plot was laid by the savages for the destruction of Weston's company. The plot was discovered to the New Plymouth settlers, who generously sent some of their people to defeat the execution of it. This fortunate circumstance did not, however, prevent the ruin of Weston's plantation, which continued only a year.

A. D. 1623.

The fate of New Plymouth was very different. In 1624, Mr. Winslow, their faithful agent, arrived with a new grant; a considerable supply of necessaries, and three cows and a bull, the first ever seen in that country; together with hogs, goats, and all other kinds of domestic animals, which multiplied surprisingly. The colony at this time consisted only of two hundred and eight persons, living in thirty two houses. Each family had its separate portion of land; but the whole produce was laid into one common store, whence it was dealt out to the different families, in proportion to the number of their members †. So inconsiderable was the beginning, not an hundred and sixty years ago, of that colony which now sets the mother-country at defiance, and threatens the whole New World with subjection!

A. D. 1625.

But no society, however small or well regulated, is exempt from dissension. As the colony of New England was first peopled in consequence of the dissensions in the parent state, its different settlements were chiefly established in consequence of disputes and divisions among the colonists themselves. Lyford, the minister, or religious teacher at New Plymouth, and one John Oldham, having stirred up a faction there, were banished the colony. They began a settlement at Nantasket; and Roger Conant, one of their associates, supported by some adventurers from Dorchester, attempted another at Cape Ann, which was afterwards removed to a neck of land upon Naumkeag river. About the same time, one captain Wollaston, with some gentlemen of fortune from England, began a plantation near the place now called Weymouth, to which they gave the name of Mount Wollaston, since changed into that of Braintree.

It does not appear that Wollaston had any patent. Dissatisfied with his situation, he soon removed to Virginia; probably with a view not only of settling to

* Hutchinson, chap. i.

† Winslow, ap. Purch.

more advantage, but of carrying his people thither. In the meantime one Morton, a gentleman from one of the Inns of Court, contrived to make himself chief of the company; changed the name of Mount Wollaston to Merry Mount; set all the servants free; and erected a May-pole, round which he and his people danced in contempt of the Puritans in their neighbourhood, who abhorred such ungodly sports, and lived a life of dissipation, until all the stock intended for trade was consumed. Afraid of the contagion of such licentiousness, which of itself they considered as sufficient to draw down a judgment upon the land, as well as of other harms, the pious colony of New Plymouth charged Morton with furnishing the Indians with fire-arms, and teaching them the use of them. This accusation, whether true or false, roused all the neighbouring planters: Morton was seized, confined, and sent to England by the first ships that sailed for the mother-country*.

These are all the settlements, or attempts at settlement in New England, of which we have any account, until the year 1627; when Mr. White, the Puritan minister at Dorchester, who had encouraged Conant and his company to persevere, negotiated a treaty between the original patentees and Sir Richard Saltonstall, Matthew Cradock, and John Venn, esquires, and several others in and about London, for all that part of New England three miles to the south of Charles river, and three miles north of Merrymack river, from the Atlantic to the South Sea. A purchase was accordingly made, and the same summer Mr. Endicot, one of the original patentees, to whom the affairs of the colony were committed, was sent over to Naumkeag with planters, servants, and all other things requisite for the prosperity of a settlement.

A. D. 1627.

The patent from the council of Plymouth or New England gave a good right to the soil, but no powers of government. A royal charter was therefore necessary. This passed the seals March 4, 1628, and is to the following purport:—

A. D. 1628.

“Whereas king James I. Anno Regni XVIII. Nov. 3. granted by patent to a council at Plymouth in Devon, and their associates and assigns for ever, the property and jurisdiction of certain lands in America called New England, extending from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and east and west from sea to sea, if not possessed by any Christian state, nor within the limits of a southern colony lately granted, the quit-rent to be the fifth part of all their gold and silver ore; and whereas this company, by a deed granted and sold, March 19, 3 Reg. Car. a part of their patent lands to six gentlemen, [*whose names are here enumerated*] their heirs, assigns, and associates for ever, viz. all lands from three miles northward of any and every part of Merrymack river, to three miles southward of any and every part of Charles river, and of Massachusetts Bay, east and west, from sea to sea, with all islands on the eastern or western coasts, and that grant is confirmed to the said six gentlemen and their associates, by Royal Charter, bearing date this 4th day of March, 1628: and the said grantees and their associates, with all such others as shall hereafter be ad-

* Neal. Mather, Hutchinson.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1638

mitted and made free of the company, shall for ever be one body corporate and politic, by the name of the GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETT BAY IN NEW ENGLAND; the corporation to consist of one governor, one deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, to be annually elected out of the freemen of the company. The governor may call an assembly at pleasure; and the governor and assistants, not under seven, may once a-month meet to do business. There shall be four great and general courts or assemblies of the freemen annually, on the last Wednesday of Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas terms; to admit freemen, constitute officers, and to make laws, but not repugnant to the statutes of England; and annually upon the last Wednesday in Easter term shall be an election, in general assembly then convened, of a governor, deputy governor, eighteen assistants, and all other officers: and the said company of Massachusetts Bay shall have liberty to transport from England any people, effects, and merchandise free of customs, both outward and inward, for the first seven years; and also for the first seven years, and for fourteen years more, excepting the five per cent. duty in England upon all merchandise imported: and all persons born in that country, or in the passages to and from the colony, shall be deemed natural born subjects of England. The general court may make orders and laws, constitute officers, and impose fines, imprisonment, or other lawful correction, according to the course of other corporations in England*; and they may encounter and resist by force of arms, by sea or land, any who shall, in an hostile manner, invade the said plantation; but if any of the said colony shall injure any subject of princes in amity with us, they shall, by proclamation made in England, be required to give satisfaction, and make restitution; which, if not complied with, the said persons shall be put out of our allegiance and protection, and the said princes shall be allowed to prosecute the said offenders with hostility. Be it further provided, that none of our subjects shall be debarred fishing upon the coast of New England, nor from setting up stages and work-houses on shore, and cutting requisite timber and wood †.

The company met on the last Wednesday in Easter term, the day for the annual election of officers by their charter, when Mr. Cradoc was chosen governor, and one Mr. Goffe deputy-governor. At this court it was determined, that every one of the company who had subscribed fifty pounds, should have two hundred acres of land assigned him, and in proportion for a greater or smaller sum, as the first dividend; and the names of all the adventurers, and the sums subscribed, were sent to Mr. Endicot, who was appointed their governor in the plantation. He appears to have been a weak fanatic, and in the height of his zeal to give to every thing the air of religion, he changed the name of Naumkeag to that of Salem; a place, as we shall afterwards have occasion to

* Capital crimes do not here seem to be included.

† The colony-seal was an Indian erect, naked; an arrow in his right hand, and a bow in his left, with these words in a scroll from his mouth: "Come over and help us!"—and in a circle, *Stigillum Gub. et Societatis de MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NOVA ANGLIA.* Douglass's Summary, part II. sec. viii.

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1630.

fee, where fanaticism flourished more, and put forth wilder shoots, than in any other spot perhaps on the face of the earth. It now consisted only of a small number of houses; but the old and new planters together, made about three hundred. One hundred of these removed to the mouth of Charles River, farther up the Bay, and founded a settlement, to which they gave the name of Charles Town*.

Now it was that the colony of Massachusetts Bay proceeded to the formation of their church. After fasting and prayer, one Mr. Higgenson was elected the first teacher, and one Mr. Skelton pastor; each of them, together with three or four grave members, laying their hands on the other, with solemn prayer. Elders and deacons also were ordained, and a covenant entered into for the support of the new hierarchy †. Here another disquisition becomes necessary.

Few subjects are less understood than the civil and religious institutions of New England. One party, with some appearance of justice, has represented the founders of that colony as a set of wrong-headed enthusiasts, who had no distinct ideas either of religion or laws, but were entirely guided in regard to both by their own wild and capricious fancies, which led them to torture, misapply, and misinterpret scripture, to the confusion of all civil and moral order. Another party has considered those men as apostles and legislators, under the immediate inspiration of God, and all their institutions as the dictates of the Holy Spirit. Both parties seem to be wide of the truth, though with different degrees of verisimilitude; and it will be difficult to find the proper medium. The first historians of New England ‡ were either enthusiasts themselves, or men entirely devoted to its institutions: they were besides religious teachers; and those who have written since §, though of a more liberal way of thinking, were strongly induced by the capacity in which they acted, to be partial to the people. From a diligent comparison of these authorities however, combined with collateral evidence, with which the Author is amply furnished, he hopes to be enabled to elucidate a subject, which has long been involved in obscurity, and which the present disputes between Great Britain and her colonies have rendered of the utmost importance.

The old non-conformists § and good old Puritans **, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, though desirous of the reformation of certain corruptions, as they thought, which had crept into the church, either before or after its reformed state, were by no means for dissolving the whole frame of ecclesiastical government. But towards the end of the former reign, appeared a set of enthusiasts called Brownists, from one Robert Brown, their apostle, who maintained

* Hutchinson, chap. i. Douglass, part II. sect. viii.

† Hubbard. M. S. ap. Hutchinson.

‡ Mather, Neal, &c.

§ Douglass and Hutchinson; the first a physician in Boston, the latter lieutenant-governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay.

§ They were chiefly Presbyterians, and sought only to be allowed to follow the mode of worship established by the church of Scotland.

** Many of the Puritans had received episcopal ordination, and conformed, though with reluctance, to the ceremonies of the church of England.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1623.

the necessity of new moulding the church. These sectaries, who multiplied exceedingly in a few years, were also called Separatists, in order to distinguish them from the ancient non-conformists; and Independents, because every congregation was held to be complete in itself, and independent of the other churches or congregations of the same persuasion. Of this persuasion were the people who settled at New Plymouth, though somewhat moderated in their extravagancies; and whatever might be the theological principles, or the mode of worship established among those who settled at Salem, before they left England, their mode of ordination, as soon as they arrived in America, appears to have been the same with that in use among the Brownists, and their hierarchy took the same independent form. We are besides told, that messengers or delegates from the church of Plymouth, were expected to join with them on this occasion, but that contrary winds obstructed them in their passage; so that they did not arrive till the afternoon, which was soon enough to give the right hand of fellowship*.

It is truly surprising that the Company did not agree upon some form of worship for their officers and servants, and some scheme of church government for the colony. It was however neglected, and though the adventurers, on their arrival in New England, formed themselves into distinct churches, they seem to have had no settled plan of ecclesiastical polity, until Mr. Cotton came over in 1633. In the meantime, the great body of the colonists were of one opinion in regard to that matter. But two of those who settled at Salem, John and Samuel Brown; the one a lawyer, the other a merchant; both men of property, original patentees, and members of the council, were dissatisfied that the Common Prayer and service of the church of England should be wholly laid aside, and therefore drew off from the rest, with as many as were of their sentiments, and set up a separate society. Mr. Endicot, the governor, offended at this behaviour, ordered these two gentlemen to be brought before him; and finding them determined to maintain principles which he deemed erroneous, he sent them back to England under pretence of sedition †.

While these things were transacting in the colony, a much larger embarkation was projected in the mother-country, and the transfer of the corporation itself from Old to New England. Isaac Johnson, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley,

* Hutchinso, chap. i.

† They applied to the Company, on their return, for redress; but it does not appear, by the Massachusetts Records how the dispute was finally determined. On this occasion, Hutchinson quotes the maxim of Montesquieu, that "every religion which is persecuted becomes itself persecuting: for, as soon as by some accidental turn, it emerges from persecution, it attacks the religion which persecuted it." It seems at least to be certain, that all religionists, who are so tenacious of their opinions as to suffer martyrdom, rather than renounce them, will inflict martyrdom on those who differ from themselves, when in power. Of this we have many instances. But enthusiastic as Endicot was, he seems rather to have been guided in the present instance, by maxims of policy than pious zeal. He was afraid of a division of sentiments also in political matters; for from their first establishment, as we shall frequently have occasion to observe, the religious independents appear to have aimed at *independency* in civil matters.

and several other gentlemen of family and fortune, dissatisfied with the arbitrary proceedings both in church and state, and allured by the prospect of enjoying perfect liberty of conscience in America, as well as civil freedom, proposed to the governor and company at London, for the affairs of Massachusetts Bay, to remove thither with their families; but on this condition only, that the patent and charter should remove with them. A committee was appointed to deliberate on this proposal, and to advise with persons learned in the law, in regard to it. The company had been at great expence; no returns had been made to them; nor had they any rational hope of profit from the colony in its present form. The principal objection to such a transfer, seems therefore to have been a doubt of its legality. The report of the committee is not recorded; but the opinion of Mr. White, a counsellor at law, and one of the patentees, had great weight with the governor and council; and it was resolved, with the general consent of the company, "That the government and patent shall be settled in New England *."

In consequence of this resolution, and an agreement entered into at the same time, that the members of the corporation who remained in England, were to retain a share in the trading stock and profits of it, for the term of seven years, Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor, and Mr. Dudley deputy-governor. These gentlemen, and a number of others of good condition, adventurers, assistants, settlers, and servants, in all fifteen hundred, with provisions and stores, embarked from the different ports of the mother-country, in seventeen ships, and landed in New England during the course of the summer 1630. When the *Arabella*, on board of which were the governors and assistants, arrived at Salem, the common people immediately went on shore, and regaled themselves with strawberries, which are very fine in North America, and were then in perfection. These might give them a favourable idea of the country, but the gentlemen adventurers found enough to fill them with concern. The first information that they received, was of a general conspiracy of all the Indians, as far as Naraganset, to extirpate the English; that eighty persons, out of about three hundred, had died in the colony the winter before; and that many of those who remained, were in a weak and sickly condition. There was not corn to have lasted a fortnight, and all other provisions were short. They were obliged to give liberty † to all the servants they had sent over, that they might shift for themselves, although they had cost from fifteen to twenty pounds a head; and they had not above three or four months to look out for proper settlements, and provide shelter against the severity of the winter.

Men who had come from a land of pleasure and plenty into a wilderness of wants, to use the language of Mr. Hubbard ‡, were not able to struggle with so many difficulties: sickness broke out among them: about one hundred returned with the ships; and twice that number died before the first of Decem-

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A. D. 1630.

A. D. 1630.

June 12.

* Hutchinon from the Massachusetts Records.

† It is somewhat surprising † at men, who were so jealous of liberty, both civil and religious, should have thought of employing bond servants.

‡ M. S. Hist. ap. Hutchinon.

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A. D. 1630.

ber. Meanwhile the governor and assistants had travelled through the woods from Salem to Charles Town, in order to look out for a proper place for their capital, which they had determined should be in some part of the bay or harbour, between Nantasket and Cambridge. At first they pitched upon the north side of Charles river; but a number of the principal gentlemen having fixed their temporary habitations on the other side of the river, the governor, and most of the assistants, removed to them in November. They were still, however, undetermined where to build in the spring; for although they were already sensible of the superior advantages of the spot where Boston is now built, called Shawmut or Trimontaine, one Mr. Blaxton, a good old puritan, claimed the whole peninsula, because he had first slept upon it, and refused to associate with them. This gentleman had built a small fort for his defence, which mounted four pieces of cannon: but his disgust of such fanatical neighbours prompted him to remove; and a visit from Chicketaubut, the chief of the Indians near that place, with professions of friendship, dispelled the apprehensions of danger, and induced the governor to remove to Boston, which soon became a flourishing city, and the capital of the colony*.

Lyn, Dorchester, Watertown, Roxbury, and other settlements had been founded in the beginning of the preceding winter, when the first general court was also held; not by representatives, but by every one who was free of the corporation in person. As none had been admitted freemen since leaving England, the governor and assistants had great influence over the court. It was ordered, that for the future, the freemen should chuse the assistants; and the assistants, from among themselves, the governor and deputy-governor. The court of assistants were also to have the power of making laws and appointing officers. This was a departure from the charter. One hundred and nine freemen were admitted at this court, several of whom were not members of any of the congregations or churches. But at the next general court, which was that of election for 1631, the scale was turned. The freemen resolved, notwithstanding the former vote, to chuse both governor and deputy as well as assistants; and they made an order, that for the time to come, none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were church members †.

This was a most extraordinary order or law; and yet it continued in force until the dissolution of the government in 1686, it being repealed in appearance only ‡, after the restoration of Charles II. Had the Puritans been deprived of

* Hutchinson. Deuglass.

† Hutchinson, chap. i. from the Massachusetts Record.

‡ The minister of the church, to which the candidate for freedom belonged, was to certify, that they were of orthodox principle, and of good lives and conversations. On the last article they were no less strict than on the first, which we shall afterwards have occasion to explain, as will appear by the following punishments, decreed between the year 1630 and 1634. "Daniel Clark, found to be an immoderate drinker, was fined forty shillings.—John Wedgewood, for being in the company of drunkards, to be put in the stocks.—Robert Stortelose, for swearing by the blood of God, was sentenced to have his tongue put into a cleft stick, and to stand so for the space of half an hour." Hutchinson, from the Mass. Rec. Great numbers of a like kind

their

their civil privileges in Old England by an act of parliament, unless they would join in communion with the established church, it might well have been the first in the roll of their grievances; but such were the requisites to qualify for church-membership in New England, that the grievance was abundantly greater*.

While the colonists were making these rigid regulations, a man of a very different character appeared among them. One Sir Christopher Gardiner, having run out his fortune in a life of dissipation and pleasure, had come over with the emigrants in 1630, under pretence of separating himself from the world, and leading a life of retirement and devotion. That he meant to lead a life of retirement, at least for a time, can hardly be doubted; but it would perhaps be going too far, to rank devotion among the number of his motives for such a choice. Be that however as it may, he offered, we are told, to join several of the churches, but was not received, as he was suspected to be an immoral man. This suspicion arose from his having a comely young woman, who travelled with him, and whom he called his cousin. For certain levities with this lady, similar to those between Abram and Sara, which made an eastern prince exclaim, "Why didst thou say she was thy sister?" Gardiner was persecuted by the magistrates of Massachusetts colony. He took refuge among the Indians, whom his amorous dalliances would not have offended, and among whom he would likely have become considerable; but Mr. Bradford, governor of New Plymouth, unwilling that such a libertine should be tolerated in his sensuality, or as the phrase was *uncleannefs*, even among infidels, promised them a reward, if they could take him alive. This they effected; though not till after a gallant resistance, in which Gardiner was wounded. They carried him to Plymouth, where his wounds were dressed. He was afterwards transported to Boston, and sent home under confinement †.

Before the return of this gentleman, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, two of the council of Plymouth, who with a view to the advancement of their fortunes, had expended large sums to little purpose in attempts to settle colonies in New England, were become envious of the Massachusetts colony. They intended for themselves all that part of the province which lies to the east of Naumkeag. Gardiner and Morton, in order to revenge the affronts they had suffered, joined with them in a complaint to the king against the colonists. But in this they failed of success; and an order was made in council, declaring, (in consequence of the promising appearances and great hopes entertained that the plantation would prove beneficial to the kingdom, as well as profitable

A. D. 1632.

* It was necessary that the religious candidates should be "saints by calling;" such as are not only acquainted with the principles of Christianity, and who profess their faith therein, but who can give an account of "the manner how they were brought to the knowledge of God by faith in Christ;"—and this either *overt voce*, before the congregation, which was the original form, or by a public declaration thereof made by the elders, as it had been delivered to them in private. Douglass, Hutchinson.

† Mather. Neal. Hutchinson.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1632.

to the particular persons concerned) that the adventurers might be assured, provided things were carried on as was pretended when the patents were granted, and according as by the charter is appointed, his majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing farther which might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of the people of New England*.

A. D. 1633.

The government of the colony was continued in the same hands during the year 1633, and the number of the settlers increased astonishingly. Fresh supplies of inhabitants had been brought from England, from time to time, in the course of the two foregoing years; but many, who turned their eyes towards America, were willing to learn the success of the first adventurers before they embarked themselves. The reports carried over were very favourable; so that this year ships were continually arriving, and in such quantity during the summer, as thirteen or fourteen in a month. An emigration so rapid, and of such kind of people, produced the following order from the king in council. "Whereas the board is given to understand of the frequent transportation of great numbers of his majesty's subjects out of this kingdom to the plantation of New England, among whom divers persons known to be ill-affected, discontented not only with the civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither; whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, especially in point of religion, as beside the ruin of the said plantation, cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of church and state here: and whereas it was informed in particular, that there are, at this present, divers ships in the river of Thames ready to set sail thither, freighted with passengers and provisions, it is thought fit and ordered, That stay shall be forthwith made of the said ships, until further order from this board; that the several masters and freighters of the same, shall attend this board, with a list of the passengers and provisions in each ship; and that Mr. Cradock, a chief adventurer in that plantation, now before the board, be required to cause the letters patent for the said plantation to be brought to this board."

* Hubbard, M. S. Hist. ap. Hutchinson. Morton, as appears by a letter to one Jefferies in New England, had the most sanguine expectation of a very different order. "The Massachusetts patent," says he, "by an order of council was brought in review; the privileges therein granted well scanned; and at the council board, it was declared, for manifold abuses therein discovered, to be void. The king hath re-assumed the whole business into his own hands, and given order for a general governor for the whole territory, to be sent over. The commission is passed the privy seal: I saw it; and the same was sent to my lord-keeper, to have it pass the great seal: and I stay only to return with the governor, by whom all complaints shall have relief. So that now Jonas being a shore, may safely cry, *Repent! ye cruel schismatics; repent! there are yet but forty days.* If Jove vouchsafe to thunder, the charter and the kingdom of the separatists will fall asunder.—I have stayed long, yet have not lost my labour. The brethren have found themselves frustrated, and I shall see my desire upon mine enemies. As for Ratcliff, he was comforted by their lordships with the cropping of Winthrop's ears; which shews what opinion is held among them of king Winthrop with all his inventions, and his Amsterdam and fanatical ordinances, which exemplify his detestation of the church of England, and contempt of his majesty's authority and wholesome laws."

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This order, we are told, was the effect of a new complaint preferred by Gardiner, Morton, and others, of their hardships and sufferings from the severity of the colony government; that such of the company as were in England, were called before the committee of council, and delivered in an answer in writing; that, upon reading this answer, it pleased God so to work with the lords of the council, and afterwards with the king's majesty, that when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Jermaine, the king said he would have such severely punished as should abuse his governor and the plantation; and the defendants were dismissed with a favourable intimation for their encouragement, being assured by some of the council, that his majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon the colonists, as it was considered that it was for the sake of freedom from such things that they went over to America*. It is certain that a stop was not put to the emigration †.

During the course of this year, came over several persons of distinction; particularly Mr. Haynes, an eminent civilian, and Mr. Cotton, a famous Puritan divine. The latter is said to have been chiefly instrumental in settling both the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the colony. Of these it will be proper here to give some account. "A CONGREGATIONAL ‡ church," says Mr. Hubbard, who appears to have been one of their most intelligent teachers, "is a part of the invisible church, consisting of a company of *saints by calling*, united into one body by an holy covenant, for the public worship of God, and the natural edification of one another, in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus; the matter of which, as to its qualification, ought to consist of such persons as have attained the knowledge of the principles of religion, who are free from gross scandal, and with the profession of their faith and repentance, walk in blameless obedience to the word of God: as to its quantity, it ought not to be of greater number, than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place, nor fewer than may conveniently carry on church work. The form of such a church is an agreement, consent, and visible covenant, whereby they give themselves unto the Lord, to the observing the ordinances of Christ together in the same society.

"The fraternity or brotherhood of such a church, is the first subject of all ordinary church power; which is either a power of office or of privilege: but the power of privilege is in the brethren, formally and immediately; the other is in them no otherwise, than that they design the persons unto office, who only are to act and exercise that power.

"The ordinary officers of the church are such as concern their spiritual and moral, or temporal and natural good. Of the first of which are pastors, teachers, and ruling elders.

* Hubbard, M. S. Hist.

† Hutchinson, chap. i.

‡ This denomination was chosen instead of *independent*, to which an odious sense had been affixed, in consequence of the rigid Brownists, or original independents, affirming, that no prince or state upon earth hath any legislative power; that God alone is the lawgiver; and that the greatest magistrate hath no other power but to execute the laws of God set down in Scripture." Bailey.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1633.

“ It is in the power of the churches to call their own officers, and to remove them from their office again, if there fall out just cause; yet so as the advice of neighbouring churches, where it may conveniently be done, be first had. They who are to officiate ought to be tried and proved, before they be elected.

“ The power of government, in a congregational church, ought to proceed after the manner of a mixed administration: for in an organic church, no act can be consummate without the consent both of the elders and brethren; so as the power of government or rule in the elders prejudice not the power of privilege in the brethren, nor the power of privilege in them prejudice the power of rule seated in the elders, seeing both may sweetly agree together.

“ For the maintenance of the ministers of the church, all that are taught are to communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things; and in case of neglect, the magistrate ought to see that the ministry be duly provided for.

“ Particular churches, although they are distinct, and have not power one over another, yet because they are united unto Christ, not as a mystical but as a political head, they ought to have communion one with another, by way of mutual care, consultation, admonition, and a participation in the same ordinances.”

These constitutions are admirably calculated for preventing the ecclesiastical, from interfering with the civil power: and the following ordinance is particularly directed to promote the harmony of church and state. “ It is the duty of the magistrate to take care of matters of religion, and to improve his civil authority for observing the duties commanded in the first, as well as the second table; seeing the end of their office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the subject in matters of righteousness and honesty, but also in matters of godliness*.”

This attention to godliness pervaded their whole system of jurisprudence. Hence their punishments were less calculated to repress the disorders incident to society, than adapted to their own ideas of criminality, either in word or action, and to inflict vengeance on the guilty. Their magistrates, in all criminal cases, considered themselves as the ministers of an offended God; not as the servants of the state, appointed to correct the errors of individuals, as well as of the community, by exemplary chastisements, and to cut off infected members of the political body, from a principle of moral necessity, that the whole might enjoy health. They were led into this error by regarding themselves as *the Lord's people*, and immediately under the jurisdiction of Heaven; a vain conceit, which gave birth to a multitude of crimes and absurdities. It induced them to imitate the Jewish polity in almost all respects, and to adopt the books of Moses as the law of the land, with little attention to the difference of times or circumstances. They were accused of holding it to be the duty of the magistrate to kill all idolaters and heretics; even whole cities, men, women, and children, from the command of the Israelites to root out the Canaanites †. But without

* Hubbard. This sensible divine made a figure in the colony soon after the ecclesiastical constitution was established.

† Bailey.

charging them with this atrocious sentiment, we have sufficient proofs, in their laws, of their judicial fanaticism and Judæical jurisprudence. Witchcraft, idolatry, blasphemy, and adultery were punished with death, while high-treason was entirely omitted, and burglary a compoundable offence. But burglary and theft, in a house or fields, on the *Lord's Day*, were capital upon a third conviction. Fornication was punished by fine, whipping, and disfranchisement. Most other offences, except rape and murder, which were capital under certain circumstances, might be compounded, or were tolerated under certain penalties. The penalty for drunkenness was ten shillings; for excessive drinking, three shillings and fourpence; for tipping above half an hour, half a crown; profane cursing and swearing, ten shillings; for Sabbath-breaking ten shillings*, for observing any such day as Christmas, five shillings; for playing at cards or dice, five shillings; and for drinking healths on board vessels, twenty shillings every health†. What an unseizable set of people must they have been!—Constables were ordered to present unprofitable rowlers and tobacco-takers to the next magistrate, in order that they might be committed to hard labour‡.

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1633.

The judicial power, both in civil and criminal matters, was originally exercised, in Massachusetts Bay, by the court of assistants, except in cases cognizable by a justice of peace. But in divers cases of violent death, juries were impanelled by the governor, and a jury was also impanelled for trial of any persons charged by the jury of inquest. One instance, however, only occurs, and that was in an action of assault and battery, of trial by jury in any case except murder, until November 1633; when it was ordered, that process should be directed by the secretary to the beadle, to warn twenty-four jurors, who were to be named by the secretary, to attend the court. In 1634, an order or law was made, That no trial should be held upon any person for life or death without a jury regularly chosen by the freemen. Grand juries were established the following year; and at the first court afterwards, an hundred offences were presented§.

While the colony was regulating its civil and ecclesiastical polity, its constitution, in consequence of these ordinances, was approaching to maturity. The governor and assistants had kept both the legislative and executive powers very much in their own hands, during the three first years of the charter. But the number of freemen being now greatly multiplied, the people began to grow uneasy, and an alteration of the constitution seems to have been agreed on by a convention of the towns: for at a general court for elections in 1634, twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared as representatives of the body of freemen; and

A. D. 1634.

* When exception was made to the laws of New England, during the reign of Charles II. that relative to restraining people from walking in the streets or fields on Sunday was one; but although their charter was in danger, the brethren refused to make any alteration in the law. Hutchinson.

† Hutchinson. Douglass. It should seem that there was no danger of healths being drunk on shore.

‡ Hutchinson, chap. v. This last regulation, tho' equally ludicrous with some of the former, is not equally absurd, as it has a tendency to promote industry.

§ Hutchinson, chap. v. This is a striking proof that justice was not thought to be properly administered before.

BOOK IV
A. D. 1644.

the people, before they proceeded to the election of magistrates, asserted their right to a greater share in the government than had hitherto been allowed them, and resolved, "That none but the general court hath power to make and establish laws, or to elect and appoint officers; as governor, deputy-governor, assistants, treasurer, secretary, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, or any of like moment; or to remove such officers upon misdemeanour, or to set out their duties and powers; and that none but the general court hath power to raise monies and taxes, or to dispose of lands." After these resolutions, they proceeded to the election of magistrates; then they further determined, "That there shall be four general courts held yearly, to be summoned by the governor for the time being, and not to be dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court; that it shall be lawful for the freemen of each plantation to chuse two or three of their number before every general court, in order to confer of, and prepare such business, as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next court; and that such persons as shall be hereafter deputed, by the freemen of the several plantations, to deal in their behalf in the affairs of the commonwealth, shall have the full power and voice of all the said freemen derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, &c. and to deal in all other affairs of the commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do; the matter of election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own voice:" and to shew their resentment, they imposed a fine upon the court of assistants, for going contrary to an order of the general court*.

The freemen were by this time so much increased, that it was become impracticable to debate and determine in a body. It was besides unsafe on account of the Indians, and prejudicial to the private affairs of the planters, to be so long absent from their families and business, so that this representative body was a thing of necessity; and though no provision had been made for it in their charter, they very justly supposed, that the natural rights of Englishmen reserved to them, implied it †. Thus was settled the constitution of the colony; which, except an alteration in the number of general courts, that were soon reduced to two only in a year, and other not very material circumstances, continued the same as long as the charter lasted ‡.

A co-

* Massachusetts Records.

† In Virginia the house of burgeses first met, as we have already seen, in 1620. In a word the government in every colony, may be considered as the *officium parvum* of the parent state.

‡ As no mention was made of a house of representatives in the charter, a general court being to consist of the magistrates and freemen, no regulation consequently could be there found in regard to it: a dispute therefore arose, whether there was a negative voice in each part of the legislative body; but at length it was agreed, that, in matters of legislation, they should act distinct and separate, and that no legislative act should be valid that was not approved by the major part of each house. Hutchinson, chap. v. Before this dispute was settled ‖, the magistrates or assistants, and the deputies or representatives of the people, sat in one room, and voted

‖ In 1644, as we judge by the Records.

together,

A colony established in consequence of religious scruples, must naturally be agitated with religious disputes. These disputes seem to have attained their height in New England soon after the civil constitution was settled, and the ecclesiastical platform laid. One Roger Williams, minister at Salem, a man of piety, virtue, and abilities, but mad for a time with fanaticism, advanced several wild opinions, which occasioned great disturbance among the brethren; such as, "that it is not lawful for godly men to have communion in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as they judge unregenerate; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray; and that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table." He would admit no church to be pure but that of Salem, and persuaded his congregation to send letters of admonition to the church at Boston, and to several others, accusing the magistrates, who were members of them, of divers heinous offences; and he influenced Mr. Endicot, one of the magistrates of Salem, and a member of his own church, to cut the cross out of the king's colours, as being a relique of antichristian superstition*. But what more enraged the people of Boston, than all his other errors, or even this insult upon majesty, was his maintaining, "that to punish a man for matters of conscience is persecution." Endeavours were used to reclaim him, but to no purpose: he continued obstinate, was excommunicated, and at length banished the jurisdiction of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, as a disturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth †.

After this sentence, Mr. Williams and his disciples removed to Seaconck, now called Rehoboth, and procured a grant of lands from Malsasoit, sachem of the Pakanokat Indians; but Seaconck being within the jurisdiction of Plymouth, the magistrates of that colony obliged him to seek a new habitation. He travelled southward, in order to look out for a settlement among the natives, and fixed upon a place called by them Moshawick, but by him Providence, lying opposite to Rhode Island, and in the country of the Naragansets. Here Williams and his followers, to the number of about forty persons, having obtained grants of land from the sachem, formed a settlement, which soon became flourishing, and established a kind of civil government, corresponding to their own ideas. Far from harbouring revenge against his persecutors, this truly Christian refugee, extended towards them many acts of kindness and benevolence; giving them notice, from time to time, not only of every motion of the Indians, over whom he had great influence, but also of the unjust designs of the English within the new colony of which he himself had been the founder and governor, and continued the patron ‡.

About the same time that Mr. Williams and his wild but charitable enthusiasts settled themselves at Providence, Mr. Hooker, a respectable clergyman together, without any distinction, the majority of the whole number of voices determining every resolution. *Id. ibid.*

* Hubbard. This scruple afterwards prevailed, and the cross was left out of the colours, and generally condemned as unlawful. Hutchinson, chap. i.

† Hutchinson, chap. i. Douglass, part ii. sect. x.

‡ Hutchinson, chap. i. Mr. Williams went to England, as agent for the colony, in 1643, and

BOOK IV.

A. D. 1635.

man, with some persons too moderate for the bigots of Massachusetts Bay, established a colony on the banks of Connecticut river. In this undertaking they encountered incredible difficulties, by reason of their unacquaintance with the roads, and the sudden approach of a severe winter. But the beauty and fertility of the country was a sufficient recompense for all their sufferings, and encouraged them to support themselves against the Indians on one hand, and the Dutch on the other. They gave to their first settlement the name of Hertford, and agreed upon a plan of government among themselves, formed after the model of that of Massachusetts Bay, though without any charter, or even grant of the lands. This last, however, they soon obtained, and many new towns were built.

While the struggle between Charles I. and his parliament remained doubtful, New England was considered as the common asylum of the patriots as well as of the puritans, and several persons of distinction had entertained thoughts of removing thither. Among these were the lord Say and Brooke. The earl of Warwick, who was also a puritan, had obtained a grant from the crown of the sea-coast for forty leagues to the south-west of Naraganset river, and of the country as far east as the Pacific Ocean. This grant he assigned to lord Say, lord Brooke, and others, among whom were the celebrated patriots John Pym and John Hampden. But the friends of the constitution having secretly united themselves about this time, and received assurances of support from the presbyterian party in Scotland, resolved not to desert their country while any probability of saving it remained: and they soon found at home a scene sufficiently active to occupy all their attention. Success opened new prospects to their view; new schemes of colonization engaged their fancy; and New England, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, though now regarded as a paradise, was considered as a spot too little fertile to be the habitation of men so highly favoured of Heaven. In the mean time young Winthrop, the governor's son, returned from London with a commission from lord Say and the other patentees, to be governor of a colony which they proposed to establish on Connecticut river. For this purpose he was furnished with men, money, arms, ammunition, and stores. He did not, however, offer to disturb Mr. Hooker and his company; but built a fortification at the mouth of the river, known by the name of Saybrook Fort. This fortress struck terror into the Indians, and quieted the minds of the English colony at Hertford. They chose for their governor Mr. Winthrop, who had shewn so much lenity towards them; and through his means they obtained, by purchase, from the patentees, their grant of the country, when the patriots and puritans obtained the ascendancy in Old England †.

and obtained from the earl of Warwick, governor and admiral of all the English plantations for the parliament, a charter of incorporation of "Providence plantation in Naraganset Bay in New England;" with power for the freemen to settle themselves into any form of government the majority should agree on, and to make laws not contrary to the laws of England. Douglass, part II. sect. x.

† Douglass, part II. sect. xi. Hutchinson, chap. i. As a proof of Mr. Hooker's moderation, it was not required that the freemen of Connecticut should be members of any church; and Williams, still more liberal, made Providence the sanctuary of persecuted sectaries of every denomination. This was found policy as well as true Christianity.

Along with Mr. Winthrop came over to America Sir Henry Vane the first, one of the most extraordinary characters that any age or nation ever produced. All things conspired to raise him to eminence in New England. He was the particular friend of lord Say, who was held in the highest esteem in the colony. Though not twenty-five years old, his deportment was grave and solemn. He made great profession of religion, and conformed to the peculiar scruples of the times. Before his departure from England, and immediately on his return from France, he had rounded his hair by the ears, and togged a complete reformation in that respect, by every one bringing what nature had furnished him with to the primitive length and form. His father was one of the privy council, and bore no great affection to the religion or policy of New England: so that it was with difficulty that he could obtain leave of absence for three years; but the king, it is said, being acquainted with his turbulent and dangerous disposition, commanded his father to gratify him. However this may have been, it was believed in America to be true, and strongly recommended young Vane to the notice of the brethren. He was admitted, on his arrival, to the freedom of the Massachusetts colony, and chosen governor at the first election. In this office he had great respect shewn him at first; and he took more state upon him than any former chief magistrate: four serjeants walked before him when he went either to the court or the church. For several months his administration met with great applause; but towards the end of the year, the people became cool and discontented. He perceived it, and grew weary of the government.

CHAP. II.
 HISTORY OF THE
 MASSACHUSETTS.

A. D. 1636.

In consequence of this disgust, Vane communicated to the council some letters from London urging his return, and then called the general court, in order to ask their consent to his quitting the administration. He declared to them the necessity of his departure; and such of the council as had seen the letters affirmed, that the reasons were very urgent, but not fit to be communicated to the whole court. The court deliberated on the matter till morning, when one of the assistants lamenting the loss of such a governor, at a time of such danger both from the French and Indians, that arch hypocrite burst into tears, and professed, that although the causes propounded for his departure did concern the utter ruin of his outward estate, yet he would rather have hazarded all than have gone from them at such a season, if something else had not pressed him more; namely, the inevitable danger of God's judgments, which he feared were coming upon them for the spiritual differences and dissensions which he saw among them, and the scandalous imputation brought against himself, as if he had been the cause of all. He therefore thought it best to give place for a time. But the court did not think fit to consent to his going for such reasons. He found that he had overacted his part, and recollecting himself, said, that the reasons which concerned his own estate were sufficiently urgent, and desired that he might have leave to resign. On this the court agreed, that it was necessary to consent to his departure, and appointed another meeting of the general court, in order to make choice of a governor; but several pious brethren, members of the church of Boston, loth to part with a chief magistrate, whose enthusiastic character

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character was so conformable to their own, met together, and agreed, That it was not necessary for the reasons alledged, that the governor should depart :—and they sent some of their number to intimate this opinion to the court.

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The governor, who was deep in the art of dissimulation, and who only wanted the countenance of the clergy to be able to dictate in civil matters, pretended to be overpowered; and professed himself such an obedient son of the church, that, notwithstanding the licence of the court, and his urgent business, he durst not go without the consent of the godly. Many of the people, when informed of this transaction, declared their resolution still to continue him; and it was thought advisable, in order to prevent such a choice, to adjourn the court to the day of the annual election*. When that day came, Sir Henry was set aside though the people of Boston in general were in his favour, and Mr. Winthrop was replaced in the government. Mortified at this disappointment, the young fanatic set sail for England, where a more illustrious field was opened for his talents, both religious and political. The share which he had in the grand rebellion, and his unhappy fate on the restoration of Charles II. are sufficiently known, and beyond the limits of this work. It is only necessary here to observe, that his scheme of government, in regard to matters of religion, was entirely different from that of the ruling party in New England. They, most consistently with their own conduct, demanded a rigorous conformity; whereas he, a liberal but wild enthusiast †, was for tolerating the anabaptists, and all the other sectaries who dissented from the church of England ‡.

But though the people of New England got thus happily free of this dangerous man, his opinions, or those which he had fostered, remained behind him, and

* Massachusetts Records. Hubbard.

† He has left some religious tracts behind him, which are absolutely unintelligible. They are alike devoid of eloquence and common sense; and may be regarded as a striking proof, that where men of genius relinquish through principle the use of their reason, they are only enabled by their vigour of mind, to work themselves the deeper into error and absurdity.

‡ Vane, who in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any man, even during that age so famous for active talents, seems always to have retained this tolerating spirit; for when by his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh, in 1643, that famous *Solemn League and Covenant*, which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both the British kingdoms, and in which the subscribers bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness, and to “preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland,” he took care that no declaration more explicit should be made with regard to England and Ireland, than that the kingdoms should be “reformed according to the word of God; and the example of the purest churches.” The Scottish zealots, when prelacy was abolished, deemed this form of expression quite free from ambiguity, and regarded their own model as the only one which corresponded in any degree with the description: but Vane had other views; and while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the presbyterians, and secretly laughed at their simplicity, he had blindly devoted himself to the maintenance of systems still more absurd and dangerous, though not equally intolerant. The heads of the New England brethren, however, no less deep in spiritual policy than himself, early saw through his character; and, in rejecting his services, may be said to have played off, though without design, this terrible engine, to break in pieces the constitution of the mother-country.

had almost proved the ruin of the colony. Not that these opinions contained any thing peculiarly pernicious in themselves; but by clashing with those established, they produced the utmost confusion both in church and state, and inflamed the minds of individuals with all the rancour of party-rage. They were propagated by a woman. One Mr. Hutchinson, a gentleman of fortune and character, had come over with Mr. Cotton, now head of the church of Boston, and his wife, to use the language of that devoute teacher, "was well beloved, and all the faithful embraced her conference, and blessed God for her fruitful discourses *." On her arrival in New England, she was treated with great respect by the principal persons in the colony. Her husband was several times chosen one of the representatives for the capital, and the herself particularly drew the attention of governor Vane, while in office. Mr. Wheelwright, her brother-in-law, a man of piety and learning, and Mr. Cotton were her two spiritual counsellors; though the latter, when her opinions were canvassed, pretended to differ from her in some dangerous points. Countenanced and encouraged by men of such consequence, she freely inculcated her favourite doctrines; and so great was her success, that the whole church of Boston, a few members excepted, became her converts †

This matter will require some illustration. Besides the meetings for public worship on the Lord's day, a stated lecture every Thursday in Boston, and weekly lectures in other towns, there were then frequent private meetings of the brethren of the different churches, for religious exercises. Mrs. Hutchinson thought fit also to set up a meeting of sisters; at which she repeated the sermons preached the Sunday before, adding her own remarks and expositions. At length she foretook the public assemblies, and set up what she called a purer worship, in her own family. Her lectures made much noise, and were at first generally approved of. About fourscore principal women attended them. The contagion soon communicated itself to their husbands; and it soon appeared, that this female apostle had distinguished into classes the chief ministers and members of every congregation through the country; a small part of them under a *Covenant of Grace*, and the rest under a *Covenant of Works*. The whole colony was divided into two factions; disunited in opinion, but still more so in affection. Unfortunately for Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends, she had placed the principal magistrates under a covenant of works. A senate was convened through the influence of Mr. Winthrop, who presided there like another Constantine, to use the language of that age, in order to try them for their errors. The principal of these are said to have been, "That the Holy Ghost dwells *personally* in a justified person; that nothing of *sanctification* can evince to believers their *justification*; and that *assurance* is by immediate revelation only." The spiritual court entered deeply into the *nature of the covenant*: the qualifications preceding it; the use of it; the *seal of the Spirit*, and other mystical and incomprehensible doctrines, on which they concluded nothing. Before it broke up, however, these fanatical inquisitors furnished the civil magistrate with suffi-

* Cotton, Anf. to Bailey.

† Hutchinson, chap. i.

BO. K. W.
A. D. 1697.

cient matter to prosecute the new sectaries; who under the name of Antinomians, were disfranchised and banished, for no other crime than being a set of wrongheaded enthusiasts, who thought they had a right to liberty of conscience;— and toleration was preached against, as a sin in rulers, which would bring down the judgments of God upon the land*.

While these ridiculous disputes disturbed the internal peace of New England, the Pequods, the most warlike of all the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood, threatened it with destruction from abroad. They had early manifested their hatred of the English, whom they considered as the usurpers of their country, and had seized an opportunity to surprisè and cut off one Capt. Stone and his company, besides several individuals on Connecticut river. Peace was, however, offered them, if they would deliver up the murderers. With this demand they did not chuse to comply; and in order to strengthen themselves against the enemy, they attempted an union with the Naragansets. There had been a fixed and inveterate enmity between the two tribes—but on this occasion the Pequods were willing to smother it, from a sense of common danger. Their reasoning on this subject was ingenious: they represented to their ancient enemies, that the English were come to dispossess them of their lands, and that all the Naragansets could hope for from their friendship, was the favour of being the last expelled; whereas if all the natives would unite, they might easily destroy the English, or force them to abandon the country without exposing themselves to any hazard. They had no occasion, it was urged, to come to open fight: firing the houses of the strangers, killing their cattle, and lying in wait for them as they went about their ordinary business, would soon deprive them of all means of subsistence, and oblige them to depart.

The Naragansets, however, preferred the present pleasure of revenge upon their mortal enemies, to any considerations of future advantage. They are indeed said to have wavered at first; but at length Myantinomo, their chief sachem, with twenty attendants, went to Boston, where all the magistrates and ministers were called together to receive him. He proposed to join in war against the Pequods; and that neither the English nor Naragansets should henceforth make peace with them, but utterly destroy them. The governor for the sake of form, demanded time to consider of it till next morning, when the following articles were agreed to, viz. That there shall be a firm and perpetual peace between the

* Mather. Neel. Hutchins. Mr. Dudley, deputy-governor at this time, died with a copy of verses in his pocket, written with his own hand, of which the following two lines make part:

“ Let men of God, in court and churches, watch
“ O'er such as do a toleration hatch ”

Such was the prevailing doctrine in New England for many years! and until the eyes of its fanatical rulers were opened by the danger of a persecution coming on themselves, from king James II. This made his declaration of general liberty of conscience welcome afterwards; and they thank him for allowing to them, what they before thought themselves bound in conscience to deny to others. Hutchins, chap. i.

English

English and the Naragansets; that neither party shall make peace with the Pequods without the consent of the other; that the Naragansets shall not harbour any Pequods; that they shall put to death or deliver up any murderers of Englishmen, and return all fugitive servants †. Cushmanquin, a sachem of the Massachusetts Indians, also became a party to the treaty.

Meantime the Pequods continued their hostilities; and the English though still engaged in theological squabbles, did not neglect the proper means of defence. Captain Underhill, a bold enthusiast, was sent with a detachment to strengthen the garrison of Saybrook Fort, which the Indians besieged in vain for several weeks. This impotent effort roused the indignation of the English; and the three colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, agreed to enter with their joint forces into the Indian country, and attempt the entire destruction of the Pequods. They accordingly formed a small army, under the captains Stoughton, Patrick, Mason, and Underhill.

A. D. 1657

The chief body of the Pequods was collected in two forts or inclosures which they had rendered as strong as possible by palisadoes, their skill in fortification reaching no farther. In one of these was Sassacus, their chief sachem, a renowned warrior, who was alike the admiration of his own people, and the terror of his enemies. Towards the fort where this chief resided, captain Mason began his march at the head of the Connecticut men, accompanied by captain Underhill with a detachment from Saybrook Fort, one hundred River Indians*, and two hundred Naragansets. They would gladly have waited for captain Patrick, who commanded a company of the Massachusetts men; but being afraid that the friendly Indians would impute the delay to want of courage, they continued to advance towards the object of their enterprise, to the no small astonishment of the Naragansets, who were filled with confusion and dismay at the very name of Sassacus. They endeavoured to dissuade captain Mason from his undertaking; but finding him determined, many of them left him. Soon after this desertion, one of Underhill's men fell lame, and the rest of the company being fatigued with travelling, loaded with arms, ammunition, and provisions, it was agreed to attack the nearest of the enemy's forts. This fort called Mistick, was eight miles distant from that where Sassacus commanded in person. One Wequash, a Pequod by birth, but who had lived for some time among the Naragansets, acted on this occasion as guide to the destruction of his own countrymen, and near relations †. He was sent forward to reconnoitre the enemy, and returned with intelligence that the Pequods were in high festivity, singing, dancing, and congratulating themselves on the departure of the English. They had seen the vessels pass by their river from Saybrook towards Naraganset, and supposed

‡ Hutchinson, chap. i.

* Connecticut river.

† This villain, who had violated every natural and moral obligation, became a Christian, and an apostle among the Indians, travelling up and down to make converts; and at his death, he resigned his soul to Christ, and his only child to the English, "hoping that it would know more of Christ than its poor father ever did." Shepard's Let. to Lond.

BOOK III.
A. D. 1637.

they were gone off. Some of the party advanced, and heard the Indians at their revels until midnight.

Next morning, about break of day, the English, after a march of between three and four miles, from the place where they had halted the night before, came within sight of Mistick Fort, which stood upon a hill. Wequash piloted them to the gate: the centinel happened to be gone into one of the wigwams, or cabins, to light his pipe; and the warriors were all sunk in a profound sleep. But one of their dogs barking on the approach of the English, the alarm was soon given. The Indians within the fort began their frightful yell, or war-hoop, than which imagination can conceive nothing more horrid; and those without, who being afraid to come up, were in the English rear, returned the shout. Not intimidated, however, by this tremendous sound, the English fired upon the enemy through the palisadoes, and afterwards opened a passage into the fort. The Pequods, who had no arms but bows and arrows, tomahawks, and European hatchets, made a stout resistance, and wounded many of the English. This induced captain Mason to set fire to one of the wigwams: it soon spread to the rest; on which the English retreated out of the fort, and surrounded it. In order to avoid the flames, some of the Pequods climbed to the top of the palisadoes, and by that means exposed themselves to the English bullets: others forced their way out of the inclosure: but few, if any escaped; such as broke through the English ranks being dispatched by the allied Indians, who formed a circular line at a little distance*. This fort or town is said to have contained about seventy houses, and near five hundred inhabitants, men, women, and children †.

In this action the English had only three men killed. But though the loss was so inconsiderable, and the victory complete, the army was in great distress. The morning was remarkably cold, and they had no shelter even for their wounded, nor any sort of nourishment. Many Indians were still in the woods, and of the vessels which had been ordered from Naraganset to Pequod river, they had no intelligence. In the midst of this perplexity, they espied their vessels sailing towards them. They now took up their wounded upon mats fastened to poles, some with the heads of arrows in their bodies, and marched towards the vessels, through woods and swamps, for an extent of six miles; the Indians lying in wait at every convenient place, and with their arrows wounding many more. In these occasional attacks, however, many of the Pequods were slain; the English, by this time, being joined by Capt. Patrick and Myontinomo, sachem of the Naragansets, who had been prevented from arriving sooner by contrary winds. They put the wounded on board one of the barques, and marched by land to Saybrook Fort, where a new tragedy was acted. The Indians in alliance with the English had taken eighteen captives, ten males and eight females. The males

* Hutchinson, chap. i. This author is more particular than any other, in his account of the Pequot war; and great credit is due to his testimony, as he appears to have had his information chiefly from original letters and journals.

† *Ibid.*

where thus disposed of: one was presented to each of the four sachems, the other six were put to the sword. Four of the females were left at the fort, and the other four carried to Connecticut, where the Indians challenged them as their prize; but the English not agreeing to this, they also were sacrificed to end the dispute*. Such an instance of wanton cruelty is not perhaps to be met with in the English annals; and Englishmen, it is to be hoped, could not have been guilty of it, if their minds had not been disordered by a bloody fanaticism, which led them to consider themselves as the Lord's elected people, and all the rest of mankind, but especially the unbaptized, as his enemies, on whom it was their duty to inflict vengeance.

Sassacus, the terrible sachem of the Pequods, after the taking of Mistick fort, and the slaughter of so many of his warriors, broke down the other fort; burnt all the wigwams; put the goods into canoes; and men, women and children forsook their country, and went by land to Quinipiack. The Massachusetts men, under Capt. Stoughton, arrived about this time. They pursued the Pequods, killing or taking prisoners many small parties. At length they were informed of a great body of Indians, composed of different tribes, in a swamp, which they surrounded. One of the sachems came out, with ninety-nine persons of different ages and sexes, and surrendered himself to the English. Wampum †, he said, he had none, nor had he ever killed any of their countrymen; and he pulled off the garment that he wore, which was of black beaver, and presented it to the conquerors, being sensible of the value which they set on such skins, as well as of the danger to which his life was exposed. One of his people was sent to tell the rest of the Indians, that if they would come out and deliver up their arms, and clear themselves from having murdered any Englishmen, they should fare the better. But twelve of the murderers, or as they were likely accounted by their countrymen, patriots, were among them; and after a short parley, they determined, that as they had lived, they would die together. They were near an hundred in all. The English fired upon them, but were able to do little execution; and having surrounded the swamp all night, entered in the morning, when they found that the greater part had escaped. Some of the Indians had muskets, and returned the fire of their enemies ‡. Sassacus fled to the Mohawks, by whom it is said he was murdered at the instigation of the English; but it is more probable, that he and his company incorporated with that warlike race. The Pequot tribe was wholly extirpated. Many of the captives were sent to the Bermudas, and sold for slaves. The Naragansets took charge of some of them, promising to pay the English for their labour; and the few that remained in a state of freedom, never durst own their tribe, but

June 25.

* Hutchinson, chap. i.

† Indian beads, which passed both among themselves and the New England people for money. They were valued by the fathom.

‡ This is the first instance of the Indians in the neighbourhood of New England using fire-arms.

BOOK IV.

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mixed with the Naragansets and other Indians. The very name of Pequod became extinct.

While the united forces of New England were thus exterminating the Indians, the persecuted Antinomians were forming new settlements. Mr. Hutchinson, his wife, and several others of the same way of thinking, removed to Acquidneck, now called Rhode Island, which they purchased from the Indians, and which with the neighbouring settlement of Providence, formed also by refugees, soon became a flourishing colony. About the same time Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two London merchants, Mr. Davenport, a clergyman of great reputation for learning and piety, and many other persons of fortune and character, arrived at Boston. The Massachusetts colony offered them any place within their jurisdiction, for a settlement; but Quinnipiack, and the country between that and the Dutch, being represented as very fruitful, and well situated for trade and navigation, they chose to remove thither. There they laid the foundation of a thriving colony, of which Quinnipiack or Newhaven, was the chief town †. They agreed among themselves on a model of government similar to that of Massachusetts Bay; and continued a distinct colony till 1662, when they were incorporated by charter with Connecticut, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see.

It soon appeared that the settlement of Newhaven was formed at a very happy time, as the Dutch were ready to take possession of the country: and the Massachusetts colony received next year, a greater accession of settlers than they were able to contain. Three thousand persons arrived in twenty ships. These were the more welcome, as it was feared a stop would be put, in future, to any emigrants coming from the mother country. A commission had been granted, in 1635, to several of the nobility and great officers of the crown, for regulating the colonies; and archbishop Laud kept a jealous eye on New England. A writ of *quo warranto* was even brought by the attorney-general against the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants of the Massachusetts colony; but judgment, it should seem, was never given against the corporation in form. It is certain, however, that Mr. Winthrop received an order from the lords of the council, bearing date April 4, 1638, requiring the governor, or any person who should have the letters patent in his custody, to transmit the same to the board; and in case of contempt, that their lordships would move his majesty to re-assume into his own hands the whole plantation.

An answer was transmitted by the colony representing, after professions of loyalty ‡ to the king, that they came over with their families and estates, with his majesty's licence and encouragement, and had greatly enlarged his dominions; but if their charter should be taken away, they would be obliged to remove to some other place, or return to their native country; that the other plantations,

* Hutchinson, chap. i.

† Douglas, Hutchinson.

‡ Such professions were necessary; for in a letter from one Burdett to archbishop Laud, it is affirmed, that it was not new discipline that was aimed at, but sovereignty; and that it was accounted treason, in their general court, to speak of appeals to the king. Hutchinson, chap. i.

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1633.

in such case, would be abandoned; that the whole country would fall into the hands of the French and Dutch; and that all men would be discouraged from engaging in similar undertakings, in consequence of a royal grant. For these reasons they pray their lordships, that they may be suffered to live in *this wilderness*; that their liberties may not be restrained, nor men of abilities hindered from coming to them, while they are encouraged to go to other plantations*. It is not known what reception this answer met with; but it is certain no farther demand was made. The lords of the council soon after lost their influence, and the king and the archbishop their heads.

Meanwhile the New England colonies continued to extend their branches. Several settlements were formed to the north of Merrymack river; and many of the inhabitants of Lynn, being desirous of larger accommodations, removed to the west end of Long Island. But there they were opposed by the Dutch; and not being able to keep their ground, they removed to the east end of the island, where they settled a church, and entered into a civil association, with a purpose to be independent of any of the colonies. Another distinct government was forming about the same time at the mouth of Connecticut river, by the agent of the lords Say and Brooke, who, with other persons of distinction, were still expected in New England. But this humour did not last long. In a few years, all the colonies found an union or confederacy necessary for their defence, not only against the Indians, but against the French and Dutch. There could be no rational encouragement for small bodies of men to sit down any where independent or unconnected. All those who had begun any settlements between Massachusetts Bay and the Dutch, the Rhode Islanders excepted, joined with Connecticut or Newhaven, and all to the eastward applied to the Massachusetts, that they might associate with them.

The most considerable of these were the settlers at Piscataqua, of whom it will be proper here to give some account. In the year 1623, several gentlemen, merchants, and others in the west of England, belonging to Bristol, Exeter, Dorchester, and Shrewsbury, having obtained patents from the council of Plymouth for several parts of New England, and being encouraged by the accounts of mariners who had made voyages upon the coast, projected a fishery near Piscataqua river, and sent over one David Thomson, together with Edward and William Hilton, who had been fishmongers in London, with all necessaries for their purpose. The Hiltons set up their stages a little above the mouth of the river, at a place since called Dover. Some others of the patentees, about the same time, seized on a place at the mouth of the river, called Little Harbour, where they built the first house. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason belonged to this company; and the place where the house was built, with three or four thousand acres of land for a manor or lordship, was assigned, by consent of the rest of the proprietors, to Capt. Mason, and the house took the name of *Mason Hall* †.

* Hutchinsen, Append. No. IV.

† Hubbard.

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These settlements made but small progress for several years after their establishment. The affairs of the great council of Plymouth or New England were conducted in so confused a manner, that there have been, it is said, six or seven different grants of the lands between Merrymack and Quenebec rivers. In 1625, Gorges and Mason obtained a patent together, for all the lands between those two rivers; and by mutual agreement, and a distinct patent, all the lands from Piscataqua to Merrymack river were assigned to Mason. These two grants, either jointly or separately, comprehended the whole country of New Hampshire and the province of Main. The lords Say and Brooke, who were very general adventurers, purchased the Bristol men's share of this territory, according to the former grant, which was two thirds of the first company's interest. Some persons in Shrewsbury held the other third. One Capt. Wiggan was appointed agent for the Shrewsbury men. In 1630, one Capt. Neal, with three others came over to Piscataqua to superintend the affairs of Gorges and Mason; but more especially to discover a new country, supposed to be within their patent, to which they gave the name of LACONIA. Neal spent three years in searching for this country, and returned at last without finding it*. While thus employed, he prohibited Wiggan from settling a point of land between Dover and Exeter; but that gentleman went on, and determined to defend the right of his constituents by the sword. Neal threatened high; and from what might have happened, the disputed land took the name of *Bloody Point*, which it retains to this day. The lords Say and Brooke also made Wiggan their agent for the term of seven years; at the expiration of which the interest of the patentees was so little advanced, that the whole was sold to him for six hundred pounds †.

About the year 1633, one Williams was also sent over to this country by Gorges and Mason, to take care of some salt-works which they had erected. Along with him came one Mr. Chadburne, and several other planters and traders. These began the settlement of Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth; and after Neal went away, they are supposed either to have entered into an agreement, and voluntarily chosen Mr. Williams for their governor, or else he was appointed by the proprietors in England. He was a man of education and prudence, but soon removed to Barbadoes. In the meantime the lords Say and Brooke had prevailed upon several persons of good condition, who laboured under the influence of religious scruples, to transplant themselves and families to Piscataqua, so as to be able to form inhabitants sufficient for a considerable town.

A. D. 1638. These people having no charter, commission, or power of government from the crown, found themselves under the necessity of entering into a combination or agreement among themselves, which was in the following form: "Whereas sundry mischiefs and inconveniencies have befallen us, and more and greater may, in regard to want of civil government, his gracious majesty having settled no order for us to our knowledge, we whose names are under written, being in-

* Hutchinsof. Douglafs.

† Hutchinsof, chap. i.

habitants upon the river Piscataqua, have voluntarily agreed to combine ourselves into a body politic, that we may the more comfortably enjoy the benefit of his majesty's laws; and do hereby actually engage ourselves to submit to his royal majesty's laws, together with all such laws as shall be concluded upon by a major part of the freemen of our society, in case they be not repugnant to the laws of England, and be administered in behalf of his majesty: and this we have mutually promised and engaged to do, and so to continue, until his excellent majesty shall give other orders concerning us*.

About the same time Mr. Wheelwright, who had been banished the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay, for maintaining the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson, and a number of persons who adhered to him, began a plantation on the south side of the great bay up Piscataqua river, to which they gave the name of Exeter. They also thought it necessary to form themselves into a body politic, in order to enable them to carry on the affairs of their plantation †. Thus we see three distinct colonies formed upon Piscataqua river. Two of these, with all the separate settlements, submitted themselves, as already mentioned, to the Massachusetts government; which afterwards, by an absurd mensuration, extended its claim to dominion over all New Hampshire. Mr. Wheelwright and his followers, unwilling to fall a second time under the power of their persecutors, removed to the province of Main ‡, yet nearly in the rude state of nature.

The people of New England had now leisure to attend to something more than their immediate wants. Straits and difficulties at the beginning of the colony, had produced industry and good husbandry. By these means the settlers soon raised provisions enough for their own support, and afterwards an overplus for exportation. But for the first ten years, we hear of little or no trade, except a small traffic with the Indians by barter of toys, and the few utensils, tools, and materials for cloathing which they at first thought necessary, in exchange for furs and skins. What the planters brought with them consisted principally of materials for their buildings; necessary tools for their husbandry; stock for their farms, and cloathing for themselves and families. Those who had more property than was sufficient for these purposes, were country gentlemen, unacquainted with commerce, and who never employed themselves in it. The people in general turned their minds to provide comfortable lodgings, and to bring under improvement as much land as would afford them necessary support. This was sufficient employment for a time; but when, by hard labour and hard fare, the land produced more than was consumed by the inhabitants, the overplus was sent to the West Indies. Returns were made in the produce of the several islands, or in bullion; the greater part of which, together with the furs procured from the natives, were sent to England, in payment for the manufactures continually necessary from the mother-country. As soon as hands could be spared from husbandry, and other essential labours, some were taken off, and employed in sawing boards,

* *Id. ibid.*

† Hutchinson, chap. i. from Hubbard's, and other ancient manuscripts.

‡ Hutchinson, *ubi sup.*

BOOK IV.

[splitting staves, shingles, and hoops-others; in the fishery; and as many as were capable of it, in building small vessels for fishing, as well as for the coasting and foreign trade.

Thus the people of New England, gradually and insensibly, seem to have fallen into the trade most natural for the country, and adapted to their peculiar circumstances, without any premeditated scheme or plan for that purpose. The primary view of the settlers, as we have already seen, was the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Merchants and others, for the sake of gain, when they afterwards saw a prospect of it, came over and incorporated with them. By these means commerce was greatly increased, and the legislators were led to proper measures for the further encouragement of it. In order to promote the fishery, an act was made exempting all estates employed in catching, drying, or transporting fish, from all duties and public taxes. All fishermen during the season for business, and all ship-builders were, by the same act, excused from trainings; and all persons were prohibited from using any cod or bass fish for manuring the ground*. Nor were the people of New England, in their improvements, attentive merely to trade, or to their own civil and religious welfare: they looked forward to posterity. A college was established for the education of youth, at a place in the neighbourhood of Boston, called Cambridge, which soon became a considerable seminary †; and sumptuary laws were made for restraining excess in apparel, and other expences. Every regulation, in a word, was adopted for giving prosperity and perpetuity to the new commonwealth, or assemblage of free and independent states, as far as regarded themselves.

But the population, as well as prosperity of New England, received a sudden and surprizing check, from the change in the affairs of the mother country ‡. The parliament had acquired the ascendancy; and America being no longer necessary as an asylum, some persons who had been the greatest benefactors of the northern colonies, not only discouraged any farther emigration thither, but endeavoured to induce such as had gone over to remove. Lord Say, in particular having turned his thoughts to a more southerly settlement in the Bahama islands, had engaged Mr. Humfries, one of the magistrates of the Massachusetts colony, in

A. D. 1641.

* Fish must have been very plenty, as well as of little value, in a country where such a law was necessary.

† This college takes its date from the year 1638. Two years before the general court gave four hundred pounds towards a public school at New Town, now Cambridge; and Mr. John Harvard, a worthy minister, dying that year, left between seven and eight hundred pounds to the same use. This induced the general court to give to the school the name of *Harvard College*, and to make farther provision for its maintenance and government.

‡ It is computed, that in two hundred and ninety eight ships, which were the whole number that had arrived in New England before the year 1640, when the first emigration ceased, that twenty-one thousand two hundred passengers, men, women, and children, making about four thousand families, had been transported thither. Hutchinson, chap. 1. The whole charge of transporting so many persons; their goods; the stock of cattle and provisions requisite until they could support themselves; necessaries for building, artillery, arms, and ammunition, is estimated at one hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds sterling. Johnson, ap. Hutchinson.

his design of peopling it partly from New England, which he endeavoured now to discredit at home, as a country that was naturally barren, and but ill requited the labour of the husbandman, after tilling the ground with the sweat of his brow. Governor Winthrop's letter to lord Say, when informed of these particulars, and his lordship's answer, are equally curious, and strongly mark the character of the men and the complexion of the times. The governor represented, That it seemed evident God had chosen New England to plant this people in, and that it would be displeasing unto him that this work should be hindered; yea, that such as had been well inclined, if not with their persons yet with their substance to encourage it, should desert, and obstruct it by insinuating, that there was no possibility of finding subsistence there: and he added, that God would never have sent to many of his people to a land that was not fit to maintain them, or which he did not mean to make so, through his loving kindness. His lordship replied, That he could not deny great part of what was written, especially the evidence of God's owning his people in the country of New England; but it was a place, he allowed, appointed for a present refuge only, and a better place being now found out, they ought all to remove thither*.

Lord Say's description of the soil of New England, as then managed, was not altogether false. Much labour was necessary to clear a spot of ground either for pasture or tillage; and as the planters never used such manure as could keep the land in heart, they found that, after three or four years culture, they exhausted the strength of the soil, and were obliged to attempt new improvements. This discouraged many persons, who were ready to remove to the Bahamas, when intelligence was brought that the Spaniards had dispossessed lord Say and his associates, of all their settlements in those islands. The New England people blessed themselves, that they were not exposed to the jealousy of such powerful neighbours, nor to the inroads of such inveterate enemies of their religion: and a resolution of the parliament in their favour, encouraged them to persevere in subduing their rugged soil, that they might transmit to their posterity those possessions which they had acquired, and those civil and religious privileges, for which they had suffered so much, and struggled so hard, amid a wilderness filled with wild beasts and savage men.

The resolution of the parliament being transmitted to the governor of Massachusetts Bay, was ordered by the court to be entered upon the public records, and is as follows:—"Whereas the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to this

* Hubbard, M. S. Hist. Hutchinson, chap. i. Mr. Winthrop and lord Say appear to have been sincere enthusiasts; yet, in the present case, they make religion as perfectly subservient to their particular interests, as if they had assumed it only for the purpose. From similar appearances, certain writers have pronounced that Oliver Cromwel, Sir Henry Vane, and others, were mere impostors. But the philosopher will judge otherwise: he will see the difficulty of supporting a borrowed character; that it is perfectly natural for all men to apply to the passions and prejudices of those whom they want to govern or persuade, and to make use of those arguments which would have most influence upon themselves.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1642.

state, and are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this kingdom and nation; the commons now assembled in parliament, do for the better advancement of those plantations, and the encouragement of the planters to proceed in their undertaking, ordain, That all merchandizing goods, that, by any person or persons whatsoever, merchants or others, shall be exported out of this kingdom of England into New England to be spent, used, or employed there; or being of the growth of those colonies, shall be from thence imported hither; or shall be laden or put on board any ship or vessel for necessaries in passing to and fro; and all and every the owner or owners thereof shall be freed and discharged of and from paying and yielding any custom, subsidy, taxation, or other duty for the same, either inward or outward; either in this kingdom or New England, or in any port, haven, creek, or other place whatsoever, until the House of Commons shall take further order therein to the contrary *.”

In return for this mark of favour from the prevailing power in the mother-country, the general court of the Massachusetts colony passed the following order: “Whereas the civil wars and dissensions in our native country, through the seditious words and carriages of many evil affected persons, causes divisions in many places of government in America; some professing themselves for the King, and others for the Parliament, not considering that the Parliament themselves profess that they stand *for the king and parliament* against the malignant papists and delinquents in that kingdom †: it is therefore ordered, That what person soever shall by word, writing, or action, endeavour to disturb our peace, directly or indirectly, by drawing a party, under pretence that he is for the King of England, and such as join with him, against the Parliament, shall be accounted as an offender of a high nature against the commonwealth, and to be proceeded with, either capitally or otherwise, according to the quality and degree of his offence; provided always, that this shall not be extended against any merchant-strangers and shipmen that come hither merely for matter of trade or merchandise, albeit they should come from any of those parts that are in the hands of the King and such as adhere to him against the Parliament, carrying themselves here quietly, and free from railing or nourishing any faction, mutiny or sedition amongst us as aforesaid ‡.

But though the people of New-England shewed so much willingness to acquiesce under the civil government of the parliament, which perfectly corresponded with their own republican principles, they were less compliant in religi-

* Mass. Rec.

† This reasoning is ingenious and Jesuitical.

‡ Hutchinson, chap. i. from the Mass. Rec. Nothing less than such compliance, says this author, could be expected from the dependent state of a colony on its mother country. It ought, however, to be remembered, that Virginia and Barbadoes resisted the authority of the parliament, till compelled by force to yield. We must therefore ascribe the ready acquiescence of New England to some other cause than a sense of dependence upon the parent state; which the Massachusetts colony, in particular, very early shewed a disposition to relinquish.

ous matters; for although letters came to Mr. Cotton, minister of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of Newhaven, signed by all the puritan nobility, many of the principal members of the house of commons, and the principal ministers of the party, to call them, or some of them, if all could not come, to assist in the assembly of divines at Westminster, none of them went. Such of the magistrates and ministers as were near Boston met together, and most of them were of opinion, that it was *a clear call* for Mr. Hooker did not like the business; and thought, with his usual wisdom and moderation, that it was *not a sufficient call* to go a thousand leagues, with no other view but to confer on matters of church government, about which they were already agreed among themselves. Mr. Davenport thought otherwise; but his congregation having only one minister, would not spare him. Mr. Cotton thought it *a clear call*; and would have undertaken the voyage, if others would have accompanied him *. But other letters soon arrived which made this zealor, who was now preparing for the press a "Vindication of Congregational Churches," alter his opinion. These letters gave him and the brethren in general reason to apprehend, what really happened, that the assembly at Westminster would establish the presbyterian mode of worship and church government; and as they were determined to adhere to their own mode, in defiance of the powers of darkness and the rulers of this world, all thoughts of going to England for such a purpose were laid aside †.

This neglect, however, gave no offence to the parliament, many of whom, and Cromwell among others, were friends to the congregational, or independent mode of church government. But there is one peculiarity in the character of the New-England congregationalists, which might have been supposed to render them obnoxious to the parliament, and which in itself appears to be inexplicable; namely, that cruel spirit of persecution which prevailed among them, in direct contradiction to the principles of the same sect in the mother country, and which led them to believe it to be for the glory of God, to take away the lives of his rational creatures, for maintaining tenets different, only in trifles, from what they professed themselves ‡. Perhaps the reason why that spirit never shewed itself among the independents in England might be, because they were never in full possession of the civil power: for although Cromwell favoured them more than any other sect, they never engrossed his whole confidence, and

* Hutchinson, chap. i.

† "Several persons who came from England in 1643, made a *misstep*," says Hutchinson, "to set up *presbyterian government*, under the authority of the assembly at Westminster; but a New-England *assembly*, the general court, soon put them to the *rest*." Hist. Massachusetts Bay, chap. i. Yet some respectable authors seem to consider the New-England people as *presbyterians*, and ascribe the present disturbances to the turbulent humour, and by a new blunder, the *republican principles* of that sect. See "An Address to the British Government on a Subject of present Concern, 1776."

‡ That spirit sufficiently appears from several instances already noticed, and we shall afterwards have occasion to see it more fully displayed.

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it was besides an enemy to supremacy in ecclesiastical matters; nor durst he have considered it upon them, had he even been so disposed, the presbyterian party being always too considerable to have permitted such an innovation *. But that however as it may, it is certain that the people of New-England were permitted to persecute their dissenting brethren, and to enjoy their civil and religious liberties, without fear or restraint, for a period of twenty years; during which commerce, industry, and population flourished, and its different settlements attained to a very high degree of prosperity.

But although the New England colonies were in no danger from the prevailing powers in the mother-country, amid revolutions which entirely subverted both its civil and ecclesiastical constitution, their situation in regard to their American neighbours, prevented them from sinking into a state of indolent security; and their own domestic dissensions, and religious broils, from tasting that repose which might have been expected from a well regulated government, and a sober industrious people engaged in the pursuit of the same objects. The Indians on their back, and the French and Dutch on each side, made constant watchfulness necessary. In order to provide against these dangers, four of the colonies, namely Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven †, entered into a political confederacy for their mutual defence and safety; the principal articles of which were, that the United Colonies of New-England enter into a firm and perpetual league, offensive and defensive; that each colony shall retain a distinct and separate jurisdiction; that no two colonies shall join in one jurisdiction without the consent of the whole, and that no other colony shall be received into the confederacy without the like consent; that the charge of all wars, offensive or defensive, shall be borne in proportion to the number of male inhabitants, between sixteen and sixty years of age in each colony; that two commissioners from each government, being church members, shall meet annually, and conclude upon matters of peace and war, and all other affairs relative to the general object of the confederacy ‡.

* This conjecture with respect to the independents, is countenanced not only by the practice of those in New England, but also by that spirit which discovered itself among their presbyterian brethren, from whom they differed little, except in regard to government, when presbytery was established in England. Nothing gave them so much offence as the propensity of many in the parliament to tolerate the protestant sectaries. Such indulgence, they exclaimed, made the church of Christ resemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beasts. They insisted that the least of Christ's truths was superior to all political consideration: and they menaced all their opponents with the same rigorous persecution, under which they themselves had groined, when held in subjection by the hierarchy. Rushworth, Vol. VII. Clarendon, vol. IV.

† The colony of Rhode-Island was willing to have joined with the rest, but the Massachusetts refused to admit commissioners from that colony. Hutchinson, chap. i. probably on account of the freedom of their religious tenets.

‡ Mather. Neal. Hutchinson.

This confederacy, which had been in agitation for some time, was had up by the disturbances occasioned by one Gorton, who revived some of the most dangerous doctrines of the Antinomians; and after being banished from several jurisdictions, and whipped in others, attempted to establish a settlement with his followers, in consequence of a grant from the Indians. The Massachusetts government pretended that this grant was within their jurisdiction; seized Gorton and his followers, and committed them to prison. Being brought before the court, the charge exhibited against them was, that on serious examination of their writings, and their answers relative to them, they were found to be "blasphemous enemies of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy ordinances, and also of civil authority among the people of God, especially within that jurisdiction." Their sentence was cruel. Gorton was ordered to be confined to Charlestown, there to be kept at hard labour, and to wear such bolts and irons as might hinder his escape; and if he broke his confinement, or by speech or writing published or maintained any of the blasphemous abominable heresies wherewith he had been charged by the general court, or should reproach or reprove any of the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these united colonies, or the civil government, that upon conviction thereof, or trial by jury, he should suffer death*. The rest were confined to different towns, one in a town, and under the same hard conditions with Gorton †.

The united colonies had occasion soon after their confederacy, to check the encroachments of the French, who had re-established themselves at St. Croix, in Nova Scotia, whence they had been driven by captain Argol, in 1613; and also to accommodate some differences among the Indians, two powerful tribes of whom, the Naragansets and Mohegins, were at war with each other. This was effected without bloodshed on the part of the colonies. But the greatest danger to which New England was exposed, still sprung from its intestine divisions. A violent struggle for power arose between the magistrates and deputies of the Massachusetts colony. This struggle was occasioned by a difference in opinion on the identity of a sow; which was claimed by a poor woman, as

HAB. II.
A. D. 1619.

A. D. 1644.

* Hutchinson, chap. i. Gorton says, they cast a lot for the lives of him and his followers, putting it to the major vote of the court, whether they should live or die; and that God in his providence ordered it by a majority of two voices only in favour of their lives.

† After being confined one winter, they were banished the jurisdiction, and from the lands purchased of the Indians, upon pain of death. Hubbard. M. S. Hist. ap. Hutchinson. Gorton soon after went to England, where he obtained an order from the earl of Warwick, governor in chief, the lord high admiral and commissioners appointed by the parliament for the English plantations in America, directed to the governor and assistants of the Massachusetts, and to all governors and inhabitants in New England, that the said Gorton and his followers might be permitted to enjoy their lands in Naraganset Bay; and notwithstanding several remonstrances in the name of the united colonies, it was finally recommended to them, not only to suffer the Gortonists to enjoy their plantations, "but also to encourage them with protection and assistance, whilst they should demean themselves peaceably." Hubbard. They gave to their settlement, in honour of their patron, the name of Warwick, which it retains to this day.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1645.

having strayed from her some years before : and her title being disputed by a person of more consequence, not only the court, but the whole country was thrown into convulsions on the subject. Compassion for the poor woman is supposed to have prevailed with the common people against right, and perhaps influence had some sway with the magistrates. But at length they found it necessary to persuade the person, in whose favour they had given a decision, to relinquish his claim, that the public peace might be restored*.

A. D. 1646.

Before this disturbance was well composed, another of a more alarming nature distracted New England. One William Vassal, a gentleman of a pleasant and affable disposition, who came over to Massachusetts Bay with the first patentees, and afterwards settled at Scituate, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, had always amused himself with opposing the government of both colonies ; and having much influence in the former as well as the latter, he now laid a scheme for petitions from such as were non freemen, to the courts of both colonies and to parliament, if these petitions were rejected. The two first of the Massachusetts petitioners were Samuel Maverick and Robert Child. Mr. Maverick being in the colony at the arrival of the charter, was made a freeman before the law confining freedom to such only as were church members, was in force ; but being an episcopalian, he had never been in any office. Child was a young gentleman just come from the university of Padua, where he had studied physic, and was reputed to have taken the degree of doctor.

The principal things complained of by the petitioners were, that the fundamental laws of England were not owned by the colony, as the basis of its government, according to the patent ; that it denied those civil privileges, which the freemen of the jurisdiction enjoyed, to such as were not members of churches, and did not take an oath of fidelity devised by its own authority, although freeborn Englishmen of sober lives and conversation : that they were debarred from Christian privileges, unless members of some of the particular churches in the country, though otherwise sober, righteous and godly, eminent for knowledge, and members of churches in England : and they prayed, that civil liberty and freedom might be forthwith granted to all true Englishmen, and that all the members of the church of England or Scotland, not scandalous in life or conversation, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches in New England ; or if these civil and religious privileges were refused, that they might be exempted from the heavy taxes imposed upon them, and of the impositions made of themselves, their children, and servants into the militia †.

The magistrates and great part of the colony were much offended at this petition, and the petitioners were required to attend the court. They urged their right of petitioning ; but were that told, they were not accused for petitioning, but of contemptuous and seditious expressions. A charge was accordingly drawn up against them ; and as they refused to acknowledge their offence, they were fined,

* Hutchinson, chap. i. from a MS. in his possession, and the Mass. Rec.

† Hutchinson, chap. i.

some in larger some in smaller sums *. But the court was by no means unanimous on this occasion; and Mr. Winthrop, who was then deputy-governor, being particularly active in prosecuting the petitioners, the party in favour of them had so much interest as to obtain a vote requiring him to answer in public to the complaints preferred against him. He accordingly descended from the bench, in order to clear his conduct at the bar, which he did to the satisfaction of all present. After being honourably acquitted, he resumed his seat upon the bench, and made the following speech; which, considered in a general way, is admirable both with respect to matter and form, though the propriety of applying it to the particular occasion may be questioned, as the petitioners were neither rioters nor insurgents, nor men who had otherwise violated the public peace.

“Gentlemen,” said he, “I will not look back to the past proceedings of this court, nor to the persons therein concerned: I am satisfied, that I was publicly accused, and that I am now publicly acquitted; but give me leave to say something on this occasion, that may serve to rectify the opinion of the people from whom these distempers of the state have arisen. The questions that have troubled the country of late have been about the authority of the magistrate and the liberty of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment of God; and I entreat you to consider, that you chose them from among yourselves, and that they are men subj. to the like passions with yourselves. We take an oath to govern you according to God’s laws and our own, to the best of our skill: if we commit errors not willingly, but for want of skill, you ought therefore to bear with us. Nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. There is a liberty in doing what we list, without regard to law or justice. Such liberty is inconsistent with authority. But civil, moral, federal liberty, consists in every one’s enjoying his property, and having the benefit of the laws of his country. This is what you ought to contend for, at the hazard of your lives: but this is very consistent with a due subjection to the civil magistrate, and the paying him that respect which his character requires †.”

* The petitioners claimed an appeal to the commissioners for plantations in England, but it was not allowed; and intelligence being received that some of them intended to go home with a complaint, their papers were seized, and among them was found a petition to the right honourable the earl of Warwick and others invested with that high trust, from about twenty five non-freemen, for themselves and many thousands more, in which they represent, That, from the pulpit, they had been reproached and branded with the names of destroyers of churches and common wealths, and called Hamans, Judases, sons of Korah, &c. and publicly treated as malefactors, when all their crime was a petition to the court. They then proceeded to pray for settled churches in New England, according to the reformation of England; that the law of England might be there established; and that all English freeholders might enjoy such privileges there as in England and the other plantations. Mr. Winslow, who had been chosen agent for the colony to answer Gorton’s complaint, was now instructed to make defence against these petitioners, and by his prudent management, and credit with many of the principal persons then in power, he prevented any prejudice to the colony from either of these applications, which might otherwise have proved dangerous to its privileges. Hutchinson, chap. i.

† Mather. Neal.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1649.

Soon after piloting the colony through this storm, Mr. Winthrop's health began to decline, and he died in the beginning of the year 1649, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was a man of virtue and abilities, and spent his estate* and bodily strength in the public service, although he was remarkable for his temperance, frugality, and economy. He was of a more catholic spirit than most of his brethren before he left England, but afterwards he grew more contracted, and was disposed to lay too great stress upon indifferent matters. It was he that first proposed leaving off the custom of drinking one to another, and then procured a law to prohibit it. He was succeeded by Mr. Endicott, the most rigid and fanatical of all the magistrates, in his usual office of governor, and by Mr. Dudley, a gentleman of a similar character, in that of deputy governor.

These two zealots got the other assistants to join with them in an association against long hair, of which they declared their detestation in the following public instrument. "Forasmuch as the wearing of *long hair*, after the manner of Russians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says, *It is a shame for a man to wear LONG HAIR*, as also the commendable custom generally of all the godly of our nation, until within these few years; we the magistrates (who have subscribed this paper, for the shewing of our own innocency in this behalf) do declare and manifest our dislike and *detestation* against the wearing of such *long hair*, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men do *deform themselves*, and offend sober and modest men, and do *corrupt good manners*: we do therefore earnestly entreat all the elders of this jurisdiction, as often as they shall see cause, to manifest their *zeal against it* in their public administrations, and to take care that the members of their respective churches be not *defiled therewith*; that so, such as shall prove *obstinate*, and will not *reform themselves*, may have God and man to witness against them †." A few years before, tobacco was prohibited under a penalty, and the smoke of it is compared, by some of the New England writers of that age, to the smoke of the bottomless pit; but some of the clergy fell into the practice of smoking, and tobacco, by an act of government, was set at liberty ‡.

In 1650, was settled a dispute which had long subsisted between the colony of Newhaven and the Dutch. They had a design, as already observed, to have possessed themselves of Connecticut river, and to have prevented the English from obtaining any footing there; and soon after Mr. Eaton and his company sat down at Newhaven, the Dutch charged them with encroachments, though they them-

* He had an estate in Suffolk of six or seven hundred pounds a year, which he turned into money, and embarked his all to promote the settlement of New England.

† "The third month, tenth day, 1649. Jo. Endicott, governor, Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor, Rich. Bellingham, Richard Saltonstall, Increase Nowell, William Hibbins, Thomas Flint, Rob. Bridges, Simon Bradstreet, assistants." Harvard College Records. "I have often wondered," says Hutchinson, "that the text in Leviticus, *Ye shall not round the corners of your heads*, was never brought against short hair. The rule in New England was, that none should wear their hair below their ears. In a clergyman it was said to be the greater offence: *they* were, in an especial manner, required to go *parentibus auribus*." Hist. Massachusetts Bay, chap. i.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

elves had no pretence to any certain boundary. The English, regardless of these complaints, went on extending their settlements to Milford, Stamford, and other places, within a few miles of Hudson's river. Whether the Dutch had any good title to the country contiguous to that river, is much to be questioned, and shall be afterwards examined: but it is certain that they arrogated a claim to it, and would have expelled the English, if they had been able; and this year, while the commissioners of the united colonies were sitting at Hartford, the Dutch governor, Stuyvesant, came thither to treat, and presented his proposals in writing, dated New Netherlands, September 23, being the day on which they were delivered. He complained of the encroachments at Connecticut river, as well as towards Hudson's river; of the reception of fugitives; and of a law debarring them from trade with the Indians within the jurisdiction of the English colonies. The commissioners took notice, that his proposals bore the date of New Netherlands, and refused to treat, until he altered the name of the place where they were dated. He offered, if the English would forbear stiling the place Hartford, that he would forbear stiling it New Netherlands, and date his proposals at Connecticut. They consented that he should date at Connecticut, but would not give up their own right to date at Hartford. After several days spent in messages, the matters in dispute were referred to four persons; two appointed by the commissioners, and two by the Dutch governor, whose award was to be binding on both parties. The line of partition which they settled, ran northerly twenty miles in length from the sea, and afterwards as the Dutch and the colony of Newhaven should agree, so as not to come within ten miles of Hudson's river*.

The same year a corporation in England, constituted for propagating the gospel among the Indians, began a correspondence with the commissioners of the united colonies. One professed design of the colony charter was the conversion of the natives. The long neglect of any attempts of this kind is truly surprising, in men who believed the religion of Jesus so essential to the temporal and eternal felicity of mankind. The Indians themselves asked, How it happened, if Christianity was of such importance, that for so many years the English had said nothing to them about it. The English replied, that they were sorry they had not done it sooner, and that they were not willing to listen to divine truths. This, however, was not universally the case. Several of the Indians who had been taken as servants into English families, had attained to some knowledge of the Christian doctrines, and seemed to be affected with what they had been taught concerning a future state of existence, and with fears of the divine displeasure. John, sagamore of the Massachusetts Indians, would sometimes praise the English and their God, exclaiming in his imperfect speech, "Much good men, much good God!"—and when he was on his death bed, he sent for a neighbouring minister, and desired him to teach his son to know the God of the English, after he was dead †.

Mention has already been made of Wequash, the Pequod, who pretended to embrace Christianity; but the first instance of an Indian who gave any hopes of

* Hutchinson, chap. i.

† Mather. Neal. Hutchinson.

becoming a real Christian, was that of Hiacommes, at Martha's Vineyard, in the year 1643. Under the instruction of Thomas Mayhew, a respectable planter, who had obtained a grant of that island, he was induced to attend the English congregations, and became himself a preacher among his own people. Encouraged by this example, the general court of the Massachusetts passed, in 1646, an act for carrying the gospel to the Indians; and it was at the same time recommended to the elders how it might be best done. A visit was accordingly made to the Indian villages, by the persons appointed for that purpose; and one of the company, after solemn prayer in English, began a discourse in the Indian tongue, containing a brief explication of the moral law, and the wrath and curse of God denounced against the breakers of that law. He then unfolded the mystery of the incarnation; the coming of Christ into the world to recover mankind from sin; his sufferings and death, resurrection and ascension, and that he will come again at the end of the world to be the judge of all men. They then entered into a free conversation with the Indians, and desired them to ask such questions as they thought proper, upon any point which they did not understand; and it became the constant practice, after sermon, for as many of the Indians as desired it, to stand up and propose questions to the preacher*.

The success of this first visit was so considerable, that two others were undertaken the same year, and a particular account of the whole was transmitted to England, and published there, under the title of "the Day breaking, if not the Sun-rising of the Gospel, with the Indians in New England." Subscriptions were solicited in the mother-country by Mr. Winslow, the Massachusetts's agent; and Mr. Elliot, a pious minister in America, applied himself, at the same time, to the work, with zeal equal to that of the Romish missionaries. But instead of adopting a favourite maxim of that church, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," he endeavoured to enlighten the understanding of the Indians, and to draw them from their savage and wandering mode of life to civility, government, and cohabitation. "The Indians must be civilized," said he, "as well as, if not in order, to their being christianized †."

The success of Mr. Elliot was very great among several of the Indian tribes; and several towns were built and inhabited entirely by "praying Indians," as the converts were called: but as most of these are now extinct, and notwithstanding the labours of succeeding missionaries, the gospel has made no considerable

* Colonel Goffe, whom we shall afterwards have occasion to mention, being present at an Indian lecture in 1660, takes notice of the following questions, after thirteen or fourteen years instruction. "In your text are these words, *Save yourselves from this untoward generation.* In other scriptures it stands, *We can do nothing of ourselves.* How can this be reconciled?—You say the word is the sword of the spirit by which their hearts were pricked: how shall I take and use the sword of the spirit to prick my heart?—What was the sin of Judas, or how did he sin in betraying Christ, seeing it was what God had appointed?"—The answer to those converts was, "Repent and be baptized." Goffe's Journal.

† Hutchinson, chap. i.

progress among the natives of North America, it will be sufficient to observe, in a general way, what measures were taken for the advancement of this good work.

The parliament, in order to promote it, passed the following ordinance:—
 “Whereas the commons of England in parliament assembled, have received certain intelligence from divers godly ministers and others in New England, that divers of the heathen natives, through the pious care of some godly English, who preach the gospel to them in their own Indian language, not only of barbarous are become civil, but many of them forsaking their accustomed charms and forceries, and other Satanical delusions, do now call upon the name of the Lord, and give great testimony of the power of God drawing them from death and darknets, to the life and light of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ; which appeareth by their lamenting with tears their mispent lives; teaching their children what they are instructed themselves; being careful to place them in godly families and English schools; betaking themselves to one wife, putting away the rest; and by their constant prayers to Almighty God, morning and evening, in their families, expressed, in all appearance, with much devotion and zeal of heart: all which considered, we cannot but, in behalf of the nation we represent, rejoice and give glory to God for the beginning of so glorious a propagation of the gospel amongst those poor heathen; which cannot be prosecuted with that expedition as is desired, unless the instruments be encouraged and maintained to pursue it, schools and cloathing be provided, and many other necessaries: be it therefore enacted by this present parliament, That, for the furthering of so good a work, there shall be a corporation in England consisting of sixteen persons, namely, a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants; and be it also enacted, That a general collection be made, for the purposes aforesaid through all England and Wales.”
 Letters at the same time were published from the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, calling upon all the ministers of the realm, to stir up their congregations to a liberal contribution for the promotion of so glorious an undertaking*.

A. D. 1642.

The people of Massachusetts Bay, as already observed, claimed the country of New Hampshire, as within the limits of their jurisdiction. A similar claim was

* Great opposition was made to the collection in England; and the conversion of the Indians was represented as a mere pretence to draw money from men of pious minds. It went on so slowly at first, that an attempt was made to raise a sum out of the army. Such favourable accounts were however published, from time to time, of the success of the mission, that, at the Restoration, the corporation was possessed of six or seven hundred pounds per annum; which being derived from the establishment of the parliament, was in danger of being lost: but through the interest of some well-disposed persons, among whom was the celebrated Mr. Boyle, a new charter was obtained, and the estate secured. Mr. Boyle was chosen, and continued many years governor, and the commissioners of the united colonies were the correspondents in New England, until the charter was vacated. After that era, commissioners were specially appointed by the corporation, consisting of the principal gentlemen of the civil order, or of the clergy of New England; and vacancies by death or otherwise, have been from time to time filled up, until the present time. Hutchinson, chap. i. Perhaps no fund of this nature, adds he, was ever more faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was raised.

extended

BC. 17 IV.

extended to the province of Main; and as things were now in the utmost confusion there, by reason of the chief proprietors being royalists, commissioners were sent to summon the inhabitants of Kittery to come in and own their subjection to the Massachusetts colony, as of right belonging to them. The people accordingly assembled, agreed to surrender, and subscribed an instrument of submission. The same was done at Acamenticus, now York, and also at Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoise. Larger privileges were granted to the inhabitants of these plantations, than to those of the other parts of the Massachusetts government: they were all admitted freemen upon taking the oath; whereas, in all other places, none were made free, as we have had occasion to notice, except such as were church members. The province of Main was made a county, by the name of Yorkshire; and henceforth the towns sent their deputies to the general court at Boston*.

A. D. 1655.

While the colony of Massachusetts Bay was thus extending its territory, and increasing its members and its conveniences, a proposal was made to the inhabitants by Cromwell, their great patron, immediately after the conquest of Jamaica, inviting them to go and people that island: and it appears by several original letters, that he had this measure much at heart. He foresaw that the West-India planters would raise estates far superior to those of the inhabitants of the northern colonies; and though a mere worldly consideration was not proper for him to urge, yet when accompanied with the completion of a divine promise, that God's people should be "the head and not the tail," it was perfectly in character, and he artfully enough joined it with the other consideration. But all was insufficient to make the people of New England quit a country where they could live comfortably, and were indulged with all the privileges they desired. A few families only removed; yet Cromwell was so far from harbouring resentment against the brethren on account of this refusal, that the famous navigation act which bore so hard upon Virginia and the West India islands, was never extended to the New-England colonies during the protectorship. They were not only indulged in their trade to all parts; but that extraordinary privilege of having their goods imported into England free from all custom, which other subjects were liable to pay, seems to have been continued until the restoration †.

Become wanton from prosperity, and proud of the protection of the ruling powers, the people of New England renewed their persecutions against a new sect of fanatical enthusiasts, now a very peaceable and moderate set of men, known by the name of Quakers. The founder of this sect was one George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire, in 1624. He was the son of a weaver,

* Although the greater part of the people of the province of Main were brought to consent to this submission; yet it appears by the records, which are still preserved in the registry of the county of York, that much opposition was made to it by some of the principal inhabitants: and the Massachusetts government was severely reproached by them with using violent compulsory means, in order to reduce the province. Hutchinson, chap. i.

† Hutchinson, chap. i.

and was himself bound apprentice to a shoemaker; but feeling a stronger turn towards spiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profession, he left his master, and went about the country clothed in a leathern doublet, a dress which he long affected as well for its singularity as its cheapness. That he might wean himself entirely from sublunary objects, he broke off all connection with his friends and family; and his habitude should begot new connections, and deprest the sublimity of his aerial meditations, he determined to have no fixed abode. He frequently wandered into the woods, and passed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amusement but his Bible. By another advance in his spiritual progress, he even learned to do without that divine composition itself; his own breast, as he believed, being full of the same inspiration which had guided the sacred writers.

When he had been sufficiently consecrated in his own imagination, he began to seek profelytes, that he might communicate to them a portion of that spirit by which he was animated. Profelytes were easily gained in an age when all men's affections were turned towards religion, and when the most extravagant modes of it were sure to be the most popular. All the forms of ceremony invented by pride and ostentation, Fox and his disciples carefully rejected. Even the ordinary rites of civility were spurned, as the nourishment of carnal vanity and self-conceit. They would bestow no titles of distinction: the name of *friend* was the only salutation with which they indiscriminately accosted every one. To no person would they make a bow, move their hat, or give any signs of reverence; and instead of that affected adulation introduced into modern tongues, of speaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the simplicity of ancient languages, *thou* and *thee* being the only expressions which on any consideration they could be brought to employ. Nor were they less distinguished by the simplicity of their dress. Every superfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched. Even a button to the hat, though sometimes useful, yet not being always so, was rejected with horror and detestation.

The violent enthusiasm of this new sect, like all high passions, excited such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, as threw the preachers into convulsions; and hence they received the denomination of *quakers*. No fanatics ever carried farther their hatred of ceremonies, forms, rites, and positive institutions. Even baptism and the Lord's supper, by all other sects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of Christianity, were disdainfully rejected by the quakers: the very sabbath they profaned; the holiness of the churches they derided, and would give to those sacred edifices no other appellation but that of *go-pet-shops*, or *steeple-houses*. No priests were admitted in their sect. Every one had received from immediate illumination a character much superior to the sacerdotal. When they met for divine worship, each rose up in his place, and delivered the extemporary inspirations of the spirit. Women were also admitted to teach the brethren, and were considered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the Holy Ghost, with whom every one was supposed to be personally filled. Some-

times a great many preachers were moved to speak at once, and sometimes a total silence prevailed in their congregations.

Some quakers attempted to fast forty days, in imitation of Christ, and one of them bravely perished in the experiment*. A female quaker came naked into the church where the Protector sat; being moved by the spirit, as she said, to appear as a sign to the people. A number of them fancied that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that cloaths were to be rejected, together with other superfluities. From the fervour of their zeal they broke into churches, disturbed public worship, and harrassed the minister and the audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magistrate they refused him all reverence, and treated him with the same familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they were thrown into mad-houses, the proper place for such fanatics, and sometimes into prisons; sometimes they were whipped, sometimes pilloried †.

But if, amid the great toleration, which was then granted to so many sects in the mother country, the quakers suffered persecution, and were doomed to ignominious punishments ‡, what could they expect in New England, where the slightest deviation from the established worship was accounted criminal? Nothing surely but death: and they courted the crown of martyrdom, with an avidity to which history affords no parallel. In July 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, two female quakers, arrived at Boston from Barbadoes §; and a few weeks after, came nine more of those enthusiasts, of different ages and sexes. They were

* Whitlocke. † Whitlocke. Thurloe.

‡ One James Naylor, a quaker noted for blasphemy, or rather madness, during the protectorship, was very rudely treated. He fancied that he himself was transformed into Christ, and was become the real Saviour of the world. In consequence of this phrenzy, he endeavoured to imitate many actions of the Messiah related in the evangelists. As he bore a resemblance to the common pictures of Christ, he allowed his beard to grow in a like form: he raised persons from the dead; was ministered unto by women; and entered Bristol mounted on a horse, perhaps from the difficulty of finding an ass, his disciples spreading their garments before him, and crying, "Hosanna to the Highest!—Holy holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth!"—When carried before a magistrate, he would give no other answer to all questions but "Thou hast said it."—Surprising as it may now appear, the parliament thought the matter deserved their attention, and spent near ten days in inquiries and debates about this fanatic. Thurloe, vol. V. At last they condemned him to be pilloried, whipped, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored through with a red hot iron. Ibid. All these severities he bore with the usual patience of enthusiasts, but the sequel spoiled all. He was sent to Bridewell; confined to hard labour; fed on bread and water; and debarred all intercourse with his disciples, male and female: his illusions dissipated; and after some time, he was contented to come out an ordinary man, and to return to his usual occupations.—Whitlocke, Thurloe, Harleyan Miscellany, vol. VI.

§ Mary Fisher travelled so far as Adrianople; and coming near the grand vizier's tent, she procured a man to inform him, that there was an English woman had something to declare from the Great God to the Great Turk. She was introduced, delivered her message, and was civilly dismissed. New Eng. judged by G. Bishop. Little wonder that such a woman ventured among the rigid sectaries of Massachusetts Bay.

brought before the court of assistants, and being questioned how they could make it appear that God sent them thither: they answered, after a pause, that they had the same call Abraham had to go out of his country. To other questions they gave rude and contemptuous answers. The court issued the sentence of banishment against them all; and ordered them to be carried to the place to which they came, also destined to carry them to prison.

As there was at this time no special provision for the punishment of quakers, they came within a colony law against them in general: but at the next meeting of the general court, an act passed, laying a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the master of any vessel, who should bring a known quaker to any part of the Massachusetts colony, and requiring him to give a security that he would carry such person back again; the quaker to be immediately sent to the house of correction, whipped twenty stripes, and kept to hard labour until transportation. A penalty of five pounds was also laid upon such as imported quakers books, the like sum for dispersing them, and severe penalties for defending their heretical opinions. Next year an additional law was made, by which persons were subjected to the penalty of forty shillings for every hour's entertainment given to any known quaker; and every quaker, for each offence, as far as two, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose an ear, and if a woman, to be severely whipped. For a third offence, both men and women were to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron; and every person who should become a quaker in the colony, was subjected to the like punishment. The year following a farther law was made, for punishing with death all persons who should return into the jurisdiction of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, after transportation †.

In consequence of these sanguinary laws, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, Mary Dyer, and Nicholas Davis, were immediately brought to trial. The first gave no account of himself. Stephenson, who had made a public disturbance in the congregation at Boston, acknowledged himself to be one of those whom the world called quakers; and declared, that being at plough, near Skipton, in Yorkshire, in 1656, he saw nothing, but heard an audible voice saying, "I have ordained thee to be a prophet to the nations." Mary Dyer declared that she came from Rhode Island to visit the quakers; that she was of their religion, which she affirmed was the truth, and that the light within her was the rule. Davis came from Barnstable, entered the court with his hat on, and confessed that he had forsaken the ordinances, and resorted to the quakers. The jury found them all quakers. Robinson was whipped twenty stripes for abusing the court, and was banished with the rest on pain of death §. Patience Scot, a girl of about ten years of age, was brought to trial at the same time. She came from Providence; and professing herself to be one of those whom the world in scorn call quakers, had been committed to prison. The record in regard to her stands thus: "The court duly considering the malice of Satan and his in-

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1656.

A. D. 1657.

A. D. 1658.

* Hutchinson, from the Rec. of the Superior Court.

† Hutchinson, chap. i. from the Mass. Rec.

§ Id. *ibid.*

fruments,

BOOK IV. fragments, by all means and ways, to propagate error and disturb the truth, and bring in confusion among us; that Satan is put to his shifts to make use of such a child, not being of the years of discretion, nor understanding the principles of religion, judge meet so far to *fright her as a quaker*, as only to admonish and instruct her according to her capacity, and so discharge her, Capt. Hutchinson undertaking to send her home †.”

A. D. 1656. Robinson, Stephen, and Mary Dyer, were brought upon trial at the next general court, for returning from banishment, and sentenced to suffer death. The two first were executed without further delay; but Mary Dyer was reprieved, at the intercession of her son, on condition that she should depart the nation within forty-eight hours. She was carried to the gallows, and stood upon a trap about her neck while the others were hanged. Yet was she so infatuated as afterwards to return, and her judges were so unfeeling as to hurry such a maniac to execution. Windlock Christopher, who had declared in court, that the Scripture is not the word of God, was also sentenced to die for returning from banishment. He is said to have desired the court to consider, what they had gained by their cruel proceedings. “For the last man,” said he, “that was put to death here, are five come in his room; and if you have power to take away my life, God can raise up the said principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment.” William Ledea suffered death for the same offence. He denied the authority of the court, and told his judges, that with the spirit which they called the devil he worshipped God; that their ministers were deluders, and themselves murderers*.

A. D. 1660.

Many more of these unhappy fanatics were subjected to corporal punishments of various kinds, some of which they seem to have deserved. At Boston, one George Wilson, and at Cambridge, Elizabeth Norton, went crying through the streets that the Lord was coming with fire and sword to plead with them. Thomas Newhouse went into the church at Boston, with a couple of glass bottles; and breaking them before the congregation, threatened, “Thus will the Lord break you in pieces!”—At another time, one M. Brewster came in with her face smeared with smut, as black as a coal; and Deborah Wilson went through the streets of Salem, naked as she came into the world, for which she was well whipped †. That some provision was necessary against such disorders cannot be denied; and whipping seems a very proper punishment for the least offence; but nothing can excuse the barbarous severities so generally exercised against a set

† Hutchinson, chap. 3. Bishop says, they cut off the right ear of one Holder, and of two others in prison; and that Catherine Scott, mother of Patience Scott, reproving them for a deed of darkness, they whipped her ten stripes, though they allowed her to be otherwise of blameless conversation, and well bred, being a minister's daughter, in England. New Eng. Judged.

* Hutchinson, chap. 1.

† One of the sect, apologizing for this behaviour, said, if the Lord did stir up any of his daughters to be a *sign* of the nakedness of others, he believed it to be a great cross to a modest woman's spirit; but the Lord must be obeyed. R. Williams.

of maniacs, the greater part of whom required only confinement and discipline to be brought to the right use of their senses.

The New England brethren were sensible, that their zeal had transported them beyond the bounds of justice and humanity; and they endeavoured to support their proceedings by some texts out of the Old Testament. "If thy brother entice thee to serve other Gods, thou shalt surely put him to death;" and "for speaking lies in the name of the Lord, his father shall thrust him through, when he prophesieth." The example of Solomon was also urged, who first laid Shimei under restraint, and then for his breach, put him to death. How far such pious precedents might have carried them is uncertain, as the Quakers daily multiplied, and frequently returned from banishment, had not a stop been put to their holy violences by a new revolution in the government of the mother-country.

Cromwell was no more. Enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and persecutions, the consequences of his ambition, were all buried with him, and England had the prospect of calmer days. Charles II. had reascended the throne of his ancestors, and monarchy was restored. Nothing but a total change of manners, he was sensible, could secure the tranquillity of his government: he therefore endeavoured to introduce among his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry, amusements, and every thing that might banish those four and malignant humours which had engendered such confusion; and as it was sufficiently evident from past experience, that gravity is very distinct from wisdom, formality from virtue, and hypocrisy from religion, the melancholy austerity of the fanatics fell into discredit together with their principles. Not the dreadful handwriting upon the wall was more alarming to the prince whom it informed, that "the kingdom was departed from him," than this intelligence to the New England brethren. It disconcerted all their schemes of power and persecution: they had even reason to apprehend a persecution themselves for non-conformity, as no doubt was entertained but episcopacy would be re-established.

Meantime the humanity of Charles dictated an order, requiring, that a stop should be put to all capital or corporal punishment of those of his subjects called Quakers, and that such as were obnoxious should be sent to England; and although the people of New England were little disposed to acknowledge the force of orders from the crown, controlling the laws of the colonies, they prudently complied with the instruction*. The laws against Quakers were suspended, so far as respected corporal punishments, until farther notice; and the decent and orderly behaviour of that sect, which took place soon after this ferment, has rendered the revival of such laws unnecessary.

Notwithstanding this instance of obedience to the royal mandate, evidently the effect of fear more than of love, a variety of circumstances conspire to prove the disaffection of the people of New England to their new sovereign, if not their aversion to the restoration of monarchy itself. After Charles had been

* Hutchinson, chap. i.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1660.

proclaimed in England, Goffe and Whaley, two of the regicides, or persons who had given judgment against the life of the late king, were cordially received at Boston *; and even when it was understood that they were not excepted in the act of indemnity, all attempts to secure them were not only neglected, in contempt of an order of the privy council, but it was for some time in contemplation whether or not the colony should stand by them. Assurances to this purpose had been given them by several members of the general court, and it was only on being informed of the popularity of the king, and of the complete submission of Scotland and Ireland, as well as England, to his authority, that the resolution was laid aside. Nor was this popular king proclaimed in the Massachusetts colony, for more than a twelvemonth after he had been universally acknowledged and carested in the mother-country. No alteration was made in the public writs, and a motion for an address to the king was rejected in the general court †. A new revolution in the government was expected ‡; but all hopes of that kind at length vanishing, an address was agreed upon, and the king was proclaimed in the following words. "Forasmuch as Charles I. is undoubted king of Great Britain and other his majesty's territories and dominions thereunto belonging, and

October.

August,
A. D. 1661.

* "Mr. Endicot, the governor, received them very courteously, and they were visited by the principal persons of the town: they did not disguise themselves; went publicly to meetings on the Lord's Day, and to occasional lectures, fasts, and thanksgivings; were admitted to the sacrament, and attended private meetings for devotion; visited many of the principal towns; were frequently at Boston, where some persons were bound to their good behaviour for insulting them; and when the governor summoned a court of assistants to consult about securing them, (after the arrival of the king's proclamation) the court did not agree to it." Hutchinson, chap. i. Yet the same author tells us, it was not strange they should meet with such favourable reception, and that this reception was no "contempt of the authority in England!"—Hist. Massachusetts Bay, chap. i. p. 214. From Goffe's journal, kept from the day that he left Westminster, and now in the possession of Mr. Hutchinson, it appears, that these two regicides found means to conceal themselves from the king's officers in New England for upwards of twenty years, and that both died a natural death, at a very advanced age.

† Hutchinson, chap. i. This disaffection, it should seem, must have proceeded rather from a dislike to the throne, than to the king who sat upon it; for Charles had yet discovered no attachment to any particular religion, nor partiality to any set of persons. Into his council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions: he seemed desirous of lessing the memory of past animosities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their prince and their native country. The Liturgy, it is true, was again admitted into the churches; but at the same time, a declaration was issued, promising that the use of that mode of worship should not be impeded on such as were unwilling to receive it. Parliament. Hist. vol. XXIII. The act of uniformity did not pass till 1662; and it was partly procured by the independents, who were envious of the favour shewn to their rivals, the presbyterians, and afraid that they would be adopted into the body of the church, by some slight alterations in the Liturgy. They therefore chose rather to gratify their resentment than to enjoy their religious privileges in peace, that they might have the pleasure of humbling those who had disappointed all their schemes, by the restoration of monarchy.

‡ Of the republican kind, no doubt: for the people of New England in general, appear at all times to have been much in the same mind with the famous Hugh Peters, for some time one of their brethren, "that the office of a king is useless, chargeable and dangerous; and that all kings, but especially good ones, ought to be blackened, as much as possible, lest their justice and generosity should render kingly government perpetual."

hath

hath been some time since lawfully proclaimed and crowned accordingly; we therefore do, as in duty we are bound, own and acknowledge him to be our sovereign lord and king, and do hereby proclaim and declare his sacred majesty Charles II. to be lawful king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and all other the territories thereunto belonging.* An order passed the court the same day, and was posted up in Boston, prohibiting all disorderly behaviour on the occasion; and particularly declaring, that no person might expect indulgence, who, in violation of the law, “should presume to drink his majesty’s health †.”

Soon after this proclamation, intelligence arriving, that their conduct had been represented in the worst light at the court of England, the Massachusetts colony chose as their agents Simon Bradstreet, one of their magistrates, and John Norton, one of the ministers of Boston church, who were sent over to make answer to all accusations, and to learn his majesty’s pleasure concerning them. Conscious of the undutiful behaviour of the colony, these gentlemen engaged in the service with much reluctance; they even refused to proceed on their voyage, till the colony engaged to make good all damages which they might sustain in England by the detention of their persons or otherwise. Their reception, however, was more favourable than they expected, and their stay short. They returned within six months, with a letter from the king, some parts of which cheered the hearts of the colonists. They then looked upon them, and often afterwards recurred to them, as a confirmation of their charter privileges, and an amnesty of all past errors. But at the same time that Charles declared his kind intentions towards them, his purpose to preserve their liberties inviolate, his willingness to renew their charter, and granted a pardon for all past treasons, except to such as stood attainted by act of parliament, he required that all their laws should be reviewed, and such as were contrary, or derogatory to the king’s authority and government, be annulled and repealed; that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered; that the administration of justice should be in the king’s name; that freedom and liberty should be given to all such as desired to use the book of Common Prayer, and perform their devotions in the manner established in England, and that they might not undergo any prejudice thereby; that all persons of honest lives and conversations should be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, according to the book of Common Prayer, and their children to baptism; that in the choice of a governor and assistants, regard should only be had to the wisdom, virtue, and integrity of the persons to be chosen without reference to opinions or outward professions; and that all freeholders of competent estates, not scandalous in their lives, though of different opinions in regard to church government, should have a vote in the election of all civil and military officers ‡.

* Hutchinson, chap. i.

† *Id. ibid.* This, the order says, his majesty “hath in an especial manner forbid.” But Charles was a man of too much sense, as well as of too social a temper, ever to countenance any such absurd severity. An injury was therefore added to an affront in thus enforcing their own fanatical and insulting orders with the king’s name.

‡ Hutchinson, chap. i.

BOOK IV
A. D. 1601.

These equalls, though highly reasonable, seemed grievous to the zealots of New England; and the appearance of a large comet soon after, filled them with new apprehensions in regard to their civil and religious privileges. But in the midst of humiliations and fastings, in order to avert the displeasure of Heaven, it was discovered that the Anabaptists, an obnoxious sect, had got footing among them. Whether they imagined this to be the cause of the evils with which they were threatened, or were routed by their usual spirit of bigotry and persecution, five persons were cited before the court of assistants, and charged with "gathering themselves into a pretended church state, in opposition to the order of the churches of Christ in the colony, and intermeddling with those holy appointments of the Lord Jesus, which are proper only to office trust." They confessed that they had joined in a church society, that they had been rebaptized, and that one of them administered the Lord's Supper. They were threatened, and admonished to conform, but persevered notwithstanding, and at length they were committed to prison, and banished the jurisdiction*.

A. D. 1655. But the people of New England had soon reason for more serious alarm. Sir Robert Carr, colonel Richard Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, esquires, had received a commission from the king, with some ships and land forces, for reducing the Dutch at New Netherlands; for visiting the New England colonies, hearing and determining all matters of complaint, and settling the peace and security of the country. These officers found little difficulty in subduing the Dutch, but the settlement of the affairs of New England proved beyond their power. The Massachusetts colony, in particular, considered such a commission as a revocation of their charter; and before they were made acquainted with the instructions of the commissioners, which were nearly the same with the requests in the king's letter, they drew up a most extraordinary petition to his majesty †. After setting forth the purchase of the soil from the council of Plymouth and the Indians, the charge of transporting themselves and families, and the privileges contained in their royal charter, they express their grief in having four persons sent over with such extraordinary powers as must subject them to the arbitrary will of strangers, proceeding not by any established law but their own discretion. They appeal to God, that they came not into this wilderness to seek great things for themselves, but for the sake of a quiet life; and they conclude with professing their subjection to his majesty, and willingness to testify their dutiful affection in any righteous way, but that it was a great unhappiness to be reduced to the cruel alternative of having no other way of doing it but by destroying their own being, which nature teaches us to preserve, or yielding up their liberties, far dearer to them than their lives, and of which had they had any fear of being deprived, they would never have "wandered so far from their father's house into these ends

* Mather. Neal. Hutchinson.

† The commissioners touched at Boston in their way, but did not open their instructions relative to New England, till after the reduction of New Netherlands. In the meantime the Massachusetts colony sent off their petition to the king. The other colonies were less alarmed, and more compliant.

of the earth, nor have laid out their labours and estates therein ;” they therefore supplicate his majesty, to say of his poor people in New England, “ They shall not die ;” that to his petitioners, in the full enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties, may have cause to say from their hearts, “ Let the King live for ever * !”

Along with this petition, the colony sent letters to several of the nobility, and among others to the earl of Clarendon, at that time chancellor and prime minister, humbly suing for favour. Clarendon’s answer was by no means favourable ; but like all his writings, very candid, and to the purpose. “ I have read,” says he, “ to my Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Boyle, and Mr. Ashurst †, every word of the instructions the commissioners have ; and they all confessed, that his majesty could not express more grace and goodness for his plantation, nor put it more out of their power, in any degree, to invade the liberties and privileges granted to you by your charter : and therefore we were all equally amazed to find, that you demand a revocation of the commission and commissioners, without laying the least to their charge of crimes or exorbitancies. — I know not what you mean,” adds he, “ by saying the commissioners have power to exercise government, altogether inconsistent with your charter and privileges, since I am sure their commission is to see and provide for the full and due observance of the charter, and that all the privileges granted by that charter may be equally enjoyed by all his majesty’s subjects in New England. I know they are expressly inhibited from intermeddling with, or obstructing the administration of justice, according to the forms observed there ; but if in truth, in any extraordinary case, the proceedings there have been irregular, and against the rules of justice, as some particular cases, particularly recommended to them by his majesty seem to be, it cannot be presumed that his majesty hath or will leave his subjects of New England without hope of redress, by an appeal to him, which his subjects of all his other kingdoms have free liberty to make ‡.”

This was found reasoning, and the conclusion of his lordship’s letter is truly memorable. “ It is in your own power,” says he, “ to be very happy ; but it will be absolutely necessary, that you perform and pay all that reverence and obedience which is due from subjects to their king, and which his majesty will exact from you.” That obedience, however, they did not pay ; and the sword was like to have decided upwards of an hundred years ago, what is now under the decision of the sword. But the opposition of the Massachusetts colony (for it properly only made opposition) must not be ascribed entirely to a refractory spirit or disaffection to his majesty’s government, though both these had probably their influence : the violent and tyrannical disposition of the commissioners must also come in for a share ; all of whom, except Colonel Nichols, who was left governor of New Netherlands, soon after called New York, were men very unfit for

* Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts Bay, Append. No. XVI.

† Mr. Ashurst was particularly intrusted with the affairs of the colony, and Mr. Boyle and the Lord Chamberlain were known to be well disposed towards it, and had received letters to promote the petition.

‡ Hutchinson, Append. No. XVII.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1665.

the office to which they were appointed. Their behaviour was calculated rather to inflame, than to conciliate the affections of a people jealous of liberty, and thirsting after independency. When the magistrates objected to assembling the whole body of the people, (in order that they might make known their grievances on account of the inconveniencies that must attend such a measure, Cartwright replied, that the motion was so reasonable,) that he who would not attend to it was a traitor*." This was cutting the matter short, and all their proceedings were of a piece. The result of the whole was, that the Massachusetts colony would not submit to have their decisions reviewed, and that Charles was obliged to recal his commissioners.

There is no possibility of defending the conduct of the colony on this occasion, especially in not complying more fully with the things required in his majesty's letter, and which were given the commissioners as instructions, in the following form: "That all persons take the oath of allegiance; that all process and administration of justice be performed in our name; that such as desire to use the Book of Common Prayer, be permitted to do so, without incurring any penalty, reproach, or disadvantage, it being very scandalous that any persons should be debarred the exercise of their religion according to the laws and customs of England, by those who are indulged with the liberty of being of what persuasion or religion they please; and that all persons of good and honest conversation may enjoy the privilege of chusing, and of being chosen into places of government, and the like †."

These demands were highly reasonable, from a king of England to his subjects, whose allegiance, by a general rule of law, is not considered as local, but perpetual and unalienable. The Massachusetts magistrates, however, either denied or evaded every one of them: they altered the oath of allegiance, in order to accommodate it to their consciences; continued the administration of justice in the name of the colony, and framed such regulations as rendered their seeming compliance with the other demands of none effect ‡. This obstinacy, which could not fail to be very offensive to his majesty, was rendered more conspicuous by the ready and unreserved obedience of the colony of New Plymouth, thought to be next in its pretensions to exclusive and independent jurisdiction.

A. D. 1665. Charles himself, in his letter of thanks to that colony, with whose behaviour he was highly pleased, could not help remarking this contrast. "Although your carriage," says he, "doth of itself most justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with the more lustre, by the contrary deportment of the colony of the Massachusetts; as if, by their refractoriness, they had designed to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance with our directions for the peaceable and good government of our subjects in these parts. You may therefore assure yourselves that we shall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behaviour, but shall upon all occasions take notice of it to your

* Hutchinson, chap. ii.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ This sufficiently appears by the replies of the commissioners. Hutchinson, chap. ii.

advantage; promising you our constant protection and royal favour, in all things that may concern your safety, peace, and welfare *.”

This prince, who seems naturally to have possessed a good heart, as well as a sound head, though afterwards corrupted by pimps, priests, and parasites, sent a letter, at the same time, to the Massachusetts colony, expressive of his displeasure; and though Charles's temper was far from vindictive, those refractory zealots would certainly have felt the immediate effects of his resentment, had not certain unlooked-for circumstances intervened. An extract from the letter itself only can convey a proper idea of its import. “ His majesty having received a full information from his commissioners, who were sent by him into New England, of their reception and treatment in the several colonies and provinces of that plantation, in all which they have received great satisfaction, but only that of the Massachusetts; and he having likewise been fully informed of the account sent hither by the council of the Massachusetts, under the hand of the present governor, of all the passages and proceedings which have been there between the said commissioners and them from the time of their first coming over; upon all which it is very evident to his majesty, notwithstanding many expressions of great affection and duty, that those who govern the colony of the Massachusetts do believe that commission, given by his majesty to those commissioners upon so many and weighty reasons, and after so long deliberation, is an apparent violation of their charter, and tending to the dissolution of it, and that in truth they do, upon the matter believe, that his majesty hath no jurisdiction over them, but that all persons must acquiesce in their judgments and determinations, how unjust soever, and cannot appeal to his majesty; which would be a matter of such high consequence, as every man discerns where it would end: his majesty therefore, upon due consideration of the whole matter, thinks fit to recall his said commissioners, which he hath at this present done, to the end he may receive from them a more particular account of the state and condition of these his plantations, and of the particular differences and debates they have had with those of the Massachusetts, that so his majesty may pass his final judgment and determination thereupon †.”

Charles also commanded four or five persons to be sent to England, to answer for the conduct of the colonists; and informed them, “ that his majesty would then, in person, hear all the allegations, suggestions, or pretences to right or favour, that could be made on the behalf of the said colony, and would make it appear how far he was from the least thought of intruding or infringing, in the least degree, the royal charter granted to the said colony ‡.” But the Massachusetts magistrates, as they were conscious they did not deserve royal favour, had very little confidence in royal promises: they therefore declined compliance with the royal mandate; and excused themselves in a letter to the secretary of state from sending any persons over, by insinuating their doubts of

* Hutchinson, Append. No. XVIII.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

† Hutchinson, Append. No. XIX.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1666.

the authenticity of the king's letter, and their persuasion that the ablest of them could advance nothing, in their vindication, that had not been already declared *.

This was a new insult, but Charles being occupied about other matters, no farther step was taken against the colony at that time; and several circumstances, as already noticed, conspired to obliterate from his memory a disobedience that could not be forgiven by a sovereign, without the most humble submissions on the part of the subject. Sir Robert Carr, one of the commissioners, died the day after he arrived in England; and Cartwright, who had taken the minutes of their proceedings, and went home the most enraged, was taken by the Dutch in his passage, and lost all his papers. In the meantime the colony endeavoured, not only by repeated professions of loyalty, to appease his majesty, but purchased a ship-load of masts, and presented them to the king for the use of his royal navy. These Charles, always needy, very graciously received: and it being understood by the Massachusetts magistrates, that the English squadron in the West Indies was in want of provisions, a subscription and contribution was recommended through the colony for bringing in victuals to be sent to his majesty's fleet; and a liberal supply was procured. This generosity was so well taken, that a letter of thanks was sent to the general court under the king's sign manual †.

For ten years after the return of the commissioners, New England made a greater figure than perhaps at any other time, in comparison of the rest of the English settlements. The colony of New Plymouth flourished under the fostering smiles of royal favour; and Connecticut and Rhode Island, no less prosperous, had obtained royal charters, with very ample privileges ‡. The Massachusetts colony

* Hutchin'on, chap. ii.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Both these charters were granted by Charles II. in 1662. In the preamble to the Rhode Island charter, it is enumerated, That the inhabitants were people who left their settlements in the other colonies, because obliged thereto by their different sentiments in regard to religion; and that their design was to live quietly with liberty of conscience, and to convert the Indians. They were incorporated by the name of "the Governor and Company of Freemen of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in Naraganset Bay in New England." Their charter grants full liberty of conscience in religion, without excepting even Roman Catholics; a power to make a common seal, to call an assembly annually, consisting of a governor, ten assistants, and representatives of towns; whereof Newport not exceeding six, Providence four, Portsmouth four, Warwick four, and two for each other place or town, to be elected by the majority of freemen in each town: and the majority of the assembly, whereof the governor or deputy-governor, and six of the assistants at least to be seven, have power to make freemen, nominate officers, and enact laws, not repugnant to the laws of England; to determine what towns have power to send representatives, appoint courts of judicature, pardon criminals, and to make purchases from the native Indians. Douglass's Summary, part II. sect. x. Connecticut was incorporated, at the suit of nineteen principal inhabitants, by the name of *the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America*, with perpetual succession, to purchase lands and chattels, and them to lease or alien as corporations in England may do, with a common seal: and there shall be elected out of the freemen one governor, one deputy-governor, and twelve assistants, the governor to have power at any time to call an assembly; two general assemblies to be held annually, on the second Thursday in October and the second Thursday of May, and to consist of the assistants and deputies, not exceeding two from one place, chosen by the freemen of

colony, in the full enjoyment of its own liberties and immunities, governed without opposition the country of New Hampshire and the province of Main, and was beginning settlements even farther eastward. The French were removed from its neighbourhood on the one side, and the Dutch and Swedes on the other. Its trade was as extensive as the people could wish. No custom house was established. The acts of the twelfth and thirteenth year of the reign of Charles II. for regulating the plantation-trade, were in force; but the governors, whose business it was to carry them into execution, were annually to be elected by the people, whose interest it was that they should not be observed. Some of the magistrates and principal merchants grew very rich, and a spirit of industry and economy prevailed in the colony*.

But in the midst of this prosperity, a confederacy was formed among the natives, which endangered the very existence of the New England settlements. The English, before their arrival in North America, had such exalted ideas of the sachems, that, at the first interviews with them, they were treated with some degree of that respect which would have been required by the sovereignty of a petty state in Europe; but their own want of enterprise, and the little authority which they had over their subjects, soon rendered them contemptible. The rudeness of the Indian weapons, and an acquaintance with their method of fighting, made even their ferocity be disregarded; and the quarrels in which they were always engaged among themselves, proved a further security to the colonists, who endeavoured on the one hand, to prevent an open war, and on the other, to keep up so much contention as to prevent a combination, and to make an appeal to the English as umpires, necessary from time to time.

Soon after the death of Massasoit, sachem of the Pokanokets, whom we have already had occasion to mention, his eldest son, Alexander, was suspected of plotting against the English; was seized at a hunting-house, by Mr. Winslow of New Plymouth, and carried before the governor. This insult raised his indignation to such a pitch as to occasion a fever, which put an end at once to his life and his machinations. Philip, his brother, a brave and high spirited young prince, succeeded him in the dignity of sachem; and though the jealousies of the colonists, and the necessities of his situation obliged him to submit to several disadvantageous treaties with the English, he still meditated vengeance in his heart †.

In

each place; and these general assemblies, of which the governor, deputy-governor, and six of the assistants at least to be seven, may admit freemen, constitute officers, erect judicatories, make reasonable laws, not contrary to the laws of England, and settle forms of magistracy and magistrates, that our said people may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, that their good life and orderly conversation may win and invite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind; this, with the free profession of the adventurers, being the only and principal end of this plantation." Douglass, part II. sect. xi.

* Josselyn's Voyage to New England. Hutchinson, chap. ii.

† Even in his submission, the haughty spirit of Philip discovered itself. When examined before the governor and council at Boston, in 1771, touching his subjection to New Plymouth, he replied, That his predecessors had been friendly with the Plymouth governors, and that both he

In order to accomplish that vengeance, as well as to free his country from the dominion of strangers, he concerted a league with the Naraganfets, Nipnets, and all the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood of New England. The Naraganfets engaged to bring four thousand men into the field; but these could not be assembled immediately. The English constantly were upon the watch. Some fire-arms had been taken from the Indians; and to provide arms, ammunition, and provisions, while under suspicion, without exposing themselves to discovery, required both time and address.

But fortunately for the English, Philip by listening to the dictates of private revenge precipitated both his own people and his allies, into a war, before they were prepared for it*. John Sufaman, a praying Indian, had been bred up in the profession of the Christian religion; was some time at Harvard college, and afterwards employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, but upon some misdemeanour, fled to Philip, who made him his secretary, chief counsellor, and confidant. After he had remained some years with that prince, Mr. Elliot, his spiritual father, prevailed with him to return to the Christian Indians at Natick, where he manifested public repentance for his apostacy, became a preacher, and conformed more to the English manners than any other Indian either before or since. In the year 1674, Sufaman, on what occasion we are not told, went to Namasket or Middleborough, where he fell into company with some of Philip's Indians, and with Philip himself, and discovered by several circumstances, that the Indians were plotting against the English. He acquainted the governor of what he had observed, and told him, that if he should be known to be the informer, it would cost him his life. In this he was not deceived.

Sufaman soon after meeting some Indians upon a frozen pond or lake, they knocked him down, and put him under the ice, leaving his gun and hat above, to make the English believe that he fell in accidentally, and was drowned; but when the body was found, and taken up, the wounds appeared upon his head. An Indian happened to be upon a hill at a distance, and saw the murder committed. He concealed it for some time, but at length discovered it. The murderers were apprehended; tried upon the Indian's testimony, and other circumstances; convicted, and executed. Two of them denied the fact to the last; but the third, when he came to die, confessed that he was a spectator of the murder committed by the other two †.

Philip was enraged to see his subjects brought to punishment by the English laws, and for a crime in which, he supposed, they had no right to interest themselves. He considered Sufaman as a traitor and renegado, who had justly forfeited his life ‡. He took no pains to exculpate himself; but collecting what forces he and they had entered into several amicable agreements with that colony, but he knew not that they were subjects. Praying Indians, he added, were subject to the Massachusetts colony, and had officers and magistrates appointed; but they had no such thing with them, and therefore were not subjects. Hutchinson, chap. ii. from the Massachusetts Files.

* This was evident from the distraction of the Indians in all parts of New England, on the first news of the disturbance from Philip.

† Hutchinson, chap. ii.

‡ The Indians, as we have already seen, left murderers to the revenge of relations and friends, but punished traitors by public execution.

could, marched them up and down the country in arms. He was sensible that the murder had been committed by his orders, and doubted not but an attempt would be made against his life. The English of Plymouth, where the trial had been held, ordered a military watch in every town within their jurisdiction, but took no other notice of the Indians; hoping that Philip, when he perceived no measures were used for securing him, would lay aside his hostile appearance, and that the storm would blow over, as it had several times before. But the natives coming in to him from all quarters, inspired him with fresh courage; and he every where behaved with great insolence, threatening the English, killing their cattle, and at length riving their houses*.

The English were naturally prompted to repel such injuries, and that resistance furnished the Indians with a pretence for future violences: they attacked the people of Swanzey, as they were coming from public worship; killed and wounded several persons; and entering the town, murdered six more. Before this outrage, the Massachusetts colony had determined to raise an hundred men for the assistance of New Plymouth. It was thought advisable, however, first to send messengers to Philip, at Mount Hope, the seat of his government, in order to divert him, if possible, from his hostile designs. But the messengers seeing some of the Swanzey people lying murdered on the road, did not think it safe to advance any farther; and therefore returned with this intelligence, as fast as they could, to Boston. The alarm soon spread through the united colonies, and Philip found it necessary to quit his station at Mount Hope, leaving his country exposed to the ravages of the enemy. The Plymouth and Massachusetts forces, after scouring it almost without opposition, entered the country of the Naragansets; who favoured Philip in their hearts, and waited only a favourable opportunity to declare openly for him. Thither were sent commissioners from the different colonies; and the Naragansets seeing the sword hanging over them, were obliged to submit to such terms as the commissioners thought fit to impose.

The principal of these articles, signed by four sachems †, were, "That all and every of the said sachems shall, from time to time, carefully seize and deliver up, living or dead, all and every of sachem Philip's subjects, that shall come, or be found, within the precinct of any of their lands; that they shall with their utmost ability, use all acts of hostility against the said Philip and his subjects, until peace shall be concluded with the colonies; that all preparations for war, or acts of hostility against any of the English subjects, shall for the fu-

* He confessed that he meant to provoke the English to begin with him first. A whimsical opinion prevailed at that time, that the side which first did execution would finally be conquered. Hutchinson, chap. ii.

† They made their several marks, after the articles had been carefully interpreted to them, in presence of the commissioners.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1675.

ture cease, and that, instead thereof, their strength shall be used as a guard round about the Naraganset country, for the safety and security of the English inhabitants." For the faithful observance of this treaty, the four sachems delivered four of their kinsmen as hostages; and the commissioners engaged, in behalf of their several governments, "That if any of the said sachems shall seize and bring into any of the English governments, or to Mr. Smith, inhabitant of Naraganset, Philip sachem alive, he or they so delivering, shall receive as their reward forty trucking cloth coats; that, in case they bring him dead, they shall have twenty like good coats paid them; that for every living subject of the said Philip, so delivered, the deliverer shall receive two coats, and for every head one coat, as a gratuity for their service therein; making it appear to satisfaction, that the heads were of persons belonging to the enemy, and seized by those who deliver them*."

The morality of this treaty may well be questioned, but its policy cannot be doubted. As soon as it was finished, the English forces left the Naraganset country, and came to Taunton; where being informed that Philip was in a swamp at Pocasset, they marched thither, and resolutely entered it. They found about one hundred houses empty; the enemy having deserted them, and retired deeper into the swamp. The English followed them, but in disorder, which was inevitable in such a service. They found that they were in danger from one another, every man firing at each bush he saw shake; and night coming on, it was judged necessary to retreat, with the loss of fifteen men.

This disappointment encouraged the Indians, in other parts of New England, to follow Philip's example, and begin hostilities against the English. Some tribes had begun before. The Nipnets had killed four or five people belonging to the Massachusetts colony; and the governor and council in hopes of reclaiming them, sent Capt. Hutchinson, one of the commissioners, with twenty horsemen, to Brookfield, where there was to be a general rendezvous of the Nipnet tribe. The inhabitants of Brookfield had been deluded with the promise of a treaty, at a place agreed upon some time before. A party of them accompanied Capt. Hutchinson thither; but not finding the Nipnets there, they rode forward four or five miles, towards the chief town of those savages. When they came to a place called Meminisset, a narrow passage between a steep hill and a thick swamp, they were ambushed by two or three hundred Indians, who shot eight of the company, and mortally wounded three more, among which last number was Capt. Hutchinson. The rest escaped through a bye-path to Brookfield. The Indians pursued them, and stocked into the town; but the inhabitants being all armed had assembled in the principal house. There they had the mortification to see all their dwellings, with their barns and out houses burnt. At length their common sanctuary was surrounded, and a variety of attempts were made to set it on fire. One promised success. Having filled a cart with hemp, and other combustible

* Hutchinson, chap. ii.

materials, which they kindled, the Indians were pushing it towards this only remaining house, when a violent shower of rain fell suddenly, and happily extinguished the flame *.

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1675.

Meantime major Willard, an English officer, who had been sent with a party after some other Indians, heard of the distress of Brookfield, and hastened to its relief. Though the Indian scouts discovered him, and fired their alarm guns; yet the main body, in the height of their tumultuous joy, always accompanied with a horrid noise, heard nothing of them, so that Willard was enabled to join the besieged without any loss. The Indians were sensible, that the enterprise would now be more difficult; but willing to make a last effort, they poured in several volleys of shot, in order to cover an assault, which not succeeding, they withdrew to their fastnesses, after destroying or carrying off all the horses and cattle they could find. As their numbers were much superior to those of the English, it was not thought advisable to pursue them.

The escape of Philip from the swamp at Pocasset, in the face of the Massachusetts forces, was less excusable. The colonists, not yet accustomed to fighting, were afraid, it should seem, to attack that desperate chieftain, after the losses they had sustained in skirmishing. Philip joined the Nipmets, in a swamp ten or twelve miles from Brookfield. About the same time the Indians upon Connecticut river, near Hadly, Hatfield, and Deerfield, began their hostilities, and the English were worsted in several skirmishes. The commanders in that part of the country, therefore, finding they could do nothing by sending out parties, resolved to garrison their principal towns, and to unite their forces. With this view, they proposed to establish a magazine of provisions at Hadley; and Capt. Lothrop, with eighty soldiers, was appointed to guard three thousand bushels of corn from Deerfield. In their way they were beset by seven or eight hundred Indians, and all the English but seven or eight men, were cut off.

August 5.

This was a severe blow, and was but poorly repaired by the arrival of Capt. Mosely and major Treat, who put the enemy to flight. Another disaster followed it, and threatened still more fatal consequences. A body of Indians, who had a fort about a mile from Springfield, had hitherto professed great friendship for the English; but the Pocanokets, or Philip's Indians, prevailed with them to join in a plot for the destruction of the town, and to admit in the night three hundred of that hostile tribe. Fortunately the plot had been discovered the

* Hubbard. The New England brethren, no doubt, ascribed this fortunate incident to a particular interposition of Heaven; and did enthusiasm inspire only such pious credulities, the entreaty would be truly worthy of envy, and his very illusions entitled to our praise. The belief not only of an all-seeing eye, and an ear above at all times willing to listen to human petitions, but of an Almighty arm always ready to help, is the most consolatory doctrine, after the knowledge of a Mediator between God and his offending creatures, that ever was promulgated to mankind. The sceptic and the satirist may treat it with derision; but the true philosopher, though he will be far from pushing this doctrine to extremities, will be as little inclined, as the real Christian, to conclude with the dogmatical bard, that the Creator of the universe takes no particular interest in human concerns, but beholds with equal indifference

“ A hero perish or a sparrow fall.”

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1675.

night before, by one Top, a Windfor Indian. In consequence of this information, most of the inhabitants were enabled to save their lives; but they had the cruel mortification to see their houses and furniture consumed by the flames, before the sufficient forces could come from Westfield, Hadley, and other places to their assistance*.

On the arrival of the Connecticut and Massachusetts forces, the Indians quitted the neighbourhood of Springfield, and withdrew to the Naragansets country, their general rendezvous. The Naragansets, contrary to their engagements, had received and cherished Philip's and other Indians hostile to the English; and it was not doubted but some of that nation had assisted the rest in their violences. Winter was now approaching, and if the Naragansets should openly engage in the confederacy in the spring, there would be no possibility of resisting them; especially when the English forces were scattered over the face of the country, in order to combat the other tribes. One company of soldiers had wasted away after another, during the late campaign, and there was no reason to hope for greater success next summer. The commissioners of the united colonies therefore agreed to raise immediately one thousand men, and to march during the winter, into the Naraganset country. The Massachusetts colony was to raise five hundred and twenty-seven men, and the other colonies the remainder. Mr. Winslow, governor of New Plymouth, a man of spirit and resolution, was appointed general in this expedition.

On the eighth of December, 1675, the Massachusetts forces marched from Boston, and were soon after joined by the Plymouth men. The Connecticut men joined them on the 18th, at Pettyquanscot. The evening and night were stormy, and the men had no covering. At break of day they began their march through the snow for fourteen or fifteen miles. About one o'clock they came to the edge of the swamp where the enemy lay. They had met with an Indian, who being disgusted with the rest, offered himself as a guide. The confederate Indians were apprised of the armament coming against them, and had fortified themselves with all the strength and skill of which they were capable. The English fell in suddenly and unexpectedly, notwithstanding their guide, with this sort of the enemy, and neither drew up in order of battle, nor consulted where or how to assault. Some Indians appearing at the edge of the swamp, these who were in the front of the army in the march, fired upon them. They returned the fire, and fled. The whole English army entered the swamp, following the Indians to their fortress, which was upon an eminence in the midst of the swamp, pilladoed all round, and within a thick hedge. At one corner only was a gap, where the breast-work was not above four or five feet high; but over that passage was placed a block house. At this, and no other place, the English must enter, and thither it should appear, they were conducted by their guide, or as they themselves represent it, by the Great Disposer of all events. The captains advanced at the head of their men, and Johnson and Davenport, the two foremost, were shot dead at the entrance;

* Mather. Neal. Hutchinson. Letter to London.

four others, Gardener, Gallop, Siely, and Marthal, also lost their lives. As soon as the forces were entered, they attacked the Indians with great ardour, and met with a suitable reception. The Indians fought desperately, and beat the English out of the fort. But this did not terminate the contest. The English returned to the charge; and after a struggle of two or three hours, drove the enemy with great slaughter from their works; set fire to the wigwams or houses, which were upwards of five hundred in number, and in the general conflagration perished about three hundred old men, women, and children. Seven hundred Indians fell in the combat, and near four hundred died of their wounds, and in consequence of the hardships to which they were exposed. The English had eighty-five men killed, and an hundred and forty-five wounded, many of whom died before the army reached their quarters, by reason of the coldness of the night *.

Notwithstanding this disaster, the Indians were soon in a condition to act offensively; and during the months of February and March, they cut off several parties of the English, and harassed them in every quarter. Where Philip spent the winter was never certainly known. He knew of the premium that was set upon his head, and therefore disguised himself. But the prosperous state of his affairs induced him again to appear in his proper person. That prosperity, however, was but of short duration. The Connecticut men, with some friendly Indians, under George Denison, of Stonington, killed and took prisoners forty-four of the enemy in the beginning of April; and before the end of the month, the same commander, took and slew seventy-six more of the enemy, without the loss of a single man in either of these exploits. Between those two successful actions happened a very unfortunate one for the Massachusetts colony. A captain and fifty men, who had been sent from Boston to relieve Sudbury, were entirely cut off. During the months of May and June, the Indians appeared every where in larger bodies than formerly, but their vigour began to abate; their distresses for want of provisions and ammunition increased, and, to complete their confusion, the Mohawks fell upon them, and killed fifty of their best men †.

In the mean time Philip, the soul of the war, took possession once more of Mount Hope; and the number of Indians that daily resorted to him, filled the neighbouring settlements with consternation. The Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies ordered their forces to attack him. He did not wait their arrival. Like a true Indian, he placed no glory in maintaining his ground. The Massachusetts people missed him, but returned to Boston with an hundred and fifty prisoners. The Indians were now so much reduced, that they were continually coming in

* Hubbard. Mather. Hutchinson.

† It is said that Philip fell upon a party of Mohawks, murdered them, and reported that they were slain by the English. By this means he hoped to engage that powerful people in the confederacy; but unfortunately for Philip, one of the mass crew party happened early to be severely wounded, and escaping to his countrymen, informed them of the truth. That rage which they had conceived against the Indians, was turned with additional fury upon the guilty, as Philip and his people early felt. Mather. Hutchinson.

BOOK IV.

A. D. 1676.

August 22.

and surrendering themselves, upon promise of mercy. Two hundred in one week came to Plymouth for this purpose. Philip was chased from swamp to swamp, escaping often by the greatest hazard; now losing one chief counsellor, then another, till he was robbed of every friend and adviser. At last he himself was slain. One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had fled to the English, shot him through the heart, as he was flying from a swamp near Mount Hope. Instead of his head, the victor cut off his right hand, which had a remarkable scar, well known to the English*.

This was a final blow to the already expiring hopes of the Indians. They had now no centre of union, nor any fixed purpose; and being chased from fastness to fastness, without any means of subsistence, they were all obliged either to surrender themselves, or abandon their country. Their doom was peculiarly severe. In all the promises of mercy, those who had been principal actors in any violence against the English were excepted, and none had any promise made of any thing more than their lives. A great many of the chiefs were therefore executed at Boston and Plymouth, and most of the rest were sold and shipped off to Bermudas, and other parts, as slaves †. New England has never since been in any danger from the intermixed Indians.

About the same time that Philip began his hostilities against the colony of New Plymouth, the Abnauques, Trenteens, or Eastern Indians, were insulting the English settled in New Hampshire, and the province of Main. They began with robbing the colonists as they passed in their boats, and plundering their houses of liquors, ammunition, and such moveables as they could easily carry off. But in September 1675, they came to the house of one Wakely, an old man in Casco Bay, and murdered him, together with his wife and four children, and carried four of his grand-children away captives. They next fell upon Saco, Scarborough, and Kittery; at each of which places they committed horrid devastations, burning the houses, and killing the inhabitants. They afterwards proceeded to Piscataqua, making spoil upon the inhabitants on the branches of that river; namely, at Oyler bay, Salmon-falls, Dover, Exeter, and other places, burning the houses, and killing more or less of the inhabitants of every place. Meantime the Massachusetts government, under whose jurisdiction they were, being fully occupied in repelling the attempts of Philip and his associates, could do nothing more during the summer than to commit the care of the eastern plantations to the chief officers of the militia. In the autumn, forces were ready to march to their assistance, but were prevented by the severity of the weather, which set in sooner than usual. The Indians of those places, however, at that time sued for peace; and though no formal treaty was concluded, an end was put to hostilities, by a kind of tacit consent, on both sides ‡.

While the New England colonies were thus contending in America, with the natives, for the possession of the soil, complaints were made in the mother-coun-

* Hutchinson, chap. ii.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Hutchinson, chap. ii.

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1676.

try, which struck at the powers of government, and finally issued in a revocation of their several charters. One Edward Randolph was sent over to the Massachusetts colony with a letter from his majesty, and copies of the petitions and complaints of Gorges and Mason. The king commanded that agents should be sent over to appear before him, within six months after the date of the letter, fully instructed and empowered to answer. William Stoughton and Peter Bulkeley, two of the magistrates, were chosen for the purpose; and soon after their arrival in England, a hearing was had before the lords of the committee of council, upon the principal points of their agency, the claims of Gorges and Mason, both which were decided in favour of the petitioners. The province of Main was confirmed to Gorges and his heirs, both as to soil and government: but in order to put an end to all further disputes, as well as to gratify many of the inhabitants, one John Uther was employed by the Massachusetts colony to purchase the right and interest of Gorges's heirs; which he did for twelve hundred pounds sterling, and assigned it over to the governor and company. This, instead of conciliating matters, gave further offence to the crown. In regard to Mason's claim, it was determined, that the Massachusetts colony had a right to three miles north of Merrymack river, following the course of that river so far as it extends; but that the expressions in the charter do not warrant the over-reaching of those limits, by imaginary lines or bounds[†].

A. D. 1677.

To enter into a nice disquisition concerning those bounds, would be inconsistent with the nature of this work. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that a commission was issued by the crown for the government of New Hampshire, and that the Massachusetts colony forebore all further jurisdiction in that province, but continued to exercise jurisdiction over the province of Main, as well as over the towns of Salisbury, Amesbury, and Haverhill, extending more than three miles beyond Merrymack river; and consequently, according to the decision, without the limits of the patent.

A. D. 1679.

Besides this controversy about territory and jurisdiction, the agents had other complaints to answer. Randolph, who the people of New England said, went up and down seeking to devour them, represented the colony, on his return to the mother-country, as refusing obedience to the acts for regulating the trade of the plantations. This complaint was but too just; and Mr. Stoughton, one of the agents, was so sensible of it, that he wrote to the Massachusetts colony, "the country's not taking notice of these acts of navigation to observe them, hath been the most unhappy neglect that we could have fallen into; for, more and more every day, we find it most certain, that without a fair compliance in that matter, there can be nothing expected but a total breach †."

The Quakers also renewed their complaints against their persecutors. In the distress of the Massachusetts colony, in consequence of the Indian war, among other sins which were concluded to be the cause of it, the toleration shewn to Quakers was thought to be one: the court therefore made a law, "that every

[†] Hutchinson, chap. ii.

† *Id.*

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1679.

person found at a Quaker's meeting, shall be apprehended *ex officio*, by the constable; and by warrant from a magistrate or commissioner, shall be committed to the house of correction, and there have the discipline of the house applied to them, and be kept to work, with bread and water for three days, and then released; or else shall pay five pounds in money, as a fine to the country, for such offence: and all constables neglecting their duty, in not faithfully executing this order, shall incur the penalty of five pounds upon conviction, one-third whereof to the informer*." This law, in vindication of which nothing can be urged, but the infirmity of the fanatical mind, while labouring under the apprehensions of divine displeasure, lost the colony many valuable friends.

Several addresses were sent to the king, from the general court, while the agents were in England, and several new laws were made, in order to remove some of the accusations against the colony; particularly one to punish high treason with death, and another requiring all persons, above sixteen years of age, to take the oath of allegiance, on pain of fine and imprisonment, "the governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates, having first taken the same, *without any reservation*, in words sent to them by his majesty's orders:" and the king's-arms were ordered to be carved, and put up in the court house †. There were great concessions for such a stiff-necked and perverse generation; but they found it difficult in swallowing an oath of allegiance, in words pricking to their bosoms than in conforming to the laws of trade, or acts of navigation. They "apprehended them to be an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of his majesty in the colony, they *not being represented in parliament* ‡; and according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England were bounded within the four seas, and did not reach America: however, as his majesty had signified his pleasure, that those acts should be observed in the Massachusetts, they had made provision, *by a law of the colony*, that they should be strictly attended to from time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade, and was a great damage to his majesty's plantation §."

* At the same time that this punishment was provided for Quakers, other provoking evils were enumerated; particularly "pride, in mens wearing long hair, like womens hair, o hers wearing borders of hair, and cutting, curling, and immodest laying out their hair, principally in the younger sort." For such offence grand juries were to present, and the court to punish all offenders by admonition, fine, or correction; and for "excess in apparel, strange new fashions, naked breasts and arms, and pinched, superfluous ribbands on hair and apparel," the court was to fine offenders at discretion. Many other "loose and sinful customs," especially that of "men and women riding together from town to town, under pretence of hearing sermons," were prohibited under severe penalties. Hutchinson, chap. ii.

† Massachusetts Rec.

‡ Dr. Price seems to have caught his spiritual reasoning from this and other resolutions of the Massachusetts court; but neither he, nor any other seditious writer, even during the present contest, has ventured to call in question the right of Great Britain to impose commercial regulation, or extend the laws of trade to the colonies: yet here the want of representation, now applied only to taxation, is urged against such right. Wherever men are interested to elude the laws of their country, they will find arguments against their being put in force.

§ Hutchinson, chap. ii.

This law or resolution, which is a singular instance of contempt of royal authority, and shews the mistaken idea that the colonists had of the relation in which they stood with respect to the mother-country, was brought as a chief charge against the colony, when their charter was vacated by a writ of *quo warranto*. The particular steps that led to this decision, it is unnecessary here to enumerate. It is sufficient to observe that the colony was obstinate, the court of England arbitrary, and that judgement was given for non-appearance. Writs were also issued against Connecticut and Rhode Island; but they not chusing to stand suit with his majesty, submitted themselves entirely to his royal pleasure. Judgment was therefore never passed against them. New Plymouth had no charter to surrender. High as that colony stood in the favour of Charles, and though he gave them a grant of the country of Mount Hope, which had been conquered from Philip, they could never obtain a charter*; and if it is considered how much his dignity had been insulted by a mistaken construction of charter-privileges, pleaded in opposition to his lawful authority, this backwardness in the king to part with power, however well he might be disposed towards his subjects, will occasion little surprize.

A. D. 1684.

Charles II. died soon after that arbitrary decision, and was succeeded by his brother, James II. who appointed Sir Edmund Andros, formerly governor of New York, to the government of New England. The beginning of Sir Edmund's administration was mild, and tended greatly to quiet the minds of the people. He made high professions of regard for the public good, and the welfare of the inhabitants of all conditions: he directed the judges to administer justice according to the custom of the place; ordered the established rules to be observed, as to rates and taxes, and that all the colony-laws not inconsistent with his commission should be in force. The greater part of his council were New England men, and though they had been of the moderate and less popular party, yet wished well to the public interest. But these men were little consulted: many of them retired in disgust; and Sir Edmund guided entirely by his creatures, and his own tyrannical disposition, soon rendered himself universally odious.

A. D. 1686.

One of the first stretches of the governor's authority, was restraint upon the liberty of the press. On this account, however, there was not so much reason to complain as may at first be imagined; for strange as it may seem in a free country, the press was under restraint during the former administration. The same zeal that led the New England brethren to persecute, led them to keep a watchful eye over the press. It had therefore only changed its keeper. A more grievous restraint was feared: it was whispered that the meeting houses would be shut up, unless the church of England service was there performed, and that public worship in the congregational way would not be tolerated. But king James's famous proclamation for a general liberty of conscience, throughout all his dominions, soon freed the people from their apprehensions on that article. The intention of this proclamation was to favour popery; but few of the colonists being able to discern

A. D. 1687.

* Hutchinson, chap. ii.

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A. D. 1687.

that distant purpose, gratitude for the present indulgence induced several churches to set apart days of thanksgiving, for his majesty's gracious declaration, and many congregations agreed to address the king on the subject *.

But while the people of New England were thus permitted, from motives so little honourable to the crown, to enjoy their religious privileges, their civil rights were most shamefully invaded. The charter being vacated, the people were told, that the titles to their estates were of no value; especially as the general court had neglected to make their grants under the colony seal. This was represented as a defect so capital, that neither possession nor improvement could remedy it. Notice was however given, that all who would acknowledge the insufficiency of their title derived from the former government, by petitioning for new patents, should be quieted upon reasonable terms. The fees for such patents appear to have been arbitrary: some are said to have amounted to fifty pounds; and had the titles of all estates been questioned at once, it is computed that the whole personal property in the colony would not have been sufficient to defray the expence of the new deeds †.

This was an intolerable grievance; but it was not the only one to which the people of New England were exposed, during a reign justly held in detestation both in the colonies and the mother-country. The governor, with four or five of his council, imposed what taxes they thought proper on the inhabitants. That was perfect despotism, and must have been afflictive as well as oppressive to a set of men accustomed to the most unlimited freedom. Though they had no hopes of a general restitution of their charter-privileges, they thought themselves entitled to the liberties and immunities of free and natural-born English subjects, and consequently that no money ought to be raised from them except by their representatives; but they were told by one of the council, that "they must not think the *privileges* of Englishmen would follow them to the end of the world ‡." They applied, however, to the king for permission to elect a house of representatives. Instead of giving them a direct answer, James assured them, that he would take as much care of New as of Old England; and there is no doubt but he meant to have brought his subjects in both, under the same absolute dominion.

Happily the despotism of James was of short continuance. He advanced towards it by too rapid strides to render it durable. The minds of men could not acquiesce in a change so sudden and violent; and information was no sooner received in the colonies of the discontents of the people of England, and the landing of the prince of Orange, than the citizens of Boston flew to arms; seized Sir Edmund Andros, the obnoxious governor, together with about fifty of his adherents, and reinstated

* Douglass. Hutchinson.

† Hutchinson, chap. ii.

‡ This reply must have been very cutting to the New England brethren; who could not fail to consider it as a retort, though probably not intended, upon their former conduct, in pleading an exemption from the *laws* of England, on account of the remoteness of their situation, "in their ends of the earth," and beyond "the four seas." It might also recall to their minds the words of Clarendon, that they would find their happiness to consist in a due obedience to the English crown.

the old magistrates. The revolution, which was by this time completed in England, secured the insurgents from all danger of punishment; and though William shewed little disposition to restore the old charter, he granted the Massachusetts colony power to exercise government according to it, until such time as a new one should be granted. "Trusty and well beloved," says he, "we greet you well. Whereas we are informed by several addresses from the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and particularly by the address coming to us in the name of the governor and council and convention of the representatives of the people of the said colony, that they had joyfully received the notice of our happy accession to the throne of these kingdoms, and caused the proclamation thereof to be issued throughout the said territory; we have therefore thought fit hereby to signify our royal approbation of the same, and gracious acceptance of your readiness in performing that which was necessary, on your parts, for the preservation of the peace and quiet of the said colony: and whereas you give us to understand, that you have taken upon you the present care of the government, until you should receive our order therein, we do hereby authorise you to continue in our name, your care in the administration thereof and preservation of the peace, until we shall have taken such resolutions, and given such directions for the more orderly settlement of the said government, as shall most conduce to our service, and the security of our subjects within that colony *."

Encouraged by this assurance, and willing to ingratiate themselves yet farther into the favour of the king, now engaged in war with France, the people of New England undertook to reduce Canada and Acadie, or Nova Scotia. Sir William Phips, a New England man, who had acquired a great fortune by fishing up the wreck of a Spanish galleon, was intrusted with the command of the expedition against Nova Scotia, which succeeded. This acquisition was made with so much ease, that the colonists were confirmed in the prosecution of their design against Canada. A vessel was accordingly dispatched to England, in order to request a supply of arms and ammunition, and a number of the king's frigates to attack the French by sea, while the colony forces should act by land; and though the distracted state of the mother-country, did not admit of any attention being given to such a proposal, the colonies did not lay aside their design. Connecticut and New York engaged to furnish a body of men, and the Massachusetts colony was the soul of the enterprise. Two thousand men were expected to march by Lake Champlain, and attack Montreal, at the same time that the forces by sea should besiege Quebec. But through various blunders, which we shall afterwards have occasion to notice, this expedition utterly failed. The New England forces returned, much diminished, without attempting any thing, and the Massachusetts colony had the mortification to find itself loaded with a vast debt, at the same time that its reputation was tarnished †.

While the New England colonies were labouring under affliction and distress, in consequence of this disastrous expedition, their enemies in the mother-

* Hutchinson, chap. ii.

† Id. ibid.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1690.

country, took advantage of a subject, in itself so grievous, to arraign their government; to the bad administration of which all these evils were imputed. As a further misfortune, the colony agents were divided among themselves. On the opinion of eminent lawyers, however, Connecticut and Rhode Island resumed their former government; no judgment, as already observed, having passed against their charters. Lawyers were also consulted in regard to the Massachusetts charter; which not only the body of the people, but likewise their agents, Mr. Increase Mather, and Elisha Cooke, were outrageously zealous to have restored. But on examining the old charter, it appeared to Sir John Somers the attorney-general, and also to Mr. Hooke, a noted countessor consulted for the colony, that a mere restoration of that charter would not answer the purpose of the petitioners; for although it gave them power to imprison, or inflict punishment in criminal cases, according to the course of corporations in England, capital cases not being expressly mentioned, they had no power of life and death; that no power was given to erect judicatories, or courts for probate of wills, or with admiralty jurisdiction; nor was any power given to constitute a house of deputies or representatives, to impose taxes on the inhabitants, or to incorporate towns, colleges, or schools*, all which powers and privileges they had nevertheless usurped; and that if the judgment against the charter should be reversed, and the government continue to exercise, as before the *quo warranto*, those powers and privileges, which only could render their administration competent, a new writ would issue against them in Westminster Hall, and judgment follow thereon, of such a nature as to leave no room for a *Writ of Error* †.

This representation of the matter, and certain information, that the king was determined to reserve to himself the appointment of the governor at least, induced Mr. Mather, the principal agent, to petition for a new charter with more ample privileges. A new charter was granted; but the crown reserved to itself so many prerogatives, that Mr. Cooke utterly refused to accept of it, and Mr. Mather was so much dissatisfied, when it was first presented to him, that he declared he would sooner part with life than subscribe to such conditions. His rage, however, had time to cool. He was told that the consent of the agents was

* That this opinion is just will be evident to any one who shall examine the charter; yet we are told by the celebrated author of the *Account of the European Settlements in America*, that this charter contained "privileges too extensive for a colony, and what left little more than a nominal dependence on the mother-country, and the crown itself." A habit of uttering bold assertions in the House of Commons, in order to brow beat a minister, or confound a clamorous opponent, only could have led this intelligent writer into so unaccountable a declaration. Had the Massachusetts colony possessed the powers which it assumed, and the privileges which it claimed, there would have been some foundation for this opinion; but the powers of government actually secured to it by charter, were only fit for a society immediately under a superior, civil and criminal jurisdiction. Nor did the charter grant any particular immunities, except an exemption from *taxes* and *customs*, both in the colony and the mother-country, for the first seven years; which plainly implies, that they might afterwards be demanded, and that the crown had reserved a right to impose them. See the charter itself, page 380 of this volume.

† Hutchinson, chap. ii.

not required; that they were not plenipotentiaries from a sovereign state, but the officers of a corporation soliciting the king in behalf of their fellow-subjects; and if they declined submitting to his majesty's pleasure, he would settle the country without them, and they might attend to the consequences*.

The only question with the agents now was, whether to submit to the new settlement in its present form, or to signify to the ministers of state, that they would rather have no charter at all. Mr. Cooke adhered to his former resolution; but Mr. Mather having recovered his temper, was sensible, on a second examination, that the new charter was in many respects to be preferred to the old. That every one, however, may form his own opinion of this matter, an abstract of the new charter is here presented. After a recital of the former grant or charter, it proceeds thus:—"Whereas the said governor and company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, by virtue of the said letters patent, are become very populous and well settled; and whereas the said charter was vacated by a judgment in Chancery in Trinity-Term, anno 1684, the agents of that colony have petitioned us to be incorporated by a new charter; and also to the end that our colony of New Plymouth in New England may be brought under such a form of government, as may put them in a better condition of defence, we do by these presents incorporate into one real province, by the name of THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND, viz. the former colony of Massachusetts Bay; the colony of New Plymouth; the Province of Main; the territory of Acadia or Nova Scotia, and the tract lying between Nova Scotia and the province of Main; the north half of the isles of Shoals; the isles of Caparock, and Nantucket near Cape Cod; and all islands, within ten leagues directly opposite to the main land, within the said bounds: and to our subjects, inhabitants of the said lands, and their successors, we confirm all lands and hereditaments formerly granted by any general court to persons, bodies corporate, towns, villages, colleges, or schools, saving the claims of prior grantees; nor shall former grants or conveyances be prejudiced for want of form. The governor, lieutenant-governor, and secretary, to be of the king's nomination; a general court or assembly to be convened the last Wednesday in May yearly, consisting of the governor, council, and representatives of the towns or places, not exceeding two for one place; the qualification for an elector forty shillings freehold, or fifty pounds sterling personal estate: and the general assembly shall elect twenty-eight counsellors, whereof eighteen shall be from the old colony of Massachusetts Bay, four from Plymouth late colony, three from the Province of Main, one from the territory of Sagadahock, and two at large. The governor, with consent of the council, to appoint the officers in the courts of justice; all persons born in the province, or in the passage to and from it to be deemed natural-born subjects of England; liberty of conscience to be granted to all Christians except papists; the general assembly to constitute judicatories for all causes civil or criminal,

* Hutchinson, chap. ii.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1691.

capital or not capital. Probate of wills and granting of administrations, to be in the governor and council; in personal actions exceeding the value of three hundred pounds sterling, an appeal may be had to the king in council, provided the appeal be made within fourteen days after judgment, but execution not to be stayed. The general assembly may make laws, if not repugnant to the laws of England; appoint all civil officers, except the officers of the courts of justice, and impose taxes, to be disposed of by the governor in council: but the governor shall have a negative in all acts and elections, and all acts of assembly shall be sent home to the king in council for approbation. The governor to command the militia; to use the law martial in time of actual war; to erect forts and demolish them at pleasure: but the law martial shall not be executed without the consent of the council. When there is no governor, the lieutenant-governor to act; and when both are wanting, the majority of the council to have the power. The admiralty jurisdiction to belong to the king, or the lords of the Admiralty; and all trees fit for masts of twenty-four inches diameter and upwards, twelve inches from the ground, growing upon land not heretofore granted to any private persons, are referred to the crown*.”

Such is the substance of the new charter of Massachusetts Bay; and the nomination of the officers referred to the crown being left for the first time to the agents, or rather to Mr. Mather, he made choice of Sir William Phips as governor. Sir William arrived at Boston with the charter in May 16.2, and immediately issued writs for a general assembly, which met on the eighth of June following; and although a party was formed that opposed submission to the charter, a majority of the court wisely and thankfully accepted it, and appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, for “granting a late arrival to his excellency the governor and the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavoured the service of this people, and have brought over with them a settlement of government, in which their majesties have graciously given us distinguishing marks of their royal favour and goodness †.”

From this time to the conclusion of the late war, the alterations in the government of New England were very inconsiderable. New Hampshire continued immediately under the crown; Connecticut and Rhode Island, under their original charter-governments; and the people of Massachusetts Bay, happy under this new charter, found no reason, after the experience of seventy years, to envy their neighbours, or conclude that king William had dealt hardly with them, though he certainly took care to mark more distinctly the dependence of the colony on the mother-country, as well as to preserve that dependence, by retaining the power of appointing the principal officers. In other respects, he circumscribed only their imaginary, and enlarged their real privileges. An increase of commerce, population, and wealth, was the desirable consequence of these privileges: what will be the consequence of aspiring at greater, or of an attempt to

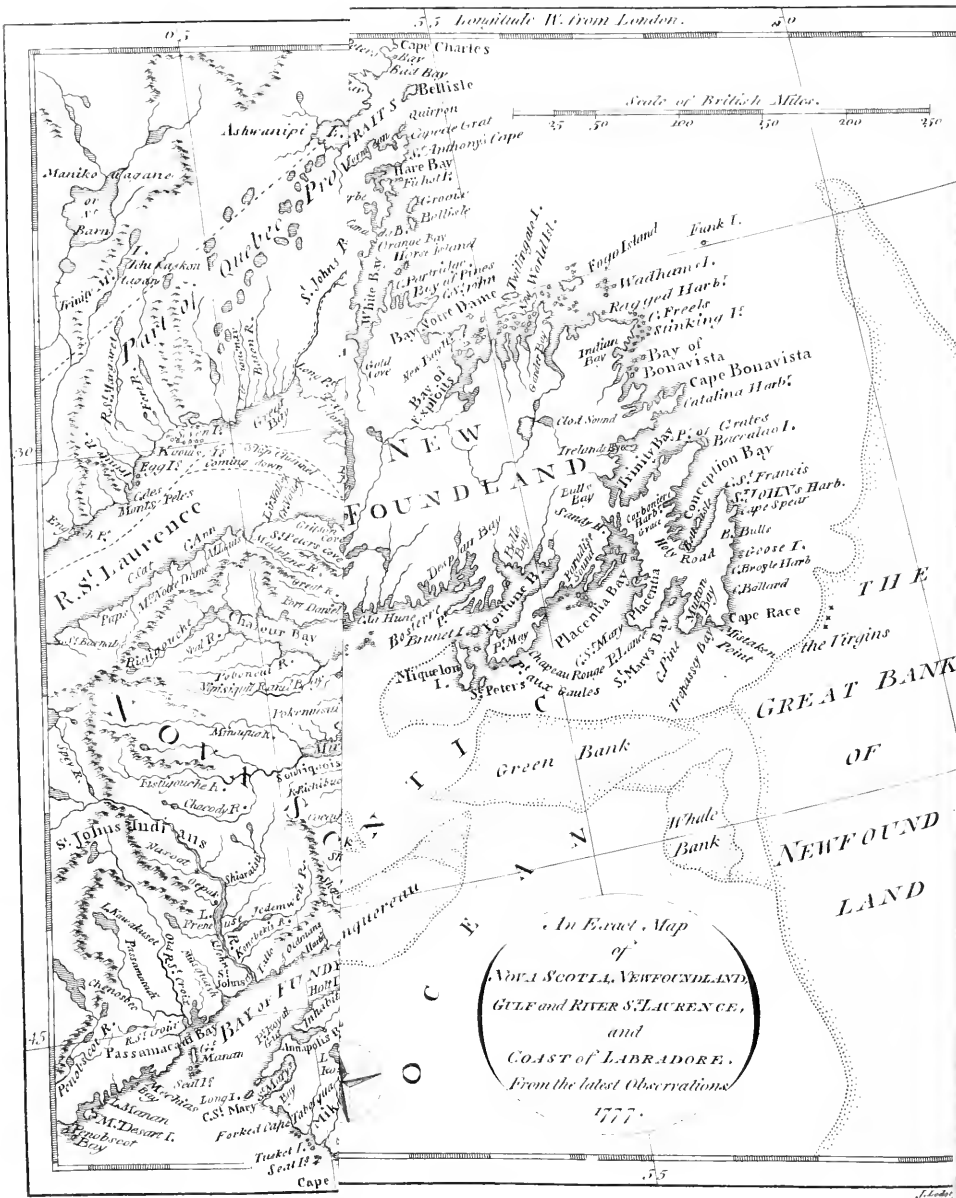
* Douglass, part II. sect viii.

† Hutchinson, chap. ii.



Scale of British Miles.

35 50 100 150 200 250



An Exact Map
 of
 NOVA SCOTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND,
 GULF and RIVER S^t. LAURENCE,
 and
 COAST of LABRADOR.
 From the latest Observations.
 1777.

invade them, time only can certainly determine; though it is not now impossible to reach it, by a fortunate conjecture. But before we enter upon that subject, or relate the principal events of the prosperous period which preceded the present disturbances, we must take a view of the colonies contiguous to New England, both towards the north and south, as well as of those planted in other parts of North America, by the different European powers.

C H A P. IV.

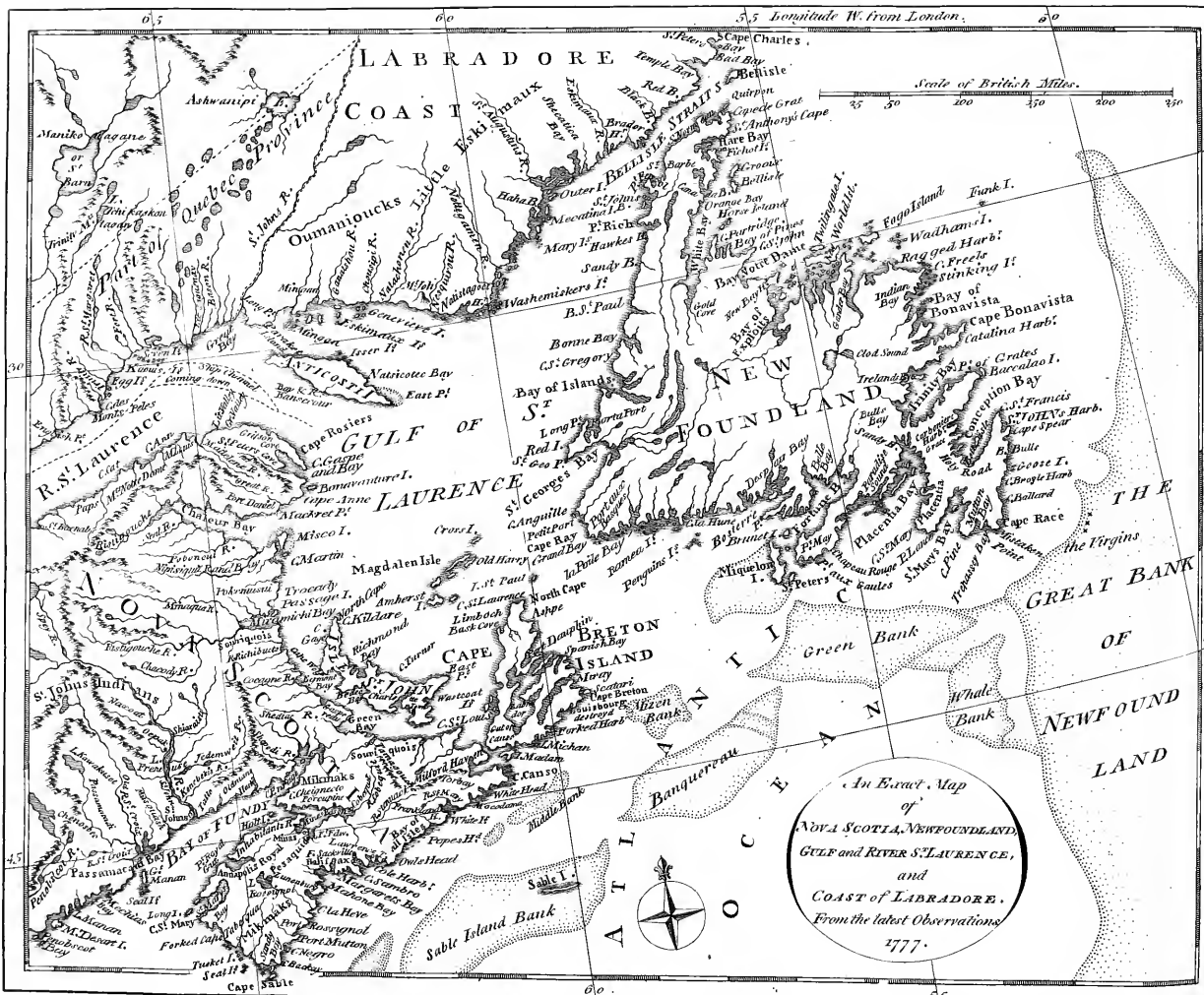
The Settlement of the French in Canada and Nova Scotia; a View of the latter under the English Government; also an Account of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, with some Thoughts on the Fishery and Fur Trade.

IN treating of the affairs of New England, we have frequently had occasion to mention the French, who were long the rivals of the English in America, as well as in Europe. As early as the year 1535, James Cartier, a French navigator, had entered the river St. Laurence, and carried on some traffic, as we have already seen, with the natives of Canada. He also distinctly surveyed the coasts of the country now known by the name of Nova Scotia, to which the French soon after gave the name of l'Acadie. But no settlement was established in either of these countries till the reign of Henry IV. justly furnished the Great, who having composed the civil and religious wars, by which France had been so long distracted, began to turn his views towards the New World. The English at that time claimed all the American continent to the north of Florida, in consequence of the discoveries of the Cabots; but Henry regardless of such claim, appointed successively La Roche, a gentleman of Brittany, Chauvin, a commander in the French navy, and De Chatte, governor of Dieppe, to the government of Canada and the adjoining countries, with very ample privileges. These gentlemen, or their agents, traded with the natives for furs, to advantage, but made no permanent settlement.

This trade was found so advantageous, that De Montis, who had succeeded De Chatte as governor of Canada, was able to form a company for carrying it on, more considerable than any former association for that purpose. They fitted out four ships, of which De Montis took the command in person, attended by Samuel Champlain, a gentleman of education, who had formerly made the same voyage, and other adventurers of good condition. This squadron touched at several places on the coast of l'Acadie, and settlements were established at St. Croix and Port Royale, now Annapolis Royal, in a bay towards the south-west coast of that territory. Four years after, Champlain founded a settlement on the river St. Laurence, to which he gave the name of Quebec. This soon became a flourishing city; the centre of the French power in America, and the capital of Canada or New France. Of that extensive region, we shall afterwards have occasion to speak: at present we must carry forward the history of l'Acadie or Nova Scotia.

A. D. 1674.

A. D. 1663.



An Exact Map of
 NOVA SCOTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND,
 GULF and RIVER S. LAURENCE,
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1. D. 1672.

A. D. 1663.

BOOK IV.

Nova Scotia, by which is now understood all the coast, three hundred leagues in length, included between the northern boundary of New England, and the mouth of the river St. Laurence, seems at first to have comprehended only the great triangular peninsula, lying near the middle of that space. This peninsula, to which the French confined the name of *P Acadie*, is extremely well situated for ships returning from the West Indies to water at. It has a number of excellent ports, which ships may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon its coasts, and still more upon some small banks at the distance only of a few leagues. The soil, which is gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying the fish. Nova Scotia also abounds with valuable timber, with land fit for several kinds of culture, and is remarkably well situated for the fur trade. But although the climate is in the temperate zone, the winters are long and severe, and followed by sudden and excessive heats, to which generally succeed thick fogs. These circumstances render the country disagreeable, though it cannot be reckoned unwholesome.

The French settlements in *P Acadie* were still in an infant state, when captain Argol, as we have already seen, asserted the claim of the crown of England to that country. He carried off part of the inhabitants, and transported the rest to *Quebec*. This violence prepared the way for a grant of the disputed territory, from James I. to Sir William Alexander, secretary of state for Scotland, who gave it the name of Nova Scotia, or New Scotland, which it still retains. Sir William admitted some associates, and a ship was sent over with settlers in 1623; but, from causes with which we are not made acquainted, they all returned the same year*. Meantime the French had restored their settlements; and Charles I. on his marriage with Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. quit-claimed Nova Scotia to the crown of France. But Charles being afterwards embroiled with that court, David Kertk, a French protestant, with three English ships, reduced all the settlements of his countrymen, both in Canada and Nova Scotia. Kertk, who had acted under a commission from the king, but as the conductor of a private armament, obtained a grant of all the lands called Canada, to the north of the river St. Laurence; and those to the south of it, called Nova Scotia, were confirmed to Sir William Alexander †.

These grants, however, proved to be little more than nominal; for by a new treaty of peace, soon after concluded, both Canada and Nova Scotia were restored to France, together with the island still known by the name of Cape Breton, which the French long affected to distinguish by the name of *Isle Royale*. The settlements of Port Royal and St. Croix were once more re-established; and a desire of monopolizing the fur trade, as well as a jealousy of the rising greatness of New England, and perhaps resentment of former injuries, made the French of *P Acadie* very troublesome neighbours to the English. At their first arrival, they had found it peopled by small savage nations or tribes, who went under the

* Douglass, part II. sect. vii.

† *Id. ibid.* The commander of this fortunate armament, who was a native of Dieppe, but as should seem of Dutch extraction, is commonly called Sir David Kirk, as if he had been a Scotchman.

general name of Abnaquies. Tho' no less fond of war than the other savages of North America, they were more social in their temper. In consequence of this disposition, the French missionaries had full opportunity to communicate to them the doctrines of Christianity, which many of them received with all the ardour of novelty and enthusiasm. At the same time that the missionaries taught the Abnaquies their religion, they inspired them with all that hatred, which they themselves entertained against the English name; and this fundamental article of their new faith being that which made the strongest impression upon their senses, and the only one which favoured their passion for war, they adopted it with all that ferocity which was natural to them*. They not only refused to make any kind of exchanges with the English, but also frequently attacked and plundered their settlements.

Roused by these repeated injuries, and the complaints of the people of New England, Cromwell sent colonel Sedgwick to assert the claim of the English nation to Nova Scotia. He reduced it in 1654, and it was confirmed to England by treaty the following year. But Sir William Alexander having sold, in 1632, his right of property in the soil, to M. Claude de la Tour d'Aunay, a French protestant, M. St. Estienne, son and heir of the above Claude de la Tour, now came over to England, in order to make out his claim, and had the property surrendered to him. This La Tour sold his right to Sir Thomas Temple, who was governor, as well as possessor of the soil, until 1662, when Nova Scotia was delivered up to France by Charles II. an equivalent of ten thousand pounds being stipulated for Sir Thomas Temple, but never paid.

Nova Scotia was afterwards confirmed to France by the treaty of Breda, and continued under the French government, to the great annoyance of the New England colonies, until the year 1690, when it was reduced, as we have already seen, by Sir William Phips. Marival, the French governor of Port Royale, was conveyed to Canada, and the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the English government.

In consequence of this conquest, Nova Scotia was included in the Massachusetts new charter, granted in 1691; but no means being taken to keep the French in subjection, they revolted almost immediately, and the contested territory was quit-claimed to France, in 1697, by an article in the treaty of Rylwick. War, however, breaking out anew between the courts of London and Versailles, different attempts were made by the people of New England to reduce Nova Scotia, always a thorn in their side. Two of those failed; but the project was not laid aside. In 1709, application was made to the court of England by colonel Nicolson and captain Vetch, for a proper force to reduce the French settlements in Canada. This was thought too great an undertaking, but leave was granted to attempt the entire reduction of Nova Scotia: and orders were at the same time issued to all the governors of the English settlements in North America, to promote the enterprise to the utmost of their power. Nicolson was appointed

* They are said to have informed their converts that Christ was crucified by the English, and that it was their first duty to take vengeance on the murderers of their Saviour.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1710.

commander in chief, and the commission of adjutant-general was granted to Vetch. Four men of war were appointed as a convoy. Under the protection of these, the New England forces embarked from Boston, in thirty transports, and arrived at Port Royale in six days; landed without opposition, and soon obliged the French governor to capitulate. The terms granted were, That all the inhabitants within the Banlieu, or three miles of the fort, should be entitled to the privilege of British subjects, on their taking the oath of allegiance; that the garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty-eight soldiers, should march out with the honours of war, and be transported to Rochelle, in Old France, at the expence of the British government; that such of the inhabitants as chose to retire to Canada or New France, should be sent thither in the most convenient manner; and that they should have all their effects preserved to them, free from the pillage of the English soldiers*.

A. D. 1713.

An account of the subsequent bickerings between the French and English, relative to this country, would be inconsistent with the nature of a general work. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that Nova Scotia was secured to Great Britain by the twelfth article in the treaty of Utrecht, was made a particular province, and has ever since continued under the English government. But the ardour which had been shewn for the possession of Nova Scotia, did not afterwards manifest itself in the care that was taken to maintain or improve it. Having built a very slight fortification at Port Royale, to which they gave the name of Annapolis, in honour of queen Anne, the English ministry contented themselves with furnishing it with a small garrison. The indifference shewn by the government was adopted by the nation: not more than five or six English families went over to Nova Scotia, which still remained inhabited chiefly by the former colonists; who having taken the oath of allegiance, with an indulgence not to be obliged to bear arms against their countrymen, were called the French neutrals.

Twelve or thirteen hundred of these men, were settled in the capital, the rest were dispersed in the neighbouring country. No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and though an appeal lay to the governor, they continued strangers to the English laws. No rents or taxes of any kind were exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them, and they were very willing to be forgot. Hunting and fishing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, having no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, were neglected for agriculture. It was begun in the marshes and low lands, after they had been secured from inundations by ditches and dykes. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them; but they also produced rye, barley, and maize. Potatoes were likewise raised in great plenty. At the same time the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks, and large herds of horned cattle. Most families had several horses, although the tillage was performed by oxen. The houses were built entirely of

* Oldmixon. Douglass.

wood, but extremely convenient, and neatly furnished. The people bred a great deal of poultry, which made an agreeable variety in their food, in general wholesome and plentiful. Their cloathing was chiefly the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common linens and coarse cloths. Those who had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, procured them from Annapolis or Louisburg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs*.

The neutral French had no other articles to dispose of among their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each separate family was able, and had been accustomed to provide for its own wants. They knew nothing therefore of paper-currency, so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of specie that had stoen in among them, did not promote that circulation for which it was designed. Their manners were, of course, extremely simple. They never had a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose among them from time to time, were amicably adjusted by their elders; and all their public deeds were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious services, the inhabitants paid a twenty-seventh part of their harvests. These were plentiful enough to supply more than a sufficiency for every act of justice or liberality. Real misery was unknown in a society, where benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt. Good was universally dispensed without ostentation, on the part of the giver, and without humbling the person who received the benefit. Those people were, in a word, a society of brethren, every individual of which was ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

An harmony so perfect naturally prevented all those loose amours, which, among a people fond of gallantry, so often prove fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance, in this society, of an unlawful commerce between the sexes. That evil was prevented by early marriages. No one there passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, he commonly built himself a house; broke up the lands about it; sowed them, and supplied himself with all the necessaries of life, by the regular application of his industry. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in cattle. Each new family grew and prospered like the former; and in 1749, this singular colony, within a colony, amounted to eighteen thousand souls †.

Every generous mind must wish, that so virtuous a set of people might never feel the storms of ambition, nor become a sacrifice to the politics of princes. But the French neutrals were not so fortunate. Though devoid of ambition themselves, they became the dupes of it in others; and their natural attach-

* Raynal, liv. xvii.

† Raynal, ubi sup.

BOOK IV.

A. D. 1748.

ment to their countrymen led them to violate that neutrality which they were bound, by all the ties of honour and gratitude, to observe. Several attempts were made by the crown of France, during the years 1745 and 1746, to recover possession of l'Acadie, and several landings were effected. But by the vigorous assistance of the New England colonies, and other fortunate circumstances, Annapolis, the capital, was preserved, and all Nova Scotia was confirmed to the crown of Great Britain by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Though the French inhabitants, during these hostilities, had not actually taken up arms, they had lent such assistance to the enemy as was utterly inconsistent with their political situation, and as made the necessity of peopling Nova Scotia with British subjects fully evident. The peace, which necessarily left a great number of men without employment, by the disbanding of the troops and laying up the ships, was favourable to such a project; and the ministry offered particular advantages to all persons, who chose to go over and settle in this extensive, and in many places, fertile territory. Every soldier, sailor, and workman, was to have fifty acres of land for himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed eighty for themselves, and fifteen for every other person belonging to them; ensigns, two hundred; lieutenants, three hundred; captains, four hundred and sixty; and all officers of higher rank, six hundred, together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be free of all taxes for the first ten years, and never to pay above one shilling for fifty acres.

Besides these encouragements, the government engaged to pay the charge of the passage; to build houses; to furnish all the necessary instruments for the fishery or agriculture; and to defray the expences of subsistence for the first year. In consequence of this liberal offer, three thousand families, chiefly Germans, embarked for Nova Scotia, in 1749, and three regiments of soldiers were sent to protect them from the natives, and garrison the new settlement. That settlement was founded on the south east side of the peninsula, at a place which the Indians formerly called Chebucto, but which the English named Halifax, in honour of the nobleman by whom it was projected, and by whose wisdom and spirit it was carried into execution. This situation was preferred to several others, where the soil was better, for the sake of establishing in its neighbourhood a valuable cod fishery, and fortifying one of the finest harbours in America. The Indians, however, violently opposed such a settlement; the neighbourhood of Chebucto being the most favourable part of the country for the chase. It was claimed by the Mikamakies, who defended with obstinacy a territory which they held from nature; and it was not without some considerable losses, and long struggles, that the English were able to drive them to a distance.

Before this war with the natives was finished, some disturbances began to break out among the neutral French. Those people whose manners were so simple, and who had enjoyed such extensive liberty, already began to perceive that they would no longer be permitted to live in the same independent form as hitherto; but as they were favoured with the protection of the English government, would be

be obliged to comply with its laws and regulations. To this apprehension was added that of seeing their religion in danger. Their priests, either heated with their own enthusiasm, or instigated by the governor of Canada, made them believe whatever they chose to say against the English, whom they called heretics. This word, which has so powerful, and often so fatal an influence on deluded minds, determined these happy people to quit their habitations, and remove to New France, where lands were offered them. That resolution many of them executed immediately, without considering the consequences of such a change, and the rest were preparing to follow them, when they were prevented by the English government. They were required to renew their oath of allegiance; and as no hope remained of making them good subjects, the dissatisfied part of them were transported to the West Indies, in order to prevent them from strengthening the hands of a rival nation, then brewing a new war. A. D. 1754.

Since the emigration of a people, who owed their happiness to their virtuous obscurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited; especially in that part which lies between the peninsula and the river St. Laurence. Nor are there more than three settlements in the rest of the province. Annapolis, the most ancient of these, is still a considerable place; and as soon as it has received a recruit of inhabitants, promises great prosperity. Halifax is already in a prosperous condition, and will always continue to be the principal place in Nova Scotia. This pre-eminence it owes to the expences lavished upon it from the mother country; and by being from its situation, the natural rendezvous of all the land and sea forces, which Great Britain thinks herself obliged, on different accounts, to maintain in North America. Its harbour, as already observed, is admirable; and it is now a flourishing, well built, and well fortified town.

Lunenburg, the third settlement, was founded a few years ago, by eight hundred Germans from Halifax. At first it did not promise much; but by the unremitting industry of that warlike and wise people, it is now rapidly advancing towards prosperity. It is but justice to say that the Germans make excellent settlers: they have fertilized all the countries under the English dominion, to which chance has conducted them. By their patient labours Nova Scotia now produces excellent flax; which, independent of its fishery, and its utility as a naval and military station, must in time render it a valuable acquisition to Great Britain.

Off the coast of Nova Scotia lie several islands, valuable only for their fishery. The most considerable of these is Newfoundland. This island, which is above three hundred miles long, and two hundred broad, was discovered, as already observed, by John Cabot, a Venetian mariner in the service of Henry VII. of England. Cabot made no settlement; and from several voyages undertaken after this discovery, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, it was concluded that Newfoundland was fit for nothing but to carry on the fishery of cod, which abounds in the neighbouring sea. The English accordingly used to send out at first small vessels, in the spring, which returned in autumn, with their freight of fish, salted in different ways. The consumption of A. D. 1497.

BOOK IV.

of this article became almost universal; and the demand for it was particularly great among the Roman catholics. The English took advantage of their superiority to enrich themselves, and formed the idea of establishing settlements in Newfoundland. The first attempts, made at considerable distances from each other, proved unsuccessful; so that no permanent settlement was founded in this island till 1610, when John Guy, a merchant of Bristol, conducted a colony thither, in consequence of a patent granted by James I. to Sir Francis Bacon, himself, and others, of all the country between Cape Bonavista and Cape St. Mary.

A. D. 1621.

Guy landed his people in Conception Bay, where he ordered houses or huts to be immediately raised, and established an intercourse with the natives*, whose affection he engaged by the most courteous and humane behaviour. After residing two years on the island with little advantage to himself or his associates, he returned to England, leaving some of his people to perpetuate the settlement. The great mistake of Mr. Guy, and the first English settlers, seems to have been in attempting to fertilize the soil of Newfoundland, instead of confining their industry to the fishery. Under this false idea, Sir George Calvert, a Roman catholic, obtained a grant of part of the island from king James, in order that he might enjoy in this retreat that liberty of conscience which was denied him in the mother country. Before his departure from England, he sent one captain Wynne to Newfoundland with a small colony, to prepare every thing necessary for his reception. In the mean time, he employed his whole fortune and interest, in securing the success of his undertaking. Wynne bore the commission of governor; seated himself at Ferryland; built the largest house ever seen on the island; erected granaries and storehouses, and accommodated his people in the best manner possible. His hopes from the soil, it appears, were very sanguine. "We have wheat, barley, oats, and beans," says he in a letter to Sir George, "already eared and coddled; and although the sowing them in May, or the beginning of June, might occasion the contrary, yet they ripen so fast, that we have all the appearance of an approaching harvest." In the same strain he speaks of his garden, which flourished with all kinds of culinary vegetables; and the proprietor was so much delighted with these splendid descriptions, that he removed with all his family to Newfoundland. But the gay vision soon vanished; and Sir George, by that time created lord Baltimore, having obtained a grant of the province of Maryland, carried his family thither, and established a thriving colony †.

A. D. 1623.

In the mean time the fishery became daily of more and more importance, and before the year 1650, all the space which extends along the eastern coast, between Conception Bay and Cape Raze, was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thousand persons. As they were chiefly concerned in the fishery, they were forced, both by the nature of their employment and that of the soil, to live at

* According to the most probable conjectures, Newfoundland had no fixed inhabitants. The Indians came over from the coast of Labrador during the summer, to enjoy the convenience of hunting and fishing, but retired on the approach of winter.

† See English Settlements.

a distance from each other, and to open paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's Harbour, formed between two mountains, at a very small distance from each other, and large enough to contain three hundred ships. There they met with trading vessels from the mother-country, which supplied them amply with every necessary and conveniency, in exchange for the produce of their fishery.

The French had turned their views towards Newfoundland, before this prosperity of the English trade. They had for a long time frequented the southern parts of the island; particularly a place to which they gave the name of Petit Nord. Some of them afterwards fixed promiscuously upon the coast from Cape Raze to Chapeau Rouge; and at length they became sufficiently numerous to form something like a town in the Bay of Placentia, where they enjoyed every conveniency that could render their fishery successful. Before the Bay is a road of about a league and an half in breadth, though not sufficiently sheltered from the north-west winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The strait, which forms the entrance of the bay, is so confined by rocks, that only one ship can enter at a time; and at the extremity of the bay itself, which is about eighteen leagues long, is a secure harbour, that can contain about an hundred and fifty ships.

Notwithstanding the advantage of such a situation, the French ministry paid very little attention to it. It was not till 1687, that a small fort was built for the security of the colony, and garrisoned with fifty men. From that period the French became very troublesome neighbours to the English. The inhabitants of Placentia, supported by the Canadians, trained in the art of bush-fighting, and exercised in sudden attacks, frequently carried devastation into the settlements of their rivals. These inroads were not forgot by Great Britain at the treaty of Utrecht: she demanded the entire possession of Newfoundland; the misfortunes of the preceding war in Europe obliged France to give it up, and Placentia became a British settlement.

A. D. 1713.

The whole circuit of the island of Newfoundland is full of bays or harbours, all so spacious, and so well sheltered on all sides by the mountains, except at their entrance, that vessels lie there in perfect safety. These harbours are in general from a league and an half to two leagues in length; but there are also some much larger, and others less, into which run several rivers and brooks, that afford great quantities of fresh water fish, and seem to vie with the sea in fecundity. The bays or harbours are complete anchoring places, having a good bottom; and they are so perfectly clear, that they may be sailed into without a pilot. In most of the bays the English have some town or village. Cod fishing is the universal business of the inhabitants; who, besides their dwellings have offices and storehouses for preparing and laying up their fish, till the time arrives of sending it to Europe, on their own accounts, or of selling it to vessels which come there to purchase it in exchange for European goods. None of these villages are without a fort or battery for their security in time of war; but the works are so in-

considerable, that the most they could do would be to drive away some petty privateer.

The heads of the Newfoundland bays approach so near to each other, that they would form a very easy communication between the different parts of the country, and greatly facilitate trade, if the island were capable of internal commerce. But all thoughts of cultivation have been long laid aside at Newfoundland; and for very sufficient reasons. The interior parts of the island are full of steep rocks, mountains covered with wood, and narrow and sandy vallies. These inaccessible places are stocked with deer, which multiply with the greater ease, by reason of the security of their situation. The land near the coast is sometimes covered with moss, but more commonly with small pebbles, which seem as if they had been placed there by design, in order to dry the fish caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat stones reflect the sun's rays, the heat is excessive during the summer. The rest of the country is continually cold; less so, however, from its northern latitude, than from the uncultivated state of the island, and the vast mountains of ice, which come out of the frozen seas, and fix on its coasts. The sky towards the northern and western parts is constantly serene, but much less so towards the east and south; both these last points being nearer to the Great Bank, which is continually involved in fog.

This bank is one of those mountains that are formed under water, by the earth which the sea is continually washing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate so much in a point, that it is difficult to determine the precise extent of it; but it is generally reckoned to be an hundred and sixty leagues in length, and ninety leagues in breadth. Towards the middle of it, on the European side, is a kind of bay which has been called the ditch. Throughout all this space the depth of water is very different. In some places there are only five, in others above fifty fathom. The sun is scarce ever seen there, and the sky is generally covered not only with a thick, but a cold fog. The waves are perpetually agitated, and the winds always high about this spot; to which the fishery of what is called green cod, or that which is salted but not dried, is chiefly confined.

From the middle of July to the latter end of August, there is no cod found either upon the Great Bank or the small ones near it; but all the rest of the year the fishery is carried on. The ships employed in it are commonly from fifty to an hundred and fifty tons burden, and carry seldom less than twelve, or more than twenty-four men. The men are provided with lines, and as soon as they arrive are employed in catching a fish called the *colpin*, which they use as a bait for the cod; though the English now generally bring their baits with them. Previous to their beginning the fishery, they build a gallery on the outside of the ship, which reaches from the main mast to the stern, and sometimes the whole length of the vessel. This gallery is furnished with barrels with the tops bear out. The fishermen place themselves within these barrels, and are farther sheltered from the weather by a pitched covering. As soon as they catch a cod, they cut

out its tongue, and give the fish to one of the boys, to carry to a person, appointed for the purpose, who immediately strikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a small hatchway between the decks; where another man takes it, draws out the bone, as far as the navel, and then lets it sink through another hatchway into the hold. There the fish is salted, and ranged in piles. The person who salts it, takes care to leave salt enough between each row of cod, but not more than is sufficient to prevent their touching each other; for either of those circumstances neglected, would spoil the fish.

According to natural right, the fishery on the Great Bank ought to belong to all mankind; but the French and English, the only powers that had colonies in the northern parts of America, have long appropriated it chiefly to themselves. The Spaniards, who had an undoubted claim to a share of it, and who from the number of their monks, might have pleaded the necessity of assisting it, gave up the matter entirely at the last peace; since which time the English and French are the only nations that frequent these waters. The French fishery was formerly very advantageous, especially that of green cod; but the enormous duties laid upon the consumption of that article, have made it a losing, and now very inconsiderable trade. The produce of the English fishery is subject to no tax; and they have this further advantage, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors must, but only from Newfoundland or other places not much more distant, they can employ very small vessels, which are easily managed, do not rise high above the water, whose sails may be brought level with the deck, and which are very little affected even by the most violent winds; so that their business is seldom interrupted by the roughness of the weather. Besides, they do not lose their time in procuring baits; which, as already observed, they generally bring with them; and our sailors are also more inured to fatigue, more accustomed to the cold, and better disciplined than the French.

The English, however, attend but little to the fishery of green cod, because they have no mart for the disposing of it in great quantities. But they find a compensation for their inconsiderable trade in the article of green cod, by the vast quantity of dry cod, which they sell in all the markets both of Europe and America. This branch of trade is carried on in two ways. That which is called the *Wandering Fishery*, belongs to vessels which sail every year from Europe to Newfoundland in March or April. As they approach the island, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, driven by the northern currents towards the south; and which being broken in pieces by repeated shocks, melts sooner or later at the return of the heats. These islands of floating ice are frequently a league in circumference: they are as high as the loftiest mountains, and extend above eighty fathom under water. When joined to smaller portions, they sometimes occupy a space of an hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth.

Interest, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as soon as possible, that they may have their choice of the bays most favourable to the fishery, makes them brave the rigour of the seasons and of the elements, which seem all in a conspiracy

BOOK IV.
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 A. D. 1670.

spiracy against human industry. The most formidable rampart erected by military art, the dreadful cannonade of a besieged town, the terrors of the most skilful and obstinate sea-fight, require less intrepidity and experience to encounter them, than these enormous floating bulwarks, which the sea opposes to the small vessels of the Newfoundland fishermen. But the most insatiable of all passions, the thirst of gold, surmounts every obstacle, and carries the mariner across an ocean yet filled with these mountains of ice, to the place where the ships are to take in their lading*.

When a ship has taken her station, she is immediately unrigged; and at the same time a fit place is chosen for securing the fish as it is prepared. Lodges are likewise erected for the men, who work on shore, so as to form a kind of village; and at the water's edge is built a large stage or scaffold. Here the number of launches designed for the fishery is got ready, and when built, are left there till the following year, when he who first enters the bay has the privilege of applying them to his own use. Hence an additional motive for dispatch. Every thing being got ready, the whole ship's company, without exception, are divided into as many classes as there are occupations. The fishers set out very early in their boats, that they may be at their stations by break of day, and do not return before evening, unless they happen to have caught their boat load sooner. This fishery is all performed with the hook; and every boat is provided with a sufficient quantity of all kinds of fishing tackle, in case of any accident to those in use. On their return, the fish is delivered to those who cure them; and that this may be executed with the greater dispatch, boys stand by to deliver them to the different operators. When one man has taken off the cod's head, and gutted it, another opens it, with one cut lengthwise, takes out the back-bone, and gives the fish to a third, who salts it. After it has remained in salt for eight or ten days, it is well washed, and laid on gravel, or small boards, where it is left till it is quite dry. When thoroughly dried, they are piled up in small parcels, that they may not entirely lose the heat communicated to them by the first salt; then they are salted a second time, and laid up in regular heaps on the stage, where the cod lies till it is ready to be shipped, and acquires that colour which we see it have in Europe.

There are two kinds of cod. Both have a line running from the gills to the tail, following the figure of the belly of the fish, and which winds a little downwards from the head to the tail; but this line is more distinct in one species than in the other, and the whole fish from this line to the back is of a dark brown, whilst the lower part is spotted with white. The connoisseurs in fish say, that this species is better than the other, the whole body of which is of a darkish white with reddish spots, but the belly and all its hinder parts, the whitest. The cod appears to be the most prolific of all fish. One proof of this is the great

* The wages paid by the owners to the master and men, are always in proportion to the number of fish delivered; so that the sooner they complete their cargo, if not damaged, the greater is the advantage of every one on board.

number of ships which annually load with it in those latitudes, to which it seems chiefly to be confined; for although the British channel and the German ocean are not without this fish, their numbers are so inconsiderable compared with those of Newfoundland, that they may be considered as stragglers. Some persons of long experience in this fishery say, that the cod spawns twice a-year; but that is not necessary to supply the extraordinary waste, considering the infinite number of eggs which they deposit at once in the sand, and which continue there, undisturbed, till they are impregnated with life. The wandering fishery ends about the beginning of September, because the sun has no longer sufficient power to dry the fish. But when it has been successful, the managers give over before that time, and make the best of their way either to the West Indies, or to the Roman catholic countries in Europe, that they may have the advantage of the first markets.

The French have for some time been losers by the wandering fishery, yet they have continued to prosecute it with vigour, rather than be indebted to foreigners for the article which it yields. The English have also experienced the inconveniences of that trade, and have betaken themselves chiefly to the *stationary fishery*. By the stationary fishery is to be understood, that which is carried on by the Europeans who inhabit those coasts of America where the cod is caught. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it is attended with much less expence, and may be continued longer. These advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable possessors of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland; settlements which they have deservedly lost one after another, in consequence of their turbulent and encroaching spirit, and have only preserved a right of salting and drying their fish to the north of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonavista to Point Rich. All the fixed establishments left them by the peace of 1762, are reduced to the small island of St. Peter's, and the two isles of Miquelon, where they are not at liberty even to build fortifications*. There are not above eight hundred inhabitants in St. Peter's, nor above two hundred in Great Miquelon, and a few families in the smaller. The fishery, which is extremely convenient upon the two first, is entirely impracticable upon the last mentioned island. It supplies the two former, however, with wood; particularly St. Peter's, which has none of its own. But nature has made amends for this inconveniency at St. Peter's, by an excellent harbour.

While the fishery of France is thus confined, Great Britain extends her empire over all the coasts, and all the islands frequented by the fish. Her principal station, however, is still at Newfoundland, where about eight thousand British subjects are constantly employed in the fishery on its coasts. Before the year 1750, the fisheries of the two rival nations were nearly equal; with this difference only, that France consumed more fish at home, and consequently exported less. But since she has lost her possessions in North America, the two fisheries, namely the

* These islands were lately reduced by the British Squadron on the Newfoundland station.

stationary and the wandering, have not yielded more dry cod than is barely sufficient for the consumption of the southern provinces of the mother-country; whereas it may be confidently asserted, that Britain, on the contrary, has increased her fishery two-thirds since the conclusion of the late war, and that besides supplying her home-consumption, and her West India islands, it brings in a return of near five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually, either in specie or valuable commodities, at the same time that it serves as a nursery for the navy.

The fur-trade, carried on at Hudson's Bay, is still more beneficial to individuals, but less so to the nation, and that chiefly by reason of its being confined to an exclusive company. This bay was discovered in consequence of John Cabot's idea of a north-west passage to India and China, the hope of which it revived. An account of the different voyages that have been undertaken with this view, either before or since the discovery of Hudson, would be altogether inconsistent with the nature of a general history, as well as inconsequential in itself, as no such passage has yet been found. The inquisitive, however, may perhaps wish to see the arguments that have been, or may be advanced, on a subject of so much importance to mankind — and they shall be gratified.

But before we enter upon this enquiry, three facts in natural history must be admitted; namely, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or less into the other seas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reservoir by larger or smaller openings, hence this periodical motion is scarcely perceivable in the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and other gulphs of the same nature; that the tides are much later, as well as weaker, in places remote from the ocean, than in those which are near to it; that violent winds, which blow in the same direction with the tides, make them rise above their ordinary boundaries, and that those which blow in a contrary direction retard their motion, at the same time that they diminish their swell. From these principles, it is most certain, that if Hudson's Bay were no more than a gulph inclosed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconsiderable. They would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from their source, and much less rapid whenever they ran in a contrary direction to the wind; but it is proved by observations made with the greatest skill and precision, that the tides are very high throughout the whole bay*. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom of the bay than even in the strait itself, or at least than in the neighbourhood of it; and it is proved that this height increases, whenever the wind blows from a point opposite to the strait. It is therefore certain, that Hudson's Bay has a communication with the ocean, besides that which has been already found out, and which unites it to the Atlantic.

Those who have endeavoured to explain these very striking facts by supposing a communication between Hudson's and Baffin's Bay, or with Davis's Straits, are evidently mistaken: nor would they fail to renounce their opinion, for which

* See Ellis's Voyage.

Indeed there is no real foundation, did they but consider, that the tides are much lower in Davis's Straits, and in Baffin's than in Hudson's Bay. Now if the tides in Hudson's Bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern sea, in which they are constantly much weaker, it follows that they must have their origin in the South Sea : and this is still more evident from another leading fact ; which is, That the highest tides ever observed upon those coasts are always occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow directly against the mouth of the strait.

Having thus determined, as far as the nature of the subject will admit, the existence of this passage so long and so vainly wished for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. A variety of circumstances, hitherto overlooked, seem to point the navigator towards Welcome Bay, on the western coast. The bottom of the sea is to be seen there at the depth of eleven or twelve fathom ; an evident sign that the water comes from some ocean, as such a transparency could not exist in waters discharged from rivers, or in melted snow or rain. Besides, the currents keep this place always free from ice, while all the rest of the bay is covered with it. Their violence cannot be accounted for but by supposing them to come from some western sea ; and the whales, which, towards the latter end of August always go in search of the warmer climates, are found in great abundance in those parts about the beginning of September *, which would seem to indicate that there is an outlet for them, thence to the South Sea, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable that the passage is very short. All the rivers that empty themselves on the western coast of Hudson's Bay are small and slow ; which seems to prove that they do not come from any great distance, and that consequently the lands which separate the two seas are of a small extent. This argument is strengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occasioned by the retarded progression of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain indication that the ocean whence those tides come is very near. If the passage is short, and not very far to the north, as every thing seems to promise, we may also presume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents observable in those latitudes, which prevent the continuance of any flakes of ice, cannot fail to give some weight to this conjecture.

The discovery that still remains to be made, after so many unsuccessful attempts, is of so much importance, that it would be folly to reject the pursuit of it. If this passage were once found, communications would be opened between parts of the globe which hitherto seem to have been industriously separated by nature from each other. They would soon be extended to all the numerous islands scattered in the immense extent of the southern ocean. The intercourse, by sea, which has subsisted nearly for three centuries, between the commercial nations of Europe and the most remote parts of Asia, being happily freed from

* Dobbs.

the inconveniencies of a long navigation, would be much quicker, more constant, and more advantageous. The English, in that event, would doubtless be desirous of securing the exclusive enjoyment of the benefits arising from their activity and industry. Such a wish is perfectly natural, and would be supported, no doubt, by a powerful fleet; but as the advantage obtained, unless the strait should happen to be very narrow, would be of such a nature that it would be impossible always to preserve the sole possession of it, all nations must in time share in the fruits of the discovery. Whenever this happens, the passage both by the Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deserted, and that by the Cape of Good Hope much less frequented. The richest commerce in the world will take a new direction.

But instead of amusing ourselves with such vain speculations, let us see what advantages England really derives, or what informations were opened to mankind, by the discoveries of Henry Hudson; who, in 1609, entered the bay that bears his name, and perished in a future attempt to open a north-west passage to India and China. This bay, which is about six hundred miles in length, is formed by the ocean in the distant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is about six leagues; but it can only be attempted, with any probability of success, from the beginning of July to the end of September, and even then it is rather dangerous. This danger arises from mountains or islands of ice, some of which are said to be from fifteen to eighteen hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or six years duration in little gulphs constantly filled with snow, are forced out of them by north-west winds, or by some other extraordinary cause. The best way of avoiding them is to keep as near as possible to the northern coast, which must necessarily be less obstructed, and most free, by the natural course of both winds and currents.

The north-west wind, which blows almost constantly in winter, and very often in summer, frequently raises violent storms within the bay itself; the navigation of which is rendered still more dangerous by a number of shoals. Happily, however, small groups of islands are met with there, at different distances, which are of sufficient height to afford shelter from the storm. Besides these small archipelagoes, there are in many places large piles of bare rock; and except the *Alga Marina*, Hudson's Bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern seas. Throughout all the countries surrounding this bay, the sun never rises or sets without forming a great cone of light. That phenomenon is succeeded by the *Aurora Borealis*, which tinges the hemisphere with coloured rays of such a brilliancy, that the splendor of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithstanding this there is seldom a bright sky. In spring and autumn the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter with an infinite number of small icicles.

One of the effects of the extreme cold or snow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning those animals white in winter which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has bestowed upon them all a soft, long, and thick fur, the hair of which falls off, as the weather grows milder. In most of these quadrupeds the feet,



W. P. J. 1847

ESQUIMAUX'S OF HUDSON'S BAY.

the tail, the ears, and generally speaking all those parts in which the circulation is slower, because they are more remote from the heart, are extremely short. Under this gloomy sky all liquors become solid by freezing, and break the vessels that contain them. Even spirit of wine loses its fluidity. It is not uncommon to see fragments of large rocks loosened and detached from the principal mass by the mere force of the frost. All these phenomena, familiar enough during the whole winter, are much more striking at the new and full moon; which in those regions, have an influence on the weather, the causes of which are not known.

In this frigid zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a substance resembling sea-coal have been discovered. In other respects the soil is extremely barren. Except the coasts, which are for the most part marshy, and produce a little grass, and some soft wood, the rest of the country affords nothing but moss, and a few weak shrubs, very thinly scattered. This deficiency in nature appears to extend itself to man, if not to all the animals in the neighbourhood of Hudson's Bay. The human race there are few in number, and scarce any person of either sex exceeds four feet high. Their heads, like those of children, are of a disproportionate bulk, and their feet are as remarkably small. Their shoulders, however, are broad; the men have beards, which are sometimes bushy and long; and their complexion, though swarthy, inclines rather to the European white than to the copper-colour of America *.

Such are the Esquimaux, who occupy not only the northern coast of Labrador, but all the immense region that extends from the straits of Belleisle towards the pole, as far as the country is habitable. Like the Greenlanders, their faces are round and flat, their noses short, and their eyes small; the iris black, and the pupil yellow. From these characteristics, and the similarity of their language to that of the Greenlanders, it has been concluded, with some degree of plausibility, that the Esquimaux are a race different from the rest of the Americans, and of European extraction †. But other authors, who admit this similarity, conjecture that both the Greenlanders and Esquimaux are of American extraction, as the language of neither has any resemblance to those of the north of Europe; and they affirm, though on what authority does not appear, that both are destitute of beards, and in all respects resemble more the inhabitants of the New than those of the Old World ‡.

* Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay. De la Potherie, tom. I. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. liv. vi. chap. 13.

† Robertson's Hist. of Americ. book IV.

‡ Raynal, Hist. Philos. &c. liv. xviii. Lord Kaims, Sketches on Man, book II. sec. XI. "It is common, indeed, among them," says Lord Kaims, "to bring forward the hair of the head upon the face, for preserving it from flies, which rage in those countries during the summer; an appearance that has probably been mistaken by travellers for a beard." Ubbelohp Raynal positively denies that the Esquimaux have any hair on the chin, or other mark of virility; though it is certain that they give to themselves the name of *Kewah*, or *Mah*, by way of distinction.

BOOK IV.

One feature, however, in the character of this people, seems to lead us to the decision of a question so much agitated by philosophers and historians. The Esquimaux, like the Greenlanders, are gay and lively*. This part of their character is the very reverse of that of the other natives of North America, even in the most favourable climates. The Esquimaux are besides more ingenious, than the other savage nations of North America; though evidently themselves in a state of degradation, by living in a climate inimicable to animal life. A striking proof of this ingenuity is displayed in the structure of their bows, made commonly of three pieces of wood, each making part of the same arch, very nicely and exactly joined together. They are commonly of fir or larch; and as this wood wants strength and elasticity, they supply both by bracing the back of the bow, with a kind of thread or line, made of the sinews of their deer, and the bowstring of the same materials. In order to make them draw more easily, they dip them into water, which causes both the back of the bow and the string to contract, and consequently gives it the greater force; and as they practise from their youth, they shoot with great dexterity †. Nor do they display less art in the formation of their harpoons, or their canoes of whalebone, covered with the skins of seals, in which they brave that stormy ocean, on which the barrenness of their country compels them to depend for the greater part of their subsistence. In these they follow the shoals of herrings through the whole of their polar migrations, and attack the whales and seals at the utmost peril of their lives.

One stroke of the whale's tail is sufficient to overturn an hundred of such vessels, and the seal has teeth to devour, if he cannot drown those wretched fishermen. But the hunger of an Esquimaux makes him superior to every danger: he encounters with equal intrepidity the rage of those monsters and the fury of the waves. The Esquimaux may be said, indeed, to dwell constantly upon the sea. The flesh of the seal is their food, and the oil of the whale their drink. They have an inordinate desire for this oil, which is necessary to preserve the heat in their stomachs, and defend them from the severity of the cold. In a word, whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fish of the north are supplied by nature with a quantity of fat, which prevents the muscles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating.

Every thing in these arctic regions is either oily or gummy: even the trees are resinous. But the Esquimaux, notwithstanding these defences against the rigour of their climate, are subject to two fatal disorders; the scurvy, and the loss of sight. The continuation of the snows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the sun from the ice, dazzle their eyes in such a manner, that they are almost constantly obliged to wear shades, made of very thin wood, through which, another instance of their ingenuity, small apertures to admit the light, are bored with fish bones. Doomed to a six-months night, they never see the sun but obliquely; and in the spring and summer, when it rises highest above

* Ellis.

† Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay.



. In ESQUIMAUX in his Canoe of Whalebone .

the horizon, it seems rather to blind them, than to delight them with a display of the works of creation. Sight, the most precious gift of nature, is to them frequently the source of misery, is seldom enjoyed without inconvenience, and generally lost in old age*. The scurvy, which consumes them by slow degrees, is a still more cruel evil. It insinuates itself into their blood, changes, weakens, and contaminates the whole mass. The fogs of the sea which they inhale, the dense and inelastic fluid that they breathe in their huts †, which exclude all communication with the external air; the continued and tedious inactivity of their winters; a mode of life alternately roving and sedentary—in a word, every circumstance in their condition, serves to increase this dreadful malady.

In spite of these inconveniences, the Esquimaux is so passionately fond of his country and his condition, that the inhabitant of the most favoured spot under heaven does not quit it with more reluctance, than he does his frozen desert; or part after his former luxuries with more ardour, when they are ravished from him, than the savage of Hudson's Bay for his native food. Of this I his gives us a remarkable instance in one of them, who had lived long among the English at one of the company's settlements, and who had always ate in the English manner. Happening to see a seal opened by one of the sailors, he threw himself upon the oil, which ran copiously from it, and swallowed, with astonishing avidity, as much as he could lift in both his hands; exclaiming at the same time, in a kind of transport, "O that I were in my dear country! that I might fill my belly as often as I pleased, with this delicious oil ‡."

Notwithstanding the savage rudeness of the Esquimaux, the English have found means to inspire them with such a taste for European commodities, as furnishes the means of a very beneficial and lucrative branch of trade. The vast countries which surround Hudson's Bay, abound in animals whose fur is excellent. With the skins of these animals the natives used originally to cloath themselves. Now they are generally furnished with other cloathing; but the unhappy animals are pursued with tenfold rage, in order to purchase with their fur, that and other luxuries or conveniencies, which European avarice carries to those frozen climes, and exchanges often for twenty times their value. Ten beaver skins are usually given for a common musket; two for a pound of powder; one for four pounds of shot; one for a hatchet; one for six knives; two for a pound of glais-balls; six for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of snuff. Combs, looking-glasses, brandy, and all other articles are in proportion; and as beaver is the common measure of exchange, by another regulation, as unjust as the former, two otter skins, and three martins, are required instead of one beaver ||; whereas each of these, when fine, are more than equal to a beaver.

* Ellis.

† The Esquimaux do not live under ground in winter, as generally supposed, but in huts usually built with staves, joined together with a cement of ice or frozen snow. There they live without any other fire but that of a lamp, hung in the middle of the shed, for the purpose of cooking their food. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour, constantly condensed, arising from this small flame, is sufficient to make their huts as hot as stoves.

‡ Voyage to Hudson's Bay.

§ Ellis.

BOOK IV.

This trade was not established till long after the discovery by Hudson; and if we credit the French, we are indebted for it to two of their dissatisfied countrymen. Part of the tale at least is true. Hudson's Bay had not been fully explored at the beginning of the civil wars, which afforded the English too much occupation at home, to allow them leisure to attend to such distant and inhospitable countries, where nothing was expected except the doubtful and long sought passage to India; and before a succession of more quiet times had made them sensible of their commercial advantages, Groseillers and Radisson, two French Canadians, disgusted with their own court, came over to England, and informed the nation of the profits arising from the trade of furs in the extreme parts of North America, and of their claim to the country that furnished them. So much attention was paid to the representation of these refugees, who had first addressed themselves to the English ambassador at Paris, that prince Rupert, and some public spirited noblemen and gentlemen, fitted out a ship, under the command of Zachary Guiliam, an experienced mariner, whom they conducted to a river, called by the French Nemiscau, which discharges itself into the bottom of the Bay. To this Guiliam gave the name of Rupert River, and built a fort on it, which he called Charles Fort, in honour of the king*.

A. D. 1667.

A. D. 1669.

The success of this expedition exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the adventurers, or of those who conducted it. Guiliam returned with a valuable cargo of furs; and a royal charter was granted by Charles II. to a "governor and company of adventurers of England, trading to Hudson's Bay," of which an abstract is here given for the satisfaction of the inquisitive merchant. "To prince Rupert, count Palatine of the Rhine, George duke of Albemarle, William earl Craven, and fifteen others, and to those whom they shall admit into the said body corporate, power is given to make a common seal, to alter it, and to chuse annually, some time in November, a governor, deputy-governor, and a committee of seven; any three of whom, with the governor, or deputy-governor, to be a court of directors; and these may admit freemen (their own factors and servants being admisible) at a general court, dismiss the governor, or any of the committee, before the year expires, and appoint others in their room during the remainder of the year: and the said company shall have the sole property of lands, trade, royal fishery, and mines within Hudson's Straits, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, and be reputed as one of our colonies in America, to be called *Rupert's Land*; the same to be held in free and common socage, paying the skins of two elks, and two black beavers, as often as the king or queen shall come into those lands. The company have power to make laws for their own government, and other affairs, not repugnant to the laws of England; and such as shall invade their exclusive trade, without leave obtained of the company, shall forfeit their goods and shipping, one half to the king, and the other to the company. In the general meetings of the company, every person holding an hundred pounds original stock, to have one vote; and the com-

* Deagul's Summary, part ii. sect. v. III. Gen. des Voyages, tom xiv. p. 633.

pany may appoint governors, factors, and other officers in any of their parts; the governor and his council to judge in all matters civil and criminal, and execute justice accordingly. Where there is no governor and council, criminals may be sent, and persons aggrieved may apply, to any place where there is a governor and council, or to England for justice: and the company have liberty to send ships of war, men, and ammunition for the protection of their trade, to erect forts, and to make peace or war with any people who are not Christians."

In consequence of these very ample privileges, the company soon extended their trade and their settlements. Their success alarmed the French, who were afraid, and with reason, that most of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudson's Bay. Their fears were confirmed by their *Coureurs de Bois*, who had been several times as far as the borders of the Strait. It would have been highly eligible to have gone by the same road to attack the new settlements; but the distance being thought too considerable, notwithstanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined, that the expedition should be made by sea. The fate of it was trusted to Grosfillers and Radisson; who, like most men that have performed eminent services, did not think they were rewarded by the English according to their merit, and therefore were easily prevailed upon to renew their attachment to their country. These two bold and turbulent men sailed from Quebec in 1682, in two vessels ill equipped; and on their arrival in Hudson's Bay, finding themselves not strong enough to attack the English, they were content with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of those which they intended to have taken*. From this time there began a rivalry between the two companies; one settled in Canada, the other in England, for the exclusive trade of the Bay. This dispute was warmly kept up by hostilities on both sides; till at length, after most of the settlements, English as well as French, had been repeatedly taken and recovered, the contest was finally terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, in consequence of which the whole were ceded to Great Britain.

A. D. 1713.

The immense countries that surround Hudson's Bay, and which were also quit-claimed to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, are called New North and South Wales, and Terra de Labrador, or New Britain. But though the trade of the company has continued to flourish since that time, with an increase perhaps greater than any belonging to the united kingdoms, and though their settlements have remained undisturbed by any enemy, the inhospitableness of the climate has prevented any colony from being settled there, or any plantation from being formed; the corn that has been sown there at different times having frustrated every hope of agriculture, and consequently of population. Hudson's Bay therefore, properly speaking, is still only a mart for trade, which is carried on with the savages at the mouths of several rivers; namely, Churchill-river, Nelson's-river, Severn-river, Albany-river, and Moose-river on the west continent, and Rupert and Slude rivers on the east continent.

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom XIV. p. 642.

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On these rivers the company have some scattered lodges, factories, or forts; the most considerable of which are York Fort and Prince of Wales' Fort, the first on Nelson's, the latter on Churchill river, each protected by about twenty-five or thirty men: and the company's whole force in the Bay does not exceed an hundred men, for the purposes both of defence and commerce. Yet does this small establishment, and a capital of about an hundred thousand pounds, bring them an annual return of near sixty thousand beavers or other valuable skins, on which they make a profit that is altogether incredible, and whose exorbitancy has frequently excited the clamours of the nation. Such a monopoly is, indeed, equally inconsistent with the liberties and the interests of a free people. If the trade were laid open, a much greater quantity of our manufactures would be disposed of; more of our shipping and seamen employed, and of course more furs brought home. Besides, their price would be lowered, and the demand for those manufactures into which they enter, increased at the foreign market.

Nor are these all the advantages that would result from a free trade to Hudson's Bay. A spirited competition might bring home furs with which we are at present unacquainted; an unrestrained and more general intercourse with the natives, would make the surrounding countries better known; it would habituate great numbers of our people to it, and it would discover the most tolerable parts for a settlement. By these means, instead of a few miserable forts and factories, we might in time see an English colony flourish at Hudson's Bay which would open the fur-trade yet more fully, and at the same time increase the consumption of our manufactures: and this more general trade on the Bay, would naturally, and without any expence or trouble whatsoever, either discover to us the so much, and so long desired North-West Passage, or shew us that all expectation of such a passage was in vain, and the attempt impracticable.

Such are the obvious advantages that would result to Great Britain, from laying open the trade to this northern quarter of her American dominions. But, even in its present situation, this trade is highly beneficial. Though not so extensive as it might be, it is by no means inconsiderable: its staple enters largely into our manufactures, and carries nothing but our manufactures from us to procure it; and the spirited competition of our Canada merchants, it is to be hoped, will either induce the Hudson's Bay company to deviate from those narrow principles, on which they have hitherto conducted their commerce, or the parliament to lay it open to the more active and enterprising part of the nation, while the drones are left to feed upon that honey which is already collected for them by the industry of others, at the expence of the community.

C H A P. V.

The Settlement of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with an Account of the Progress of those Colonies, their Trade, and the Manners of the People.

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1609

THE same Henry Hudson who conducted the English into the celebrated Bay that bears his name, also gave his name to one of the finest rivers in North America, and is said to have sold to the Dutch the neighbouring territory, which he pretended to have purchased from the natives. Though Hudson appears to have been then in the Dutch service *, his right to make such a conveyance may well be questioned, as that coast had been traversed by English navigators, though not exactly visited, and grants had been made by the sovereigns of England, to the North and South Virginia companies, of all the lands in those latitudes. The Dutch, however, proceeded to settle the country, and the court of England asserted its claim; not as the French writers absurdly, and petulantly insinuate, because Hudson was an English subject, though in the service of the republic, but because he pretended to alienate, and the Dutch to seize, the chartered property of Englishmen.

But the Dutch, with their usual obstinacy and phlegm, kept possession of the territory, though James I. pacific and timid as he was, repeatedly protested against the settlement. At length Sir Thomas Gates, governor of Virginia, understanding the wishes of the king and the nation, as well as desirous of vindicating the rights of the company to which he belonged, dispatched Capt. Argol, as we have already seen, who either entirely dispossessed the Dutch, or obliged them to acknowledge their subjection to the crown of England. The republic however, afterwards obtained leave from the too easy James, to establish a small settlement near Hudson's river for the wooding and watering of their Brazil fleets. The Dutch made use of this permission to extend their plantations and their settlements, and gave to the country which they occupied the name of Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands. Their principal settlements were New Amsterdam and Fort Orange.

A. D. 1610

The disorders during the reign of Charles I. and the unsettled state of England under the commonwealth, prevented any effectual measures being taken to expel these intruders. But no sooner did Charles II. find himself firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors, than he determined to assert his claim to New Netherlands, which at that time comprehended all the present provinces of New York and New Jersey, with part of Pennsylvania. In consequence of this resolution, Charles made a grant of New Netherlands to his brother, the duke of York, a man of a more enterprising disposition; and the duke on the approach of a war between England and Holland, dispatched Sir Robert Carr and Colonel Nichols, as we have already seen, with a strong squadron, and three thousand land forces, in order to dispossess the Dutch of that contested territory. On the

A. D. 1664.

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 545.

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appearance of this armament before New Amsterdam, since called New York, the Dutch were thrown into the utmost consternation; and being utterly unprepared to resist such a force, they submitted to the English government, on a promise being made them of protection for their persons and properties, and liberty to remove with their effects, if they saw fit. Part of the English squadron next entered Delaware Bay, and reduced all the settlements there; while another division filled up Hudson's river, as far as Fort Orange, which submitted, and took the name of Albany, one of the duke of York's titles *.

A. D. 1667.

This conquest was confirmed to England by the treaty of Breda, in consideration of the United Provinces being permitted to retain possession of Surinam, which the Dutch had taken from the English. But England being afterwards involved in a war with Holland, through the intrigues of France, the Dutch made themselves masters once more of New Netherlands. It was, however, restored to England a few months after, in general terms, by the sixth article in the treaty of London, specifying, "that whatsoever country, islands, towns, ports, castles, or forts, have or shall be taken on both sides, since the time that the late unhappy war broke out, either in Europe or elsewhere, shall be restored to the former lord and proprietor, in the same manner they shall be in when the peace itself shall be proclaimed; after which time there shall be no spoil nor plunder of the inhabitants, nor demolition of fortifications, nor carrying away of guns, powder, or other military stores which belonged to any castle or fort at the time when it was taken."

Feb. 9,
A. D. 1674

From this restitution till the beginning of the present unhappy contest, the crown of England remained in quiet possession of New Netherlands; the north-east part of which, as well as the capital, took the name of New York. This province, which lies between New England and New Jersey, occupies only a very narrow space, of about twenty miles, along the sea shore; but insensibly enlarging, to the width of fifty or sixty miles, it extends towards the north near two hundred miles up the country. The duke of York governed his new colony upon the same arbitrary principles which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whose hands were lodged powers of every kind, not content with the exercise of public authority, instituted themselves arbiters in all private disputes. The province was still chiefly inhabited by the Dutch, who had chosen to cultivate their plantations under a foreign government, rather than remove to their own country. The other inhabitants were mostly emigrants from New England. These people had been too long accustomed to liberty, to submit patiently to an arbitrary administration. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection or an emigration, when in 1683, the colony was invited to chuse representatives to settle its form of government.

A. D. 1691

A permission to chuse representatives was a considerable step towards freedom; but it was not till after the revolution, that the fixed plan of government was established, which has been followed ever since. At the head of the colony

* Smith. Douglass.

is a governor appointed by the crown, which likewise appoints twelve counsellors, without whose concurrence the governor can sign no act. The commons are represented by twenty-seven deputies, chosen by the inhabitants; and those three bodies constitute the general assembly in which all power is lodged. The duration of that assembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and it now continues seven, like the British parliament, whose revolutions it has followed. At the same time that this constitution was settled, it was enacted, that every man shall be judged by his peers, and that all trials shall be by the verdict of twelve men of the neighbourhood; that in all capital and other criminal cases, there shall be a grand inquest to present the offender, and afterwards twelve men to try such offender; that in all cases, bail by sufficient sureties be allowed, unless in case of treason, and such felonies as are restrained from bail by the laws of England; that no tax or imposition be laid but by the general assembly; and that no freeman, tavern-keepers excepted, be compelled to entertain any soldier or mariner, unless in times of actual war with the province*.

Sheltered under a form of government so solid, and so favourable to liberty, which makes every thing prosper, the colony of New York pursued in tranquillity all the labours which its situation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than the greater part of New England, a soil superior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for the culture of every other production, soon enabled this province to vie successfully with an establishment, that had got the start of it in all kinds of merchandize, as well as in the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compensated by a fur-trade, infinitely more considerable. These various means of prosperity, united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, had increased its inhabitants to one hundred and fifty thousand, at the conclusion of the late war.

This prosperity had no improper influence upon the minds of the inhabitants. The Dutch, the original founders of the colony, established in it that spirit of order and œconomy, which is the characteristic of their nation; and as they long constituted the majority of the people, even after they had changed masters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new colonists. The Germans compelled to take refuge in America, by the persecution that drove them out of the Palatinate and other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to the same plain and simple mode of life; and the English and French emigrants, though not accustomed to so much frugality, soon conformed, either from motives of prudence or emulation, to a manner of living less expensive and more cordial, than that which is regulated by fashion and parade. The consequences of this œconomy have been, that the colony of New York has never run in debt with the mother-country; that it has therefore been enabled to preserve an entire liberty in its sales and purchases, and to give the most advantageous turn to its affairs.

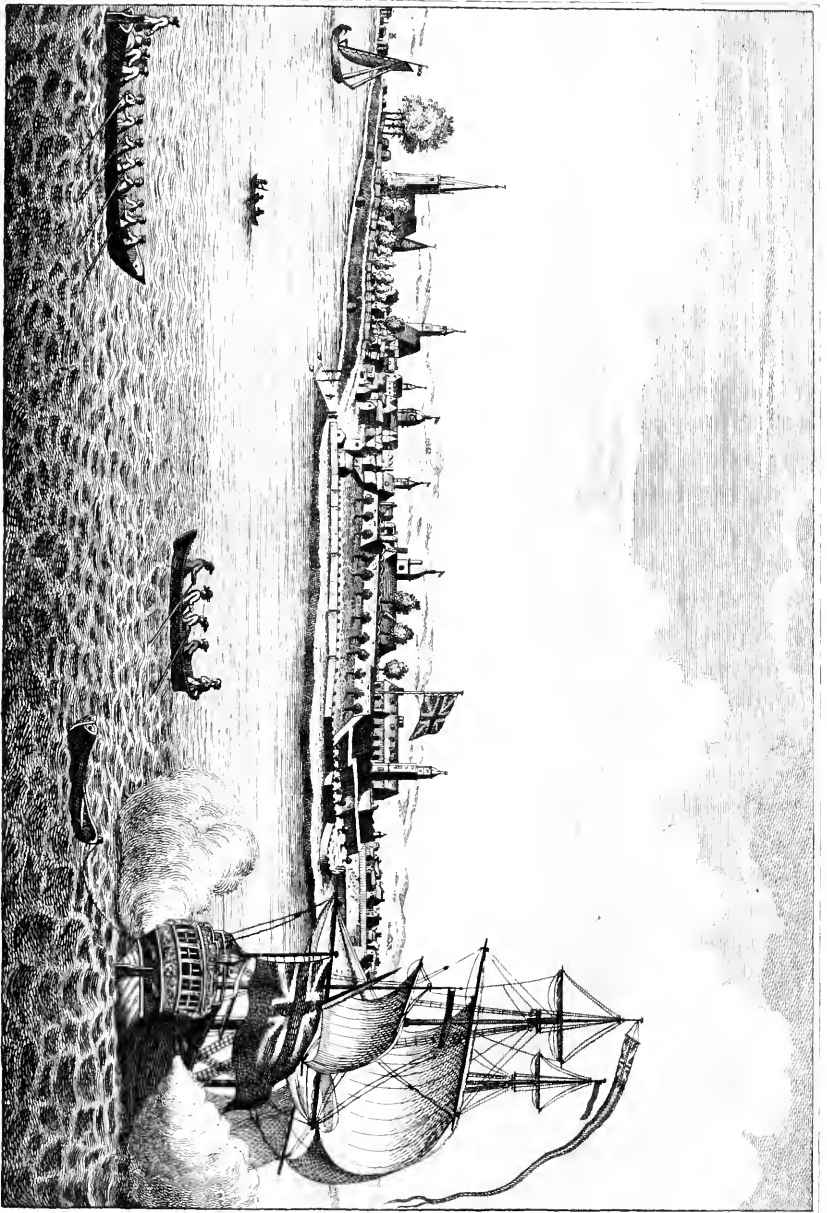
* Douglass, part II. sect. xii.

Both the city and province of New York are much indebted for their prosperity to Hudson's river, whose banks are decorated with rich plantations, and which is navigable for upwards of two hundred miles, at all seasons. It is on this magnificent canal, where the tide flows above an hundred and fifty miles within the land, that every thing that is intended for the general mart is embarked in vessels of forty or fifty tons burden. The city or mart itself, which is near the sea, is extremely well-situated for receiving all the merchandize of the province, and all that comes from Long Island, which is only separated from the continent by a narrow channel. The name of this island is very applicable to its figure, being an hundred and thirty miles long, and only about fifteen broad. It was formerly famous for the great number of whales and seals on its coasts; but whether the frequent fisheries, or any other cause of a like kind, hath driven away those creatures, who generally seek quiet seas and desert shores, it is certain they have in a great measure disappeared. The neighbouring sea, however, still affords a rich return to the industry of the fishermen, and the land is not inferior to any in the New World. It produces tobacco equal to that of Maryland, hemp, flax, and every sort of grain in the greatest abundance. Besides, as the pastures are most excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly horses, has been much attended to, without neglecting any branch of agriculture.

All these different productions flow to the principal mart, which is also increased by commodities brought from a greater distance. Some parts of New England and New Jersey find their account in pouring their stores into New York. This city, which was originally built by the Dutch, and, as already observed, denominated New Amsterdam, is situated in an island called by the Indians Manahatton, fourteen miles long, but not above two broad. It stands at the distance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudson's river, and is computed to contain about twelve thousand inhabitants*. It is well and commodiously built, in the Dutch taste, extending a mile in length, and about half that in breadth. Both the public edifices and private houses convey the idea of solidity united to conveniency; and there is no town, either in the old or New World, where the air is better, or where there is a greater appearance of ease and plenty.

This city however, the seat of so many conveniencies, and so considerable a mart of commerce, was by no means properly fortified before the present disturbances. It had no other defence but a bad fort, and a retrenchment of stone, which could not have defended it twenty four hours, against a skilful enemy. What fortifications have been raised since, we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. Notwithstanding all its trade, New York has properly no harbour; but this want it does not feel, because its safe and commodious road is sufficient. Two hundred and fifty, or three hundred ships, were usually thence dispatched,

* This computation, and all others relative to places which have been lately the scene of war, as well as the descriptions of such places, except when otherwise mentioned, must be understood of their former state.



South West View of 'Fort George with the City of Newport, R.I.'



for some years after the late peace, to the different parts of Europe and America. England received but a small part of them, but they were the richest, their cargo consisting of beaver skins and valuable furs.

The manner in which the colony got possession of these furs and skins, comes next to be explained; and this subject will lead us to the second city, and almost the only other town in the province.

As soon as the Dutch had built New Amsterdam, in a situation which they thought favourable for its intercourse with Europe, they next endeavoured to establish there an advantageous trade. The only thing at that time in request from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring country offered few, and those indifferent ones, there was a necessity of going towards the north, in order to have them better and in larger quantities. Even in this there was some difficulty, on account of the vicinity of the English settlements: it was therefore determined to proceed up the country, and an establishment was formed on the banks of Hudson's river, at the distance of an hundred and fifty miles from the capital. This territory belonged to the Iroquois or Five Nations, united by an ancient and inviolable league; and certain circumstances fortunately induced them to favour the designs of the Dutch. They happened to be at war with the French, who were then establishing themselves in Canada; and in consequence of an agreement to supply them with the same arms that their enemies used, these brave people allowed the Dutch to build Fort Orange, to which, as already observed, the English gave the name of Albany, when they became masters of the province.

There was never the least dispute between the Hollanders and their Indian allies, during the whole time that the United Provinces retained the possession of New Netherlands. On the contrary the Dutch, with the assistance of their powder, lead, and muskets, which they used to give in exchange for furs, secured to the colony not only what the Iroquois could procure by their own hunting, in all the immense countries belonging to the Five Nations, but even the spoils collected by those warriors in their expeditions. This harmony was not interrupted by the conquest of the colony: the Iroquois transferred their attachment to the English, and have proved the most steady and effectual ally that we have found among the Indians. But the English did not seriously attend to the fur-trade till after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, when the French refugees introduced into England the art of making beaver hats. Even after that æra, their efforts were long ineffectual; and their want of success was owing chiefly to two causes, which it will be necessary here to unfold.

The French, who had greatly extended their settlements and their influence in Canada, were accustomed to procure from Albany coverlids, thick worsted and woollen stuffs, different sorts of iron and copper ware, and even arms and ammunition; all which they could sell to the savages with the greater advantage, as those goods bought at Albany, cost them one third less than they would have done, by any other method of purchase, before they could have been conveyed to Canada. Besides the hunting nations, who were chiefly separated from New York

by.

BOOK IV. by the country of the Iroquois, into which nobody chose to venture far, could hardly treat with any European nation but the French. William Burnet, son to the celebrated bishop of that name, who was appointed governor of New York in 1719, was either the first who discerned this evil, or the first who ventured to strike at the root of it. He prevailed with the general assembly to pass an act prohibiting all communication between Albany and Canada; and then obtained the consent of the Iroquois, to build and fortify the factory of Oswego, on that part of the lake Ontario by which most of the savages must pass in their way to Montreal*. There they furnished themselves from the English, with all the commodities they wanted, and at half the price they used to pay to the French.

A. D. 1722. The consequence of these two wise measures was, that the trade of New York was greatly increased, and vast numbers of British subjects resorted to that province. The fur-trade was no longer monopolized by a few overgrown merchants, but diverted into many channels, to the no small benefit of the colony. The Indians themselves became more dependent upon the English, because more sensible of their power, and of the advantages derived from living in amity with them; so that at the conclusion of the late war, the fur trade of New York was five times greater than before the building of Oswego, and the cession of Canada to the crown of Great Britain must have increased it at least a third more.

A. D. 1763. If the colony of New York has gained by the conquest of Canada, it does not appear to have lost much by being separated from New Jersey, which, as already observed, formerly made part of New Netherlands, and was chiefly inhabited by Swedes. The Swedes settled in this country about the year 1639, and had several towns and plantations on both sides of the Delaware; but receiving no support from the parent-state, and being under continual alarms from the neighbouring Indians, they put themselves under the protection of the Dutch in 1655, and their territory was thenceforth considered as part of Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands †. When the English became masters of the whole territory, which had been granted to the duke of York before it was conquered, he divided the present province of New Jersey between two of his favourites, lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret. These two courtiers, the first of whom had received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, appear to have solicited this vast country with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several speculators accordingly bought large districts of it from them, at a low price; and these were again subdivided, and sold in small parcels. In the midst of these grants and transfers, the colony became divided into two distinct provinces, called East Jersey and West Jersey, each separately governed by the heirs of the original proprietors. The exercise of this right was found inconvenient, on account of the perpetual disputes between the people and their superiors, no respect being paid

* Douglass, part II. sect. xii.

† Douglass, part II. sect. xii. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 551.

to the proprietary governors. The proprietors therefore surrendered the government to the crown in 1702, but reserved to themselves all their other rights. The two provinces were now consolidated into one, and put like New York and other colonies, under the direction of a governor, a council, and a general assembly; the two former appointed by the king, and the latter consisting of the governor, council, and representatives of the people.

New Jersey is bounded on the east by New York; on the west by the river Delaware, which divides it from Pennsylvania; on the north by the Dutch lands; and on the south by the ocean, which washes its coasts through an extent of a hundred and twenty miles. This country, before the revolution, contained only sixteen thousand inhabitants, the descendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were joined by some Quakers, and some church of Englandmen, but a greater number of Presbyterians. The tyranny of government had stopped the progress and occasioned the indigence of this small colony: it might therefore have been expected, that the era of liberty would have been that of its prosperity. It proved, however, otherwise: almost all the Europeans who went to the New World, in search either of wealth or an asylum, preferring the milder climates and more fruitful soil of Carolina and Pennsylvania, New Jersey was suffered to remain in its primitive languor. Even at the beginning of the present troubles, it did not contain above fifty thousand white men, and twenty thousand blacks; and Perth Amboy, the capital, though favoured with an excellent harbour, does not consist of more than three hundred houses.

A. D. 1638.

The original poverty of this province has proved the ruin of its trade. Being unable to open a direct communication with the distant and foreign markets, it began with selling its productions at Philadelphia and New York, to which it found a ready conveyance by water-carriage, and where it received in exchange the manufactures of the mother-country. This practice has been continued ever since; for where the correspondencies are fixed, the method of dealing established, credits given, and a ready market for needy dealers, it is not easy to draw trade out of its old channel. There is of course very little specie in New Jersey; which is reduced, like most of our American colonies, to make use of paper currency; and as its bills were current both in Pennsylvania and New York, which did not take any of each others bills, they bore an advanced premium above the bills of those two colonies, by being made use of in all payments between them.

But it is not from any such trifling advantage, that New Jersey must expect to derive its future importance: it is from the culture of its immense tract of improvable land, and from the use of its own ports, that it must expect to draw its vigour and prosperity. As long as it stands in need of intermediate agents, it must remain in the state of languor into which it is plunged. This the colony is thoroughly sensible of, and all its efforts have for some time been directed to enable it to act for itself. Even as far back as the year 1714, it found means to fit out at its own expence, thirty-eight vessels bound to Europe, or to the western isles of America. These vessels carried six thousand, four hun-

dred, and twenty-four barrels of flour; one hundred and sixty-eight thousand, five hundred weight of bread; three hundred and fourteen barrels of beef and pork; seventeen thousand, nine hundred, and forty-one bushels of grain; fourteen thousand weight of hemp; with a considerable quantity of butter, hams, beer, flax seed, bar-iron, and lumber *, or wood for building and other common purposes.

It is conjectured, that this direct trade may have increased one third, before the conclusion of the late war, and been doubled before the commencement of the present disturbances. Such a beginning of prosperity must raise the hopes, (and as soon as peace is restored) the projects and the enterprizes of a colony, which hitherto has not been able to sustain that part in trade, which its situation seemed to promise it. If there are some poor feeble states that draw their subsistence and support from the vicinity of others more rich and powerful than themselves, there are a much greater number whom such a neighbourhood entirely crushes and destroys. Perhaps the latter has been, in some degree, the fate of New Jersey, by lying too close to Pennsylvania, which has sometimes concealed it with its shadow, and sometimes eclipsed it with its splendour.

The province of Pennsylvania, which, as already observed, was partly included in New Netherland, and which has no communication with the sea but by the mouth of the Delaware, is bounded on the north by New York and New Jersey; on the south, by Virginia and Maryland; and on the west, by uncultivated wilds, still occupied by the Indians. It is in length near three hundred miles, and in breadth about two hundred. The sky is clear and serene, and the climate, naturally very wholesome, has been rendered still more so by cultivation. The waters, equally pure and salubrious, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand. The year is tempered by a regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March; and as it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is generally moderate, though sometimes so intense as to freeze the largest rivers in a night's time. This change, which is as swift as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains and gentle heat, which encrease gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable, were it not for the refreshing breezes of the north-west wind. But this relief, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes the inhabitants to dreadful hurricanes that blow down whole forests, and tear up trees by the roots, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are seldom attended with any other inconvenience except that of being too rainy. Though the country is irregular, it is not on that account less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow and black sand; in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is of a greyish ash colour, upon a stony bottom; but in general it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which intersecting it in all directions, contribute greatly to the fertility of the province.

* Douglass's Summary, part II. sect. xiii.

Such is the country that was granted by Charles II. to the famous William Penn, the Quaker, son of admiral Penn, who had distinguished himself in the great sea fight against the Dutch in 1655. The charter is very ample and explicit. After describing the limits of the territory, to be "erected into a province and feignory, and called PENNSYLVANIA," it impowers William Penn, his heirs, and executors, and their lieutenants, with the assent of a majority of the freemen or their delegates assembled, to raise money for public uses; to establish judges, justices, and other magistrates; (probat of wills and granting of administrations included) to pardon or remit all crimes and offences committed within the said province, treason and wilful murder excepted; which, however, they may relieve, until the king's pleasure is known: the judges by them constituted to hold pleas, as well criminal as civil, personal, real, and mixed; but their laws to be consonant to reason, not contrary to the laws of England, and to reserve an appeal to the king in council. Liberty is granted to divide the country into townships, hundreds, and counties; to incorporate towns into boroughs and cities, and to constitute fairs and markets. The proprietors may receive such impositions upon goods as the assembly shall enact, and "the crown shall make no taxation or imposition in the said province without consent of the proprietary, or assembly, or by *act of parliament* in England*."

With this charter, which he obtained not only in consideration of his father's eminent services, but as an equivalent for certain loans which it was not convenient for government to repay, Mr. Penn set sail for his new territory; and his arrival in America was signalized by an act of justice and sound policy, which made his person and principles equally beloved, and laid the foundation of the future greatness of the colony he was going to establish. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right which his patent gave him to the soil, and sensible of the benefit of maintaining a good correspondence with the natives, he determined to make it his own property by purchase. What price he gave to the Indians is not known: it was probably very small; but he is at least entitled to the honour of having set an example of equity and moderation in the New World, to which Europeans had hitherto paid little regard. He made himself as much as possible a legal possessor of the province †; and the Indians, in return for this attention shown to their rights, entertained an affection for the colony of Pennsylvania, as strong as that aversion which they had conceived against all those founded without their consent.

A. D. 1681.

* This is the greatest concession made in any colony charter; yet some late acts of parliament for levying taxes, conformable to this reserved claim, have been represented as violations of the charter-privileges of the colonies. How far such a power is consistent with the natural rights of mankind, we shall afterwards have occasion to consider; but that such a power is reserved either to the king or the parliament, in all the colony charters, is a matter that does not admit of the smallest dispute.

† Besides purchasing the uncultivated territory of the Indians, Mr. Penn made a purchase from Sir George Carteret of the three lower counties on the Delaware, which were chiefly inhabited by Swedes, and had made part first of New Sweden and afterwards of New Netherlands.

Nor was Mr. Penn's justice and generosity confined to the savages only : it extended itself to those who were desirous of living under his laws. Convinced that the happiness of the people, in any government, depends upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon these two first principles of public prosperity and private felicity—*liberty* and *property*. The mind dwells with pleasure upon this part of the American story, and feels some kind of compunction for the disgust, horror, and melancholy, which the establishment of the greater part of the European settlements inspires. One of Mr. Penn's principal motives for soliciting the grant of this extensive country, which his posterity still hold almost as a sovereignty, was a desire of affording an asylum to his brethren the Quakers, persecuted both in New and Old England ; for although all criminal prosecutions were now suspended, they were still harassed by the spiritual courts, on account of their refusing to pay tithes and other church dues. Filled with admiration of the man who was an honour to their sect, and reposing perfect confidence in his promises, near two thousand of them accompanied him across the Atlantic, in 1681.

But Penn, though a sectary, was no bigot. He made toleration the basis of his new colony. " No persons who believe in ONE almighty God, and live peaceably under the civil government, shall be molested in their religious persuasions," says he in his charter of privileges, " nor compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship contrary to their mind ; and all persons who *profess* to believe in JESUS CHRIST, are capable of serving the government in any capacity, on condition of their solemnly promising, when required, allegiance to the crown, and fidelity to the proprietor and governor." The governor is only the proprietor's deputy ; but, like all lieutenant governors, or deputies nominated by lords proprietors, or principal hereditary governors of British colonies in North America, he must have the royal approbation. This governor has a council ; but they have no concern in the legislature, otherwise than by advising the governor in regard to his negative. The acts of legislation are, " by the lieutenant-governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and of the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware river ; by and with the consent of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in general assembly met *."

* The proper province of Pennsylvania was at first divided into three counties, Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester, each sending eight representatives to the assembly ; but the counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland have since been added, the first sending four, and the two last each two members ; which with two representatives from the city of Philadelphia, making in all thirty four members, compose the house of assembly. The qualification for electing or being elected, is a freeman resident in the country for two years, and worth in real or personal estate, or both jointly, the value of fifty pounds currency ; which, if required, is to be declared upon oath, or solemn affirmation. The three lower counties on Delaware river, called the *territories*, are a distinct jurisdiction, and their assembly of representatives consists of six members from Newcastle county, six from Kent, and six from Sussex county, in all eighteen members. Douglass's Summary, part II. sect. six.

As a further inducement to settlers, Mr. Penn granted his lands on the most moderate terms. He gave a thousand acres to every one who could afford to pay twenty pounds sterling for them, reserving only one shilling quit rent for every hundred acres. Such as could not purchase, obtained for themselves, and every one of their family, above sixteen years of age, fifty acres of land, for an annual quit-rent of one penny per acre. In order to render the benefit accruing from these grants perpetual, he established tribunals for enforcing the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands, in a manner that deserves approbation, to make those who are in possession or them purchase the decree of justice that secures them: for, in that case, every individual is obliged to resign some part of his property, in order to retain the rest; and law, when protracted, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve. Penn therefore prohibited, under very severe penalties, all who were engaged in the administration of justice, from receiving any gratification whatsoever, that they might have no interest in encouraging or prolonging law-suits; and as a farther preservative, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate any disputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

This attention to prevent law-suits sprung from the desire of preventing crimes. That they might have no crimes to punish, all the laws were calculated to check them in their origin, and to dry up their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted that every child, above twelve years of age, whatever might be his condition, should be obliged to learn some trade, or devote himself to some particular profession, beneficial to society*. This regulation, at the same time that it secured the poor man's subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune, and preserved the idea of the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination—to be serviceable to himself and his fellow-creatures, by the exertion either of his mental or bodily powers.

Such primary constitutions must necessarily be productive of an excellent legislation: and the advantages of that established by Penn were accordingly manifested in the rapid and continued progress of Pennsylvania; which, without either wars, conquests, struggles, or any of those revolutions that attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon excited the admiration of the whole universe. Its Indian neighbours, notwithstanding their savage temper, were rebbed of their ferocity by the gentleness of its manners, and distant nations notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. When the Europeans first came into the province, they found nothing of value but wood and iron ore; but in process of time, by cutting down the trees and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds; a great variety of fruits; plantations of flax and hemp; many kinds of vegetables, and every sort of grain, but especially rye and maize, which a happy experience had shewn to be peculiarly adapted to the climate.

* Hist. Review of the Const. and Gov. of Pennsylvania.

Cultivation, in a word, was carried on with such vigour and success, as excited the astonishment of both worlds, and rendered Pennsylvania, in the course of fourscore years, one of the most populous and fertile provinces in North America.

This rapid and extraordinary prosperity originated, as already observed, from that wise constitution established by the proprietor; from that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and English, but particularly the persecuted and industrious Germans into Pennsylvania. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists, Independents; Lutherans, Presbyterians, Church of England men; Methodists, Moravians, and Dimplers. This last sect, which is less known than the rest, and sufficiently singular to merit a particular description, was founded by a German emigrant. Weary of the world, he retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to have more leisure to give himself up to devout contemplations. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat; and by degrees his pious, simple, and peaceable manners induced them to settle near him. Under the appellation of Dimplers, they formed a small colony, which they called Euphrates, in allusion to the famous river of that name in Asia, on whose banks, during the Babylonish captivity, the Hebrews used to sing psalms.

The little city of Euphrates, or as it is sometimes called, Ephrata, is of a triangular form, the sides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and these ranges of trees, are houses built of wood, three stories high, where every Dimpler is left to enjoy the pleasures of religious meditation without disturbance. These contemplative people do not amount to above five or six hundred, and their territory is only about two hundred and fifty acres in extent. It lies delightfully between two small hills; and is in a manner insulated by a river on one side, and a ditch and a bank planted with trees on the other*.

The men and women at Euphrates live in different quarters of the city; nor do they ever see each other except at places of public worship, or when it is necessary to consult upon matters of public œconomy. Unacquainted with any amusement, and needing none besides their moral and religious duties, the Dimplers spend their lives in a regular return of labour, prayer, and sleep. Twice every day, and as often every night, are they called forth from their cells to attend divine service. Like the Methodists and Quakers, every individual among them has the right of preaching, when he thinks himself inspired. The favourite subjects on which they discourse in their meetings are humility, temperance, chastity, and the other Christian virtues. They never violate the repose of that day which all Christian churches have set aside for the purposes of religious worship; or rather they observe it with a Jewish superstition. They believe in a future state of rewards and punishments, but deny the eternity of hell-torments. They hold the

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. XV. fol. edit.

contested tenet of free-will, and abhor the doctrine of original sin, in so far as it regards the depravity of the human race, as equally absurd and blasphemous. Their ideas of the Divinity, to whose presence they believe all men will sooner or later be admitted, are in general liberal and elevating. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works they only administer baptism to the adult, and that by immersion. At the same time they think baptism, or at least a belief in the Messiah, to essentially necessary to salvation, that they imagine the souls of dead Christians are employed in another world, in converting those who had not an opportunity, while in this, of hearing or embracing the glad tidings of the gospel*.

Still more disinterested than the Quakers, the Dumplers never allow themselves to engage in law suits. One may cheat, rob, and abuse them, without ever being exposed to any prosecution: they disclaim violence, even in cases of self-defence. Their appearance and mode of life is answerable to their mild, or rather tame and patient character. Nothing can be simpler than their dress. In winter it consists of a long white wooll-n gown, from which hangs a hood, that serves the purpose of a hat; a coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very wide breeches, or trowsers. The only difference in summer is, that the gown, which is fastened round the waist with a belt, is of linen. The women are dressed in the same manner, with this difference only, that instead of trowsers they have petticoats. Their food is as plain as their attire: it consists wholly of vegetables; not because they think it unlawful to eat any other kind of food, but because that degree of abstinence is thought most conformable to the spirit of Christianity, which proclaims peace, requires mortification, and abhors blood.

Every individual follows at Euphrates that branch of business which is prescribed to him; nor do the women spend their lives in idleness, but occupy themselves in many ingenious labours. The produce of their joint efforts is deposited in a common stock, in order to supply the necessities of every one. This union of industry, has not only perfected the cultivation of their little territory, but established manufactures, and all the arts necessary for the support of the society. It hath even furnished some superfluities for exchange, not inadequate to the degree of population. Nor is that on the decline; for although the two sexes live separate at Euphrates, the Dumplers are far from renouncing matrimony. Those who find themselves disposed to join in wedlock, must indeed leave the city; but they are supplied out of the public funds with whatever is necessary for their settling elsewhere. This they generally do as near as possible to the parent-city, that they may be the better enabled to send their children thither for education, and to hold occasional communion with the godly †. Without such a privilege, the Dumplers would be no better than monks, and must in time become either savages or libertines.

The most extraordinary circumstance, as well as that most worthy of admiration, is the harmony that subsists between all the sects established in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the diversity of their religious opinions. It is a beautiful pro-

* Id. *ibid.*† *Mod. Univ. Hist. ubi sup.*

RO. K. IV.

fect, to see men take and give an equal freedom of sentiment; to see them live, if not as belonging to the same church, yet to the same Christian religion; and if not related by one common religion, to preserve such an union of affections, as to manifest their alliance to the same great fraternity of mankind—as children of the same universal Father. The people of Pennsylvania have always continued to live like brethren, because they were permitted to think like men. To this delightful harmony must be attributed, in a greater measure, the rapid progress of the colony. At the conclusion of the late war, the population of Pennsylvania amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand white inhabitants; a number which must now be greatly increased, notwithstanding the present destructive contest, as according to Dr. Franklin's calculation, the colony doubled itself formerly every fifteen years.

There were, at the same time, in the province thirty thousand blacks; who, though better treated than any where else, were yet extremely unhappy. The consideration of this circumstance, induced the Quakers lately to set an example, which ought to form an era in the history of religion and humanity. In one of their meetings, where every one of the faithful, women as well as men, who imagine themselves moved by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, have a right of speaking, a brother, (who was himself undoubtedly inspired on this occasion) rose and spoke to the following purport. "How long shall we have two consciences, two measures, two scales?—one in our own favour, and one for the ruin of our neighbour, both equally false. Does it become us, Brethren, to complain, that at this moment the British parliament wishes to enslave us, and to impose upon us the yoke of subjects, without leaving us the right of citizens?—No! we must stand self-condemned; we must reform our own conduct, before we can arraign that of others. Have we not, for near a century past, been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the hardest slavery, men who are by nature our brethren and our equals?—Those unhappy men, whom the Creator had separated from us by barriers so formidable, but whom our avarice has sought after through storms and shipwrecks, and brought away from the midst of their burning sands, breathing death to Europeans, or from their dark forests inhabited by tygers—what have they done to us, that they should be thus treated?—What crime have they committed, that they should be torn from a country which fed them without toil, and violently transplanted by us into a land where they perish under the labours of servitude?"

"Father in Heaven! hast thou then created a family, the elder-born of which, after having seized on the property of their brethren, are farther resolved to compel them with stripes, to manure with the blood of their veins and the sweat of their brow, that very inheritance of which they have been robbed?—Miserable men! whom we render brutes, in order to tyrannize over them; in whom we extinguish every finer feeling of the soul, that we may load their limbs with chains, and their bodies with burdens; in whom we efface the image of the Creator, and the stamp of rationality.—Can human beings be thus degraded throughout their whole existence by us, who are Christians and Englishmen?—Englishmen! ye
people

people favoured of Heaven, respected on earth, and adored on the seas, would ye be free yourselves, and tyrants over others at the same time?—No, Brethren! it is fit we should at last be consistent with ourselves; let us set at liberty those wretched victims of our pride and avarice; let us restore to the negroes that freedom which man has no right to take from man. May all Christian societies be induced by our example, to repair an injustice authorised by the crimes and the plunders of two centuries; and may the blacks, too long degraded, at length raise to heaven their arms freed from chains, and their eyes bathed in tears of gratitude. Ill-fated race! they have hitherto shed no tears but those of affliction; to mourn their sufferings, and contemplate the grave as an asylum from misery and despair, has, alas! been all their consolation." This discourse carried home conviction, at the same time that it awakened remorse, and all the slaves in Pennsylvania were set at liberty.

The people of this province are in general well made, and the women, if not handsome, of an agreeable figure. As they sooner become mothers than in Europe, they sooner cease breeding. If the heat of the climate seems, on the one hand, to hasten the operations of nature, its inconsistency weakens them on the other; for there is no place where the temperature of the sky is more uncertain, several changes often happening in the same day. But as these changes have no dangerous influence upon the fruits of the earth, there is a constant plenty in Pennsylvania, and an universal appearance of ease. Nor does the economy which is so generally attended to there, prevent both sexes from being well clothed and well fed. The families whose circumstances are in any degree affluent, have all bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum, and numbers are able to drink constantly, though commonly in moderation, French and Spanish wines.

Happily the pleasing prospect of this abundance is never disturbed by the melancholy appearance of poverty. There are no poor in Pennsylvania. All those whose birth or hard fortune has left them destitute of resources, are provided for out of the public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is carried yet farther: it is extended to the most engaging hospitality. A traveller is welcome to stop at any house, without the least apprehension of giving uneasiness, except that of regret for his departure. Nor is the prosperity of Pennsylvania impaired by the oppressive burden of taxes, which in 1764 did not amount to fifteen thousand pounds annually; and most of these were intended to repair the expences of the preceding war, and to cease in a few years.

The virtuous possessors, and peaceful tenants of this province, which usually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not restrained by the fear of want from the propagation of their species. There is hardly an unmarried person to be met with in Pennsylvania, after the years that nature has prescribed for the union of the sexes; and the matrimonial state is so much the more happy, and consequently the more revered, as the freedom as well as the sanctity of marriage, depends entirely on the will of the parties. They chuse the lawyer and the priest rather as witnesses, than as the means of cementing their engagements. When they meet with opposition from their relations, the

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two by the head of a horseback together: the man rides behind his mistress; and in due season they present themselves before the magistrate, where the girl declares that she has run away with her swelfth art, and that they are come to be married. Each a solemn avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any person a right to give them any molestation. In all other cases paternal authority is exercised. The head of a family, whose affairs are involved, is allowed to sell his children to his creditors for a certain term of years.

From that ceremony which leads to the propagation of the species, our views are naturally turned to the last offices required by humanity. It is a general observation, that plain and virtuous people, even those that are savage and poor, pay great attention to the ordering of their funerals. The reason seems to be, that they look upon these last offices as duties; and those duties as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very strong in private families, while they remain in a state but little removed from that of nature. It is not the dying man himself who exacts these offices or honours: his parents, his wife, his children voluntarily pay them to the ashes of a father, a husband, or a son, that has deserved to be lamented. Those ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in small societies than in large ones, in villages than in towns, in the country than in the capital; for although there are fewer families in the same space, the consequence of individuals there is much greater, and all the ties which connect them with each other, notwithstanding their remote situation, are much stronger. Hence in Pennsylvania, where most of the inhabitants may be said to live separately, and as it were within their own families, the highest honours are paid to the dead; a people who during their lives are the greatest enemies to parade, forgetting all simplicity on such occasions, regulate their funeral pomp only by their affection, and the rank or fortune of the deceased.

Let us now inquire, whence Pennsylvania gets the articles necessary for her consumption, and by what means she contrives to be so abundantly furnished with them. With the flax and hemp that is produced at home, and the cotton she procures from the West Indies, she fabricates a great many ordinary linens and calicoes; and with the wool that comes from Europe, mixed with some of her own growth, she manufactures many coarse cloths. Whatever her industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the English, French, Dutch, and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter, cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt beef and pork, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building and other common purposes, under the denomination of lumber. The cotton, sugar, coffee, rum, and money received in exchange for those commodities, are so many materials for a fresh trade with the mother-country, and with other European nations, as well as with the neighbouring colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain, and Portugal, open an advantageous market for the corn and wood of Pennsylvania, which they purchase with wine and specie. The mother-country receives from Pennsylvania iron, flax, flax-seed, leather, furs,

* Hist. Rev. of the Const. and Gov. of Pensylv.

linseed-oil, bees-wax, and wood for ship building; for which it returns thread, cloths, silks, tea, Irish linens, India calicos, hardware, and various other articles of luxury or necessity*.

This trade is very considerable, in whatever light we consider it; but as England, before the present troubles, sold a greater quantity of merchandise to the colony, than she purchased from it, she may be considered as the gulph, in which all the specie that Pennsylvania drew from the other parts of the world was lost. In the year 1770, Britain furnished goods to the amount of near five hundred thousand pounds sterling, and imported commodities from Pennsylvania to the amount only of about three hundred thousand. It was impossible that the colonists could pay so considerable a difference, even though they had deprived themselves of all the specie which they received from the other markets; nor will they ever be able to do this, while the clearing of their lands requires so great a proportion of the produce. Such of our colonies as enjoy almost exclusively some branches of trade, namely rice, indigo, and tobacco, must have grown rich very rapidly; whereas Pennsylvania, whose riches are founded on common agriculture, and the increase of its herds and flocks, will acquire them more gradually, but its prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

Besides their trade with Europe, the West Indies, and the different European colonies settled on the American continent, the Pennsylvanians carry on a considerable traffic with the neighbouring Indians. The Indian traders from Pennsylvania generally set out in the beginning of May, and continue out three or four months. They buy the skins for which they trade, not from the Indians themselves, but from a kind of brokers who are settled on their confines, and to whom they pay gold or silver for all they receive. These skins are purchased originally chiefly from the Iroquois, whom we shall have occasion to mention more particularly in the history of Canada, and who now consist of six nations; namely the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, an adventitious tribe, incorporated with the ancient Five Nations about the year 1720 †. Those savages are far from being so heedless as is commonly imagined in regard to their own interest: they often put the English in mind, that the Delawar and Sesequehana Indians had been conquered by them, and therefore had no right to dispose of their lands ‡.

Pennsylvania, for the last four years before the present disturbances, received, one year with another, about four hundred ships, and sent out near an equal number. They chiefly arrived at Philadelphia, the capital, and were dispatched from the same place. This famous city, whose very name revives every feeling of humanity, is situated at the conflux of the Delawar and Schuylkill, about one hundred and twenty miles from the sea. Penn, its founder, who designed it for

* Douglass's Summary, part II. sect. xiv.

† Some authors mention the addition of two other tribes; but this enumeration is only intended to obviate any confusion that might arise from the Iroquois being sometimes called the Five and sometimes the Six Nations, without regard to any late incorporation, not generally known and acknowledged.

‡ Douglass's Summary, part II. sect. xiv.

the metropolis of a powerful state, planned it with admirable judgment. He propelled that is the old extent two miles in length between the rivers, and one in breadth; but its population has hitherto proved inefficient to cover this extent of ground. The banks of the Delaware only are built upon, though without giving up the idea of the legislator, or deviating from his plan. These precautions are highly proper, as Philadelphia must become the most considerable city in America; and for obvious reasons: the colony, from its constitution, must necessarily increase greatly, as well as be improved in a very high degree; and its productions must chiefly pass through the harbour of the capital before they can arrive at the ocean, to be wanted to other shores. For that purpose the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill (the first of which is navigable, for vessels of one fort or other, upwards of two hundred miles) are highly servicable; and what may seem almost incredible, the Dutch, as far back as the year 1756, employed near eight thousand waggon, each drawn by four horses, in bringing the produce of their farms and manufactures to this general mart*.

The city of Philadelphia, when the original plan can be fully executed, is to compose eight parallel streets, each of two miles in length; and these are to be intersected by sixteen others, all a mile long, broad, spacious, and straight, with proper spaces for public buildings. At present the houses, which consist of about two thousand five hundred, do not extend above a mile and a half in length, on the west side of the Delaware, nor more than half a mile in breadth. In the centre is a square of ten acres, round which most of the public buildings are disposed. The streets are in general fifty, and the two principal ones an hundred feet wide. The houses, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two stories high, besides the ground floor, and are built either of brick or a sort of soft stone, which grows harder by being exposed to the air. From the two rivers are cut several canals, equally agreeable and beneficial. The quays are spacious and elegant, as well as commodious; the principal one, to which a vessel of five hundred tons burden may lay her broadside, being two hundred feet wide. The warehouses, ranged along the banks of the river, are large, numerous, and convenient, and the docks for ship building no less ingeniously contrived for their particular purposes. In a word, Philadelphia is amply furnished with every advantage of nature and art, for the encouragement of commerce and the assistance of industry.

It is impossible to determine precisely the population of this city, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any degree of exactness, and several facts do not baptise their children: it is computed however, that in 1760, Philadelphia contained twenty thousand inhabitants. As most of them are employed in the sale of the productions of the colony, or in supplying it with what they draw from abroad, their fortunes must be very considerable; and as soon as the present troubles can be composed, the people must rapidly increase in a country where not above one fifth part of the land has been cleared. Trade must keep pace with

* Douglass's Summary, part II. §. 8. xiv.

the progress of cultivation; and that promises every thing from the industry of a laborious and hardy race of men. Nor are the Pennsylvanians attentive only to the useful or merely necessary arts: they have for some time aspired, with no small share of emulation, after the ornamental. A public library was formed in 1742, under the direction of the celebrated Dr. Franklin; and in 1749, an academy was founded at Philadelphia, by a set of private gentlemen, in order to prepare the mind for the attainment of the liberal arts and sciences. To a good set of books, in Latin, French, and English, is now added a complete assortment of mathematical instruments, and a very fine cabinet of natural curiosities. The academy has made no less progress. At first it only initiated the students in the belles-lettres: but in 1764, a class of medicine was established; and knowledge of every kind, and masters in every science will be provided, in proportion as the lands which are to furnish their salary shall yield a greater produce.

Philadelphia, Newcastle, the place next in eminence, and all the towns and cities in Pennsylvania, are entirely open. Nor is there any fortress in the whole province or territory. This is the necessary consequence of the non-resisting principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the chief influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one fifth part of the inhabitants of the colony. These sectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modesty, probity, industry, and benevolence; but it must surely appear an error, or a misfortune, that so great a share of the government should have been placed in the hands of men, who hold tenets directly opposite to its principal end, the security of the community from abroad. To suppose the colony would never have any enemies, was supposing the world to be peopled with Quakers: it was encouraging the strong to fall upon the weak; leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and submitting the whole province to the mercy of the first tyrant, either foreign or domestic, that should think proper to subdue it. We may therefore very safely conclude with a celebrated author*, whose opinions we have frequently had occasion to reject, that since the Quakers by their principles make themselves sheep, they should not be intrusted with the office, as they have not the nature of dogs.

It must however be owned, that the province of Pennsylvania has suffered less by foreign enemies than any of our colonies. Before last war, it never lost a man by any hostile attack. Then indeed the Indians, at the instigation of the French, made some inroads sufficiently alarming. But though the very existence of the colony was at different times threatened, no exhortations could awaken the inhabitants to a proper sense of their danger; and it may be ascribed to good fortune, rather than to any political foresight or military precautions, that the country was not entirely pillaged and depopulated. It is therefore with pleasure that we hear the Quakers have lately adopted less pacific sentiments: though henceforth Pennsylvania will have little to fear, should the authority of Great Britain be fully restored in America, as it has Canada, no longer French, on its back, and is protected on one side by the provinces of New York and New Jersey, and by those of Virginia and Maryland on the other.

* Mr. Burke.

C H A P. VI.

Continuation of the History of Virginia, from the Year 1622, with an Account of the Settlement of Maryland, and the Progress of both Colonies.

BOOK IV.

CHARLES I. having dissolved the Virginia company, as we have already seen, in 1626, not only the government of that territory, but the territory itself returned to the crown. Charles, however, was far from taking advantage of this circumstance to oppress the colonists, or to govern them with an arbitrary sway. He appointed a governor and council, indeed, to be named by himself and his successors, but he at the same time continued the assembly, consisting of representatives from the different towns and counties, elected by the people; and, in order to invite settlers, he granted the uncultivated lands at the trifling quit-rent of two shillings the hundred acres, nor did he exact more from the inhabitants for those that were already cleared. Adventurers flocked in crowds to Virginia; and as property, which had hitherto been fluctuating, was now established on a firm basis, new settlements rose in every quarter, surrounded by flourishing plantations. But unfortunately for the thriving colony, Sir John Harvey, the first royal governor, behaved in so arbitrary a manner, that the planters found it necessary to seize his person, and send him home under confinement to England. Ever more willing to listen to the complaints of his officers and ministers, than to those of his people, the misguided Charles attempted to restore this object of public resentment; but afterwards made more fully acquainted with the nature of his offence, or become more diffident of his own authority, which began to totter at home, he recalled Harvey, and appointed Sir William Berkley to the government of Virginia.

A. D. 1639.

Berkley was every way qualified for his office; but the colony had already suffered severely from the late dissensions, which having sunk the character of the English in the eyes of the natives, had encouraged them to attempt a fresh massacre. To this as well as the former, they were excited by the terrible Oppechancanough, a man of uncommon abilities both of body and mind. Without having received any education, except what is common among barbarians, he found in his own genius the art of governing, as well as of commanding. Though it is not certain whether he had any title to hereditary sway, he had found means to unite a great many tribes in his interest, who paid the most implicit obedience to his orders, and adored his very name. He complained that the English, contrary to the faith of treaties, had made several encroachments upon his territories; and observing that they had inconsiderately spread themselves over a vast extent of country, without making any provision for their defence, he ordered his people to attack the out settlements, where they murdered about five hundred persons, while he himself and his attendants cut off those who were settled near the place of his residence, on York River.

Such

Such was the state of Virginia, when Berkley took possession of the government. The entire destruction of the Indians, or of the English, seemed necessary to decide the contest. But the new governor, after providing against the most pressing dangers, conceived hopes of restoring tranquillity by less sanguinary means. As Oppechancanough, though now old and infirm, was the soul of the confederacy, he resolved to seize the person of that fierce and implacable barbarian, and endeavour to conciliate the affections of the other chiefs. For this purpose he put himself at the head of a party of horse, on understanding that the hoary chieftain was advancing into the English territory, and surprised him in Henrico county. Oppechancanough was carried to James Town, with an intention of sending him to England; but the brutality of an English soldier saved him from that mortification, by basely stabbing him in the back. While under confinement, he behaved with a magnanimity that would have done honour to the greatest hero of antiquity. Observing, one day, when he had occasion to go abroad, a great number of people, whom curiosity had assembled, surrounding him with insulting looks and gestures, he inquired for the governor. Berkley made no difficulty in appearing. "Had fortune so ordered it," said the high-minded barbarian, "that you had fallen into my hands, you should not have become the sport of a rabble."

The captivity, and more especially the death of Oppechancanough, was followed by all the salutary consequences which the governor had expected from it. The confederacy was not only broken, but the independent spirit of the natives seemed to expire with that great man; and Berkley, whose temper naturally inclined him to lenity, instead of taking advantage of their disunited state to extirpate them, a measure which must have obliged them to elect a new leader, wisely took advantage of their dejection to disunite them still more, by entering into terms of pacification with the heads of the different tribes. But scarce was the tranquillity of the colony restored, when the civil wars which preceded the unhappy catastrophe of Charles I. and overturned the constitution of England, involved Virginia in new troubles. Berkley, who was equally loyal and brave, supported the declining cause of the crown, and Virginia became the asylum of the oppressed royalists. The governor continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but some of the inhabitants either bought over, or wearied out with the inconveniencies they had sustained, in consequence of all intercourse with the mother-country being prohibited, delivered up the colony to the parliament, at a time when it could have repelled the force sent against it.

Berkley, unable to resist the torrent, retired to his own estate, and Cromwell, become protector, appointed one Mathews to the government of Virginia. Nothing remarkable happened during his administration, or that of his two predecessors, after the submission of Sir William Berkley. This gentleman, to whose honour it is remarked, that his government was the last that acknowledged the usurper's authority, and the first that threw it off, continued to live in retire-

* Hist. of Virginia, by a Virginian.

E. GR. IV.
A. D. 157.

ment; and so grateful a sense had the Virginians of his equitable administration, that on the death of Matthews, he was invited to resume the government. But Berkley, far from yielding to so flattering a request, declared that he would never hold an employment under any but the lawful heirs of the crown. Such an example of magnanimous loyalty, at a time when there was no prospect of the restoration of the royal family, made so strong an impression upon the colonists, that they resolved to a man to die in maintaining their allegiance to the king. Berkley no longer hesitated to assume the reins of government; and Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia, before any step was taken for his restoration in England*.

Happily the death of Cromwell, and the arrival of Charles in his native kingdoms, prevented the Virginians from suffering for their loyalty, which might otherwise have been construed rebellion: but though Berkley was continued in the government, and otherwise distinguished by particular marks of favour; though part of the king's coronation robes was composed of Virginia silk, as a particular mark of his affection for the colony, it did not derive that benefit which might have been expected from its early return to duty and allegiance. While the court, on one hand, inconsiderately granted to rapacious favourites, extensive territories, which included the settled property of many obscure colonists, the parliament, on the other, laid excessive taxes upon both the exports from and imports to Virginia. This double oppression obstructed all the resources, and blasted all the flattering hopes of the colony; and to complete its misfortunes, the savages who had never been sufficiently humbled, took that opportunity to renew their incursions.

A. D. 1666.

Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to despair. Berkley, who had so long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to resist the oppressions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the savages. In this extremity, the eyes of all men were turned towards a young officer of the name of Bacon, full of vivacity, eloquent, intrepid; of an insinuating disposition, a graceful person, and every way qualified to work upon the feelings of men, who were already sufficiently prepared by their grievances, to listen to any project that seemed to promise them relief. They chose him as their leader against the Indians, and marching in a body to James town, obliged the governor to sign his commission. As soon as Bacon had obtained this stamp of authority to his proceedings, he withdrew; and Berkley no sooner found himself freed from the threats of the insurgents, than he revoked Bacon's commission, proclaimed him a traitor, and ordered all his followers to disperse. This sentence, which was rash and severe, brought matters to a crisis. Bacon and his men, who were ready to march against the Indians, advanced once more to James Town, where the militia were assembled, and all preparations made for the defence of the place. In their march, they treated the governor's friends and adherents as enemies, by destroying their plantations; and Berkley, on their ap-

* Ibid.

proach, finding himself too weak to oppose them, fled beyond the river Potowmack.

This retreat was considered by the insurgents as an abdication of the government, which was conferred upon Bacon, who during six months disposed of all things according to his pleasure. Meanwhile Berkley, who maintained himself at the head of a small body of troops which he had assembled in Maryland, and of such of the Virginians as adhered to him, had received assurances of support from England, and refused to make any concessions to the rebels. All things seemed to threaten a dangerous civil war, when the natural death of Bacon restored tranquillity to that colony, which his ambition had almost ruined; the estates of the loyalists being every where wasted, with the most destructive violence. The malcontents discouraged, and disunited by the loss of their chief, and intimidated by the accounts of the force that was arriving from England, were induced to sue for pardon, which was readily granted them by Berkley, though it does not appear that he had any formal authority for that purpose. He behaved with more moderation when the rebels were at his feet, than when he was obliged to fly before them: no man suffered in his life or estate, except during the violence of the dispute. Mercy insured obedience; and a regiment of soldiers, intended to suppress the rebellion, kept the Indians in awe*. Since this memorable æra the history of Virginia is confined to its trade and plantations.—But before we speak of those, it will be proper to give some account of the settlement of Maryland, which produces entirely the same articles with Virginia.

A. D. 1636.

We have already seen in what manner Sir George Calvert, some time principal secretary to James I. and afterwards created lord Baltimore, sought an asylum in Newfoundland, that he might enjoy the free exercise of his religion, which was that of the church of Rome, and also how he left that island on account of its sterility. The court was then certainly very little inclined to treat the Catholics with severity; but the laws themselves, in regard to that sect, were of a rigorous constitution, and the court could not in sound policy relax them but with great reserve, as the Puritans continually accused the royal family of a desire of returning to popery. These laws were executed with so little mitigation, even after the accession of Charles I. who made greater strides towards popery than his father, that lord Baltimore found it necessary to seek refuge a second time in the New World. He retired with his family to Virginia, accompanied by a number of zealots of his own persuasion. But the Virginians being generally bigots to the church of England, did not use him so well as he expected: he therefore formed the scheme of an independent settlement, where he might enjoy liberty of conscience himself, and be enabled to grant it to such of his friends, as should prefer an easy banishment with freedom, to the conveniences of England, embittered as they were by the sharpness of the laws, and the popular odium that hung over the papists. In this project he was encouraged by the temper of the court, with which he was well acquainted; and observing that

A. D. 1627.

* Hist. Virginia, by a Virginian.

the Virginia settlers, his new persecutors, had not extended their plantations farther north than Potowmack river, he petitioned for a grant of the vacant lands from the northern bank of that river, and from the bottom of Chesapeake Bay, to the lower counties on the Delaware, then part of New Netherlands*.

Of this territory, extending about an hundred and forty miles in length, and an hundred and thirty in breadth, George lord Baltimore obtained a promise; but he dying before the patent could be made out, it was granted to his son, Cecilius lord Baltimore, in 1632, under the name of Maryland †. Less zealous, as should seem, for the public exercise of his religion, though willing to connect his interests with those of the catholic faith, this young nobleman committed the settlement and the government of Maryland to his brother, Leonard Calvert. The first colony consisted of about two hundred persons, chiefly gentlemen of good condition, and Roman catholics. They arrived at Potowmack river in March 1634; and after ranging the neighbouring country, in search of a convenient station, they settled with the consent of the natives, at an Indian town called Yamaco, near the mouth of the river, to which they gave the name of St. Mary ‡.

This fortunate circumstance was still farther improved by the orderly behaviour of the colonists. Won by their mildness and benevolence, the savages contributed every thing in their power to forward the new establishment. The Indian women taught the English how to make bread of their corn; their men went out to hunt and fish with the settlers; they assisted them in the chase, and sold to them the game that they themselves had taken for a trifling consideration. Every thing, in a word, conspired to promote the prosperity of the infant colony; they had found a sort of town ready built, ground ready cleared for their subsistence, and no enemy to harass them. But society knows no permanent tranquillity. The Virginians, as if by intuition, became early jealous of a colony, that was one day to become so formidable a rival to their country in commerce, and the chief bar to their opulence, by preventing a monopoly of their common staple, tobacco. They persuaded the Indians, that the people of Maryland had designs upon their liberty, and that they were not Englishmen, but Spaniards. The name of Spaniard is justly odious to an American: the Indians were alarmed; suspicion took place of confidence, enmity of affection; and the most inoffensive manners, accompanied with the greatest vigilance and precaution, only could have saved the settlers at St. Mary's from total ruin. They built a fort with the utmost expedition, and took every other necessary measure for their defence, at the same time that they continued to treat the Indians with all possible kindness and respect; so that partly by the awe of their arms, and partly by the returning confidence of the natives, all the machinations of their enemies were defeated.

* Douglass, part II. sect. xv.

† This name was given to it by the king, on signing the patent, in honour of his consort, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France.

‡ Douglass, part II. sect. xv.

Thus secure in itself, the colony of Maryland was daily receiving accessions from abroad. As the Roman Catholics in England were more severely persecuted, in proportion as the interest of the court party declined, numbers constantly resorted to their brethren at St. Mary's; and the lord proprietor omitted no care, nor withheld any expence, that could support the old, or encourage the establishment of new settlements, until the usurpation overturned the government in England, and deprived him of his rights in America. Maryland remained under the governors appointed by the parliament and by Cromwell, till the restoration; when Charles lord Baltimore, son of Cecilius *, was reinstated in the possessions of his father, which he superintended in person, and cultivated with the same wisdom, care, and moderation. No people could live in greater ease and security than those of Maryland; and his lordship willing that as many persons as possible might enjoy the benefit of his mild and equitable administration, gave his consent to an act of assembly, which had originated from his own motion, for allowing perfect liberty of conscience to all who professed the Christian religion, of whatever denomination.

A. D. 1661.

A. D. 1664.

In consequence of this unlimited toleration, which was never violated in the smallest instance, a great number of people not only of the church of England persuasion, but Presbyterians, Quakers, and all kinds of dissenters, were encouraged to settle in Maryland, which hitherto had been almost entirely occupied by Roman Catholics. But lord Baltimore, though guilty of no mal-administration, though the very model of a wise and virtuous governor, zealously devoted to the Romish communion, and attached to the house of Stuart, had the mortification to find the legality of his charter called in question during the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the property and jurisdiction of a province which had been formally ceded to his family by the crown, and which he himself and his father had peopled at a vast expence. This ungenerous attempt, which proved abortive, did not, however, shake the fidelity of lord Baltimore; yet the weak and despotic James, whose misfortune it was neither to know his friends nor his enemies, and to think that the royal authority, set up for the protection of the people, was sufficient to justify every act of violence towards all classes of men, was preparing a second time to deprive that nobleman of his inheritance, when he himself was deprived of a crown which he was unworthy to wear.

On the revolution in 1688, lord Baltimore had no reason to expect any favour from king William; but he met with more than James, though a brother catholic, intended him. William terminated the dispute between that nobleman and his predecessor, in a manner worthy of his political character: he left the Baltimore family in possession of their territorial revenues, but deprived them of their jurisdiction; and that they also recovered, on conforming to the established religion, with as ample privileges as the crown has thought fit that any proprietor should enjoy. The province, which is at present supposed to contain

* Douglass, ubi sup.

fifty thousand white people, and seventy thousand blacks, is under the direction of a governor and council appointed by the proprietor, four representatives from each of the fourteen counties, and four from the capital, or provincial town*. The proprietor, like the king in the royal governments, has a negative voice in all acts passed by the general assembly.

If Maryland were reunited to Virginia, as their common interest seems to require, little difference could be found between the climate, soil, or produce of the two colonies. They are situated between Pennsylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great space that extends from the sea to the Allegany and Apalachian mountains. What is properly called Virginia, is bounded on the north by the river Potowmack; on the east, by the bay of Chesapeake; on the south, by Carolina; and is two hundred and forty miles in length, and about two hundred in breadth. The air, which is damp on the coast, becomes light, pure, and subtle, on approaching the mountains. The spring and autumnal months are of an excellent temperature: in summer there are some days excessively hot, and in winter some extremely cold; but neither of these excesses last above a week at a time. The most disagreeable circumstance in the climate is the abundance of noxious insects which it produces, like all the more southerly parts of America. In balance of this inconvenience, however, the fields are naturally covered almost the whole year with a prodigious number of flowers and flowering shrubs, of colours so rich and various, and of a scent so fragrant, as is not perhaps to be equalled in any spot upon the face of the earth. The same gaiety seems also to extend itself to the winged tribe. The white owl of Virginia is far larger than ours, and is all over of a bright silver-coloured plumage, except one black spot upon his breast; and the Virginia nightingale, whose feathers are crimson and blue, is acknowledged to be one of the most beautiful birds in nature. But there is another bird, the smallest of all the feathered creation, common if not peculiar to Virginia, which is yet more beautiful, and sufficiently singular to merit a particular description; namely, the *Humming Bird*. Its beak is long and pointed, like a needle, and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. On its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose colour, approaching to scarlet, and its belly is white as milk. The back, wings, and tail are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down which covers all its plumage, gives it so delicate an appearance, that it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades on the slightest touch. This charming bird lives entirely on the dew of flowers, fluttering continually from one to another, like a bee. Its flight produces a buzzing noise, resembling that of a spinning-wheel. When tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or bush; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Who could imagine that so delicate a creature could be passionate and quarrelsome? These birds are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes which they give with their beak are so sudden and

* Douglass's Summary, part II. sect. xv.

quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye; and their wings move with so much agility, that they seem not to move at all.

All the domestic animals of Europe multiply prodigiously in Virginia and Maryland, and all sorts of fruits, trees, and vegetables thrive there remarkably well. They produce the best wheat in all America. The soil, which is rich and fertile in the low lands, becomes more light and sandy on advancing up the country, but is still of a warm and generous nature as far as the Apalachian mountains. From these mountains flow an incredible number of large rivers, most of which are separated from each other only by an interval of five or six miles. Besides the fertility that their waters impart to the immense territory through which they pass, they also make it infinitely more convenient for trade than any other part of the New World; and indeed than any country in the universe, where the communication has not been facilitated by artificial canals.

Most of these rivers afford a very extensive navigation for merchant ships, and some of them even for men of war. The Potowmack, for example, is navigable for near two hundred miles; the James, the York, and the Rappahannock, for upwards of eighty; and though the navigation on the other rivers varies, according as the cataracts are more or less distant from their mouths, they have so many creeks, and receive such a number of smaller streams, that water carriage is almost every where practicable, and the country is intersected in a manner that contributes equally to beauty and utility. All these navigable canals, formed by nature, meet in the bay of Chesapeake, which reaches above two hundred miles within land, and is from seven to eighteen miles in breadth. It has between eight and nine fathom of water, both at its entrance and through its whole extent; and though it is full of small islands, most of which are covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous, but affords a safe and commodious harbour, where all the ships in the world might ride with ease.

An advantage so extraordinary, which is common to Virginia and Maryland, has prevented the forming of any large towns in either of those colonies. The planters, sensible that the ships could come up to their warehouses, and that they might embark their commodities without going from their own doors, have dispersed themselves on the banks of the several rivers. In this situation, they found all the pleasures of rural life, united to all the assistance that is brought into cities by trade; they found the facility of extending cultivation in a country that has no bounds, together with every assistance which the labours of agriculture receive from commerce. But the mother-country suffered a double inconvenience from this dispersion of the colonists; because her sailors being obliged to collect their cargoes from these scattered habitations, were necessarily longer absent, and because her ships were exposed to injury from the dangerous insects, which, during the months of June and July, infest all the rivers in the more southern parts of North America. Different attempts have therefore been made by government, in order to engage the colonists to establish marts for the reception of their commodities: but the constraints of law have not proved more effectual than persuasion; and after all, it may be questioned, whether population and agricult-

ture would not have lost more, than commerce would have gained by a combined society.

But be that as it may, it is certain that there are only two towns of any note in the two colonies; and even these, which are the seat of government, are of no great importance. Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis, the provincial town of Maryland, the one raised on the ruins of James Town, the other on those of St. Mary, are neither of them superior to an English village of the second rate. The college of Williamsburg, however, the town-house, and the church, are three of the finest buildings in British America; and Annapolis is well constructed, and pleasantly situated on the banks of the river Severn.

Even the want of towns, the consequence of the conveniency of navigation, has been attended, as is the case in all human affairs, with a mixture of good and evil. The multiplicity of habitations, at the same time that it prevented the cities from becoming populous, has also prevented any artists or manufacturers from being formed either in Maryland or Virginia. This is a good to the mother-country. With all the materials necessary to supply most of their wants, and even to furnish several of their superfluities, they are still obliged to import from Europe their cloths, silks, linens, hats, hardware, cabinet-work, and even furniture of the most ordinary kind. These numerous and general expences, together with their luxurious manner of living, have prevented the inhabitants from arriving at that degree of opulence which they must otherwise have attained, in consequence of their various and lucrative exports; corn, cattle, hemp, flax, hides, furs, walnut and cedar plank, but especially tobacco.

This is an aboriginal American plant or herb, and was every where in use among the natives before the arrival of the Europeans. When at its full growth, it is about the height of an ordinary man. The stalk is straight, hairy, and viscid; the leaves alternate, thick, flabby, and of a yellowish green colour. They are larger at the bottom than towards the summit of the plant, which requires a rich, deep, and binding soil. The culture is in the following manner.—The seeds of the tobacco are sown upon beds of fine mould. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got at least half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted into a ground disposed into little hillocks, like an hop-garden, where the plants are commonly placed at the distance of three feet from each other. The tobacco now requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it must be carefully plucked up; when it approaches to its full size, it must be topt, in order to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stript of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the stalk, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have hurt, must all be picked off, and the whole number reduced to ten or twelve at most.

The tobacco is allowed to remain about four months in the ground, after the transplantation, which is commonly made in May. As it advances towards maturity, the light green of the leaves is changed into a kind of speckled brown; they

they also become curved; their scent grows stronger, and is felt at a great distance. The plants are then ripe, and must be cut. When collected, they are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, to sweat for one night; next day they are carried to warehouses, constructed in such a manner, that the air may have free access to them on all sides. There they are left separately suspended as long a time as is necessary to dry them properly; then they are spread upon hurdles, and well covered over; in which state they are allowed to remain a week or two, in order to ferment. At last the plants are stripped of their leaves, which are either made up in hogheads, or formed into rolls.

Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, either in the Old or New World, there is none where it has answered so well as in Virginia and Maryland. As it was the sole object of the first planters, they often cultivated more than they could find sale for, and were by that means reduced to the greatest inconveniences; but the use of this herb has long been so general, that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks employed in the culture of it. The number of white people in Virginia is computed at seventy thousand, and that of the blacks at an hundred thousand. The population of Maryland is little inferior: it cannot contain less, as already observed, than fifty thousand whites, and seventy thousand blacks. The quantity of tobacco which the two colonies raise is nearly in proportion to their population: the produce of Virginia, estimated at a medium, for the last five years before the present troubles, amounted to about sixty thousand hogheads, of eight or nine hundred weight each, and that of Maryland to about forty thousand.

Naturalists distinguish various kinds of tobacco, but merchants only two; namely, Aranokoe, from Maryland and the northern parts of Virginia; and *sweet-scented*, from the southern parts of Virginia, but more particularly from York and James rivers*. The sweet-scented is by much the dearest, and is chiefly consumed in England and the southern countries of Europe. The Aranokoe, which is strong and hot in the mouth, in smoking, sells very well, however, in the markets of Holland, Germany, and the other northern countries, where it is even prized on account of its coarseness, which fits it for less delicate organs.

The tobacco trade employed about three hundred ships, most of which belonged to the mother country; the two colonies received near a million sterling for their produce; the revenue was benefited to the amount of at least six hundred thousand pounds, by the duties on the tobacco consumed in the British dominions; and an export of two thirds of the original quantity, returned an immense sum to England, which repaid the whole with its manufactures. The interruption of this trade is now severely felt, by our merchants as well as our ministers, and the total loss of it must inflict a deep wound in the national prof-

* The difference seems to arise merely from the soil. The sweet-scented, which is produced in sandy lands, is best for smoking when new, or only from two to three years old; but the Aranokoe, or that from stiff land, if kept five or six years, much exceeds the former. Douglass, part II. sect. xv.

perity. But Great Britain can never suffer more, should she even be obliged to purchase her tobacco from foreigners, instead of enjoying the superlative advantage of monopolizing so lucrative a branch of commerce, than Virginia and Maryland at present sustain, by being deprived of a ready and secure market for their staple commodity. Nor does Carolina suffer less by a contest, equally ruinous to the colonies and the mother-country.

CHAPTER VII.

Account of Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

CAROLINA, which is bounded on the north by Virginia, on the south by Georgia, on the west by the Mississippi, and on the east by the Atlantic ocean, is near five hundred miles in length, and about three hundred in breadth. The English found their right to it on the discovery of John Cabot, and it was long considered as a part of *South Virginia*. The Spaniards, in consequence of subsequent discoveries, comprehended it in their Florida; and the French protestants, as we have already seen, attempted to establish themselves in this country, under the patronage of the celebrated admiral de Coligny. The first attempts of the English to settle in America, under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, were also made, as we have had occasion to notice, in the bay of Roanoke in the same country. But all these different undertakings failed; and by an unaccountable caprice, while less fertile regions were cultivated with ardour, there was not a single European settled in Carolina in 1663, when Charles II. made a grant of that extensive and rich territory to the earl of Clarendon, the duke of Albemarle, the lords Craven, Berkley, and Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkley, and Sir George Colleton.

The plan of government for this new colony was drawn by the famous Mr. Locke, under the eye of the noble author of the *Characteristicks*, his friend and patron, lord Ashley. These two philosophers, who were alike friends to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which ought to be the rule of their actions, made universal toleration the basis of their legislation; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of the times, motives of religion and humanity were substituted, in place of argument, for the most reasonable and salutary of all political maxims. It was therefore observed in the following words, no less soothing than artful, "That since the natives of Carolina are utter strangers to Christianity, but whose idolatry, ignorance, or mistake, give us no right to expel or use them ill; and as those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on that account to keep them out; therefore, that sure peace may be maintained amid the diversity

of opinions, and that our agreement or compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed, the violation of which, on what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the true religion which we profess; and also that Jews, Heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, may not be feared, and kept at a distance from it; but by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and designs of the gospel, be won over to embrace, and unfeignedly receive the truth:—for these reasons liberty of conscience was secured to them, but with this reservation; that “no person above seventeen years of age shall have any benefit or protection of the law, who is not a member of some church or profession, having his name inserted in some religious records.”

In consequence of this extensive toleration, Carolina was rapidly peopled by dissenters, who were at that time labouring under great inconveniencies from the act of uniformity, in the mother-country. But unfortunately for the infant colony, the civil code, by a singularity not to be accounted for in Englishmen and philosophers, was by no means so favourable to the liberties of mankind, as its ecclesiastical constitution. It gave to the eight proprietors, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but also, in a great measure, those of legislators. The court, composed of this sovereign body, or their delegates, and which was called the *Palatine Court*, was invested with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility, but under new and singular titles. They were to create for example in each county, two *Caziques*, each of whom was to be possessed of six thousand acres of land, and one *Landgrave*, who was to have twenty-four thousand. The persons on whom these honours should be conferred, were to compose the *upper house* of assembly, and their possessions were to be made unalienable; a circumstance totally inconsistent with sound policy. They had a right, however, to let out a third part of their estate for three lives, in order to raise portions for younger children. The *lower house* was composed of the deputies from the several counties and towns. Over the whole presided the palatine, or governor; who, in conjunction with his council, had the power of ordering all the inhabitants to take up arms, on the shortest notice.

The defects of a constitution, too complicated for an infant establishment, and in which the powers of the state were so unequally divided, began soon to be discerned. The greater part of the proprietary lords, influenced by despotic principles, used every endeavour to establish an arbitrary government: the colonists, on the other hand, not ignorant of the natural rights of mankind, exerted themselves with equal zeal to avoid servitude; and from this struggle of opposite interests arose an inevitable confusion, which put a stop to every useful exertion of industry. The whole province, distracted with quarrels, dissensions, and tumults, was incapable of making any progress in cultivation, though great im-

provements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its situation. Nor were these evils sufficient to procure from the proprietors redress; which, at length, arose only from the excess of the evils themselves.

Lord Granville, who was palatine of Carolina in 1703, formed the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who composed more than two thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worship established in England, under penalty of being deprived of their civil privileges. This act of violence, though disavowed and rejected by the mother-country, inflamed the minds of the people; and in 1720, while that animosity was still subsisting, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair, by a continued course of the most atrocious insults and outrages. These unhappy men, however, were vanquished in their pursuit of vengeance, and mostly cut off: but the relief which this triumph procured the colonists, served only as a prelude to the fall of their oppressors, instead of strengthening their authority. The proprietors, who had refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefit of which they claimed to themselves, were constrained to surrender their rights to the British parliament, in order to prevent the total ruin of a colony, which they had never known how to govern. Lord Carteret only retained his eighth share in the property, which comprehends an immense tract in the northern part of the province; the rest, making a virtue of necessity, accepted of the trifling equivalent, of twenty-five thousand pounds, both for the property and jurisdiction.

This revolution happened in the year 1728; when, for the more commodious administration of affairs, the province was divided into two governments, under the names of North and South Carolina. The constitution of the colony was at the same time rendered similar to that of Virginia, and the other colonies under the jurisdiction of the crown. Peace was soon after established with all the neighbouring nations of Indians; with the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Cataubas. From this æra, and not earlier, we must date the true prosperity of Carolina; which being secure from abroad, and no longer disturbed by intestine quarrels, has since continued to advance, with astonishing rapidity in trade, population, and improvement.

There is not perhaps, in all the New World, a climate equal to that of Carolina. Spring and autumn, the two seasons which in most countries only moderate the excess of those which they follow and precede, are here truly delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive, and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are unavoidable on a coast of any length, are commonly dispersed before the middle of the day; but on the other hand, here as in almost every part of North America, the changes of weather are so sudden and violent, as to oblige the inhabitants to observe a regularity in their diet and dress, which would be unnecessary in the same latitudes, on the old continent. Another inconvenience peculiar to this part of the new continent, is that of being exposed to hurricanes, though less frequent and violent than in the islands; and Carolina, towards the Atlantic, is destitute of

that beauty which results from a certain degree of irregularity of surface, and is essential to a proper variety in the disposition of natural objects. A vast melancholy, and uniform plain, extends from the sea shore four score or an hundred miles within land. At this distance the country begins to rise, and further on affords a more pleasing prospect, as well as a purer and drier air.

The whole territory, on the arrival of the English, was one immense forest, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It consisted chiefly of large trees, growing as chance had sown their seeds, without order or design, at unequal distances, and not encumbered with underwood; on which account more land could be cleared in Carolina in a week, than in England in a month. The soil is various. On the coast and near the mouths of the rivers which fall into the sea, it is frequently covered either with useless and unhealthy morasses, or composed of a pale light sandy earth, which produces nothing: it is extremely barren in one part, and in another, especially among the numberless streams that intersect the country, it is remarkably fertile. Even at a considerable distance from the coasts, there are found large tracts of white land, covered entirely with pines. These are called *pine-barren*, and reputed the worst land in the province; yet this base species of land is favourable to the culture of one of the kinds of indigo, produces tolerable crops of maize, and when it lies low, so as to be flooded, answers well for rice. Even the pines turn to considerable account in the production of tar and turpentine; but the land is still more rich, where the trees are more valuable. The grounds which bear the oak, the walnut, and the hickory, is a dark sand intermixed with loam, and will yield the greatest crops for many years, without any manure. Towards the mountains and rising grounds, in the interior part of the country, these varieties are less observable: there the land is every where rich, and fitted for all the purposes of human life.

Nor is the soil of Carolina less adapted to grazing than agriculture. Thousands of horned cattle are bred here, which go out in the morning without a herdsman to feed in the woods and wilds, and return home at night of their own accord. This domestic regularity is the effect of sociability and natural affection. The calves are kept in fenced pastures; and the cows called back by a desire to visit their young, bring along with them the rest of the herd. The hogs range in the same manner, and return like the cattle, by having shelter and some food provided for them at the plantation. The sheep are less plenty than the black cattle and hogs, neither is their flesh equally good, and their wool is very coarse. The beef is not contemptible, though much inferior to that of England, and the pork is the finest in the world.

Though South Carolina, besides establishing a considerable barter trade with savages for furs, hath acquired a manufacture of linens by means of some French refugees, and invented a new kind of stuff by mixing the silk it produces with its wool, yet its progress is chiefly to be attributed to the produce of rice and indigo. The first of these articles is said to have been brought there by accident: a ship, on her return from India, ran aground on the coast. She was partly laden with rice; which being thrown on shore by the waves, grew up, and

BOOK IV.

flourished without culture. This unexpected good fortune led the colonists to attempt the cultivation of a commodity, which the soil itself seemed to invite them to raise. Their success however, was long inconsiderable by reason of their being obliged to send their crops directly to the mother-country, even when they were to be again reshipped for the markets of Spain and Portugal. The charges incident on this regulation were so great, and the price so moderate, that the cultivation of rice hardly repaid the expences of the planter; but since the year 1759, when the parliament relaxed the act of navigation, and permitted rice to be sent directly to any port to the southward of Cape Finisferre, the growth of the commodity has been more than doubled, though indigo has been added to the exports of Carolina.

They cultivate three sorts of indigo in this province; and these demand the same variety of soils. The French, or Hispaniola indigo, will only flourish in a deep rich soil; and therefore, though an excellent sort, is little cultivated in the maritime parts of Carolina, which, as already observed, are generally sandy. No part in the known world, however, is more fit to produce it than the same country, an hundred miles backwards; but there too it is neglected on another account: it hardly bears so sharp a winter as that of the interior parts of Carolina. The second sort, which is the false Guatimala or true Bahama, bears the winter better; is a more tall and vigorous plant; yields a greater quantity of dye from the same compass of ground; is contented with the worst soil in the province, and is therefore more cultivated than the former, though inferior in quality. The third sort is the wild indigo, which is indigenous here. This, as it is a native of the country, answers the purposes of the planter better than any other; whether he regards the hardiness of the plant, the easiness of the culture, or the quantity of the produce.

With respect to the quality, the planters are not perfectly agreed among themselves: they cannot yet distinctly tell, when the faults of the indigo are to be attributed to the nature of the plant, when to the seasons, which have much influence upon it, or when to some defect in the manufacture. One thing, however, is certain, that the indigo of Carolina scarce bears half the price of the Guatimala, and is sold much cheaper than that of Hispaniola; but the English colonists, notwithstanding this disadvantage, need only peace and industry to supply both the French and Spaniards in every market. The goodness of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapness of their provisions; the opportunity of supplying themselves with utensils, and of procuring slaves: every thing, in a word, conspires to flatter them with the hope, that, as their country is the pleasanter and most fertile, it will also become the richest part of the British dominions.

Nor are the people of North Carolina less sanguine in their expectations. Though this is the country of which the English first took possession in the name of Elizabeth, and one of the finest territories in North America, whether we regard the climate or the soil, it was very late in being settled. But in proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies became more scarce, those who

who were not able to purchase them, or could not find a convenient station vacant, betook themselves to a country where they could get lands without purchase, and in any situation that a romantic imagination could suggest, or an irregular fancy desire. Refugees and adventurers of other kinds availed themselves of the same resource. Order and property were established at the same time; and this colony with fewer advantages than South Carolina, obtained a greater proportion of European inhabitants.

The first people whom chance dispersed along the coasts of this uncultivated region, confined themselves to the breeding of cattle and the cutting of wood, which were taken off their hands by the New England traders. At length, besides wood, they contrived to make the pine-tree yield them tar and turpentine. The turpentine is drawn simply from incisions made in the tree, from as great a height as a man can reach with a hatchet, and which meet in a point at the bottom, where they pour their contents into a vessel placed to receive them. This is the whole process. Tar requires a more troublesome apparatus. A circular floor of clay is prepared declining a little toward the centre, and from this is laid a pipe of wood, the upper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference. Under the end of the pipe the earth is dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tar as it runs. On the floor they piled up a large quantity of pine wood, split in pieces, and surrounded by a wall of earth, leaving only a small aperture at the top, where fire is first set to it. When the wood begins to burn, this opening also is covered, in order to prevent the pine from being too quickly consumed: a sufficient heat is only left to make the resin distill copiously, without being exhausted by the force of the fire. The heat is tempered at pleasure, by running a stake into the wall of clay, and giving it air, or confining it more, as occasion shall require.

Tar is converted into pitch by boiling it in large iron kettles set in furnaces, or by burning it in clay pits, dug in the earth, and hardened for the purpose. But though the quantity of pitch, tar, and turpentine, made in North Carolina, is very considerable, it was found insufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants, even when exchanged to the best advantage; they therefore proceeded to the culture of grain, and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South Carolina were first obliged to be, as wheat was there not only subject to mildew, but found to exhaust itself in straw. This at least was, and still in some measure is the case of all the land near the sea-coast; but several experiments having proved to the inhabitants of North Carolina, that their territory did not expose them to the same inconveniency, they succeeded so far in the cultivation of wheat, that they were even able to furnish a considerable exportation. Rice and indigo have been lately introduced into this colony, in order to join the harvests of Africa to those of America, and the commodities of Asia to those of Europe. But the present troubles, by obstructing exportation, have unhappily given a severe check to these valuable cultures, while yet in their infancy, and consequently a fatal blow to the future prosperity of North Carolina.

Great things, however, must still be expected from a territory so extensive and fertile, one twentieth part of which is not yet cleared, as soon as the inhabitants shall return to a sense of their duty, and the disturbances in the neighbouring colonies cease. The only obstruction to the improvement of Carolina, in such event, will be the want of a commodious inland navigation: for of ten navigable rivers that water the two provinces of which it is at present composed, none of them will admit vessels higher than sixty miles by reason of certain impracticable falls; and the mouths of the rivers in North Carolina do not admit vessels above seventy or eighty tons burden, except one at Cape Fear; so that larger vessels are obliged to lie off in a sound called Oeacock, which is formed between some islands and the continent. By reason of this inconvenience, North Carolina has properly no town or harbour; Edenton, the ancient capital, being only an inconsiderable village; and that which has been built on the river Neus, in order to supply its place, is of little more consequence. The largest and most valuable part of its exports are therefore conveyed to Charles Town, the capital of South Carolina.

This town is admirably situated at the confluence of two navigable rivers, Ashley and Cooper, and is surrounded by the most beautiful plantations in the colony, of which it is the centre. It is one of the largest, the best built, and by much the gayest city in British America. All the luxuries of life may there be enjoyed among a lively and polite people. It consists of about twelve hundred houses, and may contain about twelve thousand inhabitants, of all characters and conditions. It is regularly, and pretty strongly fortified, both by nature and art. But the disadvantage which Charles Town labours under, in not being able to admit into its harbour ships of above two hundred tons burden, will in all probability make it lose its present splendour. It will likely be deserted for Port Royal, on the southern confines of the province, which can admit vessels of all sizes, and in any number. There a settlement has already been formed, named Beaufort, which promises to be the first trading town in this part of America. Besides the productions of North and South Carolina, that will partly be sent to its market, it will also receive those of Georgia, to which it is contiguous.

The British ministry observing, in 1732, that a large tract of land, on the southern confines of Carolina, and included within the original grant of Charles II. lay waste and unoccupied, resolved to erect it into a separate province; and a plan was formed for making it subservient to many beneficial purposes. It was expected to prove a barrier against the Spaniards and Indians, as well as nursery for raising wine, oil, and silk. The name of Georgia, in honour of the king, was accordingly given to the whole territory, which was vested in trustees for the term of twenty one years, at the end of which the property in chief was to revert to the crown. This country, which lies between the rivers Savannah and Altamaha, extends only about seventy miles along the sea-coast, from north to south; but it widens in the more remote parts, to above one hundred and fifty, and is near three hundred in length, from the sea to the Apalachian mountains.

In pursuance of their liberal views the ministry obtained a grant of ten thousand pounds from the parliament, in order to enable the trustees to transport indigent persons of blameless character to Georgia, and to support them, till such time as they should be able to provide for themselves. A much larger sum was procured by private subscriptions, which they were permitted to raise; and Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman who had distinguished himself in the house of commons, by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was pitched upon to direct these public contributions, and to carry into execution the design for which they were bestowed. Desirous of maintaining that reputation which he had so justly acquired, he resolved to conduct the first colonists to Georgia in person. There he arrived in January 1732, and fixed his people on a desirable spot, about ten miles distant from the sea, in a beautiful and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah.

This rising settlement was called Savannah, from the river; and inconsiderable as it was in its infant state, it soon became the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than an hundred persons, but before the end of the year, the number was augmented to upwards of six hundred; and in 1735, the population of Georgia was increased by the arrival of some Scotch highlanders. Their natural courage induced them to accept of some lands that were offered them on the southern frontier, near the river Altamaha, in order to form an establishment that might prove a defence to the colony, when necessary, against the attacks of the Spaniards of Florida. There they built the towns of New Inverness and Frederica, and several of their countrymen came over and settled among them. A number of German protestants driven out of Saltzburg, by the intemperate zeal of a fanatical priest, also embarked for Georgia about the same time, in order to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled in the neighbourhood of the capital; but afterwards judging it proper to be at a greater distance, they went as far down as the mouth of the river Savannah, where they built a town called Ebenezer.

In these four settlements, some people were found more inclined to trade than agriculture: they therefore separated themselves from the rest in order to build the city of Augusta, on the banks of the Savannah, two hundred and thirty-six miles distant from the sea. The neighbouring territory is fertile in an extraordinary degree; but though that circumstance adds to the conveniency of the settlers, it was not the motive which induced them to fix upon this situation. The conveniency of trading with the Indians led them to fix here; and their project was so successful, that as early as 1739, six hundred people were employed in that trade only. The Indian nations contiguous to Augusta, which is a fortified place, are the upper and lower Creeks, the Chickelaws, and the Cherokees; four of the most numerous and powerful tribes in North America. They trade not only with Georgia, but also with Virginia and the two Carolinas. Their exchanges are chiefly made in deer skins, their furs being of an inferior sort, and by no means plenty. This trade, in itself sufficiently tempting, was rendered

still more desirable, by means of the river Savannah, which admits vessels of good burden as high as the walls of Augusta.

The mother-country had reasonably formed the highest expectations from a colony favoured with so many advantages, and towards whose advancement she had contributed so much, both in men and money. How great then was her surprize, in 1742, when she received information, that there remained in Georgia scarce a sixth part of the inhabitants she had transported thither!—and that even those, discouraged by the difficulties under which they laboured, were desirous of settling elsewhere. The causes of this desertion were inquired into, and discovered. The constitution of Georgia carried in its bosom the seeds of decay. The government, together with the property of the colony, had been ceded, as already observed, to individuals for a term of years. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent plan; but nations do not always learn to profit by their past mistakes, any more than private men. An enlightened administration, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not able to guard against every abuse of its confidence. The British ministry, in the present instance, though zealously attached to the public welfare, sacrificed the interest of the nation to the rapacious views of interested individuals.

The first use that the trustees of Georgia made of the unlimited power with which they were vested, was to establish a system of legislation that made them entire masters not only of the police, the jurisprudence, and finances of the colony, but even of the lives and properties of the inhabitants. As great inconveniencies had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land, and no one person could become possessed of more than five hundred, under any condition whatsoever. Nor were the settlers permitted to mortgage these lands, or even to dispose of them by will to their female issue. This last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance, was soon abolished by the trustees themselves, from a sense of its being grievous beyond measure in an infant colony, where the land must necessarily for some time, be the sole wealth of the family. But there still remained too many checks upon emulation, which alone can give prosperity to a new establishment, in a distant and uncultivated region.

As men are seldom induced to leave their native country, for one where the conveniencies of life are enjoyed in leis perfection, unless with some extraordinary prospect of future advantage, there should always be something of vastness in the object presented to their view. This will draw them, by powerfully striking their imagination; and they will be encouraged to persevere in the paths of industry, by the hopes of aggrandisement. But if certain narrow limits are fixed, which no degree of industry can pass, all men of propriety or spirit will be discouraged from engaging in such a settlement; or if they should be induced by any accidental circumstance to embark themselves in an undertaking so little calculated to attract the human heart, their natural activity will soon become languid, for want of motives to rouse, or to perpetuate its exertions.

The

The small portion of fifty acres, which was the most assigned to any family, the common lot being only twenty-five, without any regard to the quality of the soil, must necessarily have produced this effect in Georgia.

Several other errors still affected the original plan of this colony, and prevented its increase. The taxes imposed upon the most fertile lands in our colonies are very inconsiderable; and even these were not levied, till the settlements had acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity: but from its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it might be said to be in a manner fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of tenure increased prodigiously, in proportion as the colony extended itself; and the trustees, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the smallest taxes imposed upon the trade of a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them, than the largest fines laid upon a waste and uninhabited territory. But their grant was only for twenty years; and, as if these had been but twenty days, they were attentive only to present advantage.

To this species of oppression was added another; which, incredible as it may seem, might arise from a spirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. As the colonies of Virginia and Carolina, where they have now multiplied so excessively, were established without their assistance, it was thought that a colony, which was meant to be the bulwark of all our American possessions towards the south, ought not be peopled by negroes; a set of men who could not be in the least interested in the defence of those, by whom they were held in servitude. This regulation, however, in some respects so rational and humane, was made without a due attention to the climate and soil of Georgia, and the inconveniencies to which Europeans, unseasoned to the country, must be exposed in clearing the lands which were essential to their subsistence, beneath a burning sun. The consequence was, that the greater part of the hours of labour, all the middle of the day, was spent in idleness, which brought certain want along with it.

This indolence, which so many obstacles contributed to produce, found a further excuse, in another prohibition that had been imposed. The disorders occasioned by the use of spirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the trustees of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. That prohibition, though well intended, deprived the colonists of the only liquor, or at least the only one they were able to purchase, that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, which were generally unwholesome, by running through a vast extent of forest; and of the only means they had to restore the extraordinary waste of strength and spirits, necessarily occasioned by continued labour in a hot climate. This recruit was at least necessary, to enable them to cultivate their lands without the help of negroes. But the prohibition of rum was further detrimental to Georgia, by depriving the colonists of their natural share in the commerce of the West Indies: it in a manner shut them out from the only market for their most valuable commodities, their corn, cattle, and wood, as they

could not take in return, what they most wanted, and what would have rendered their condition eligible, the rum of those islands.

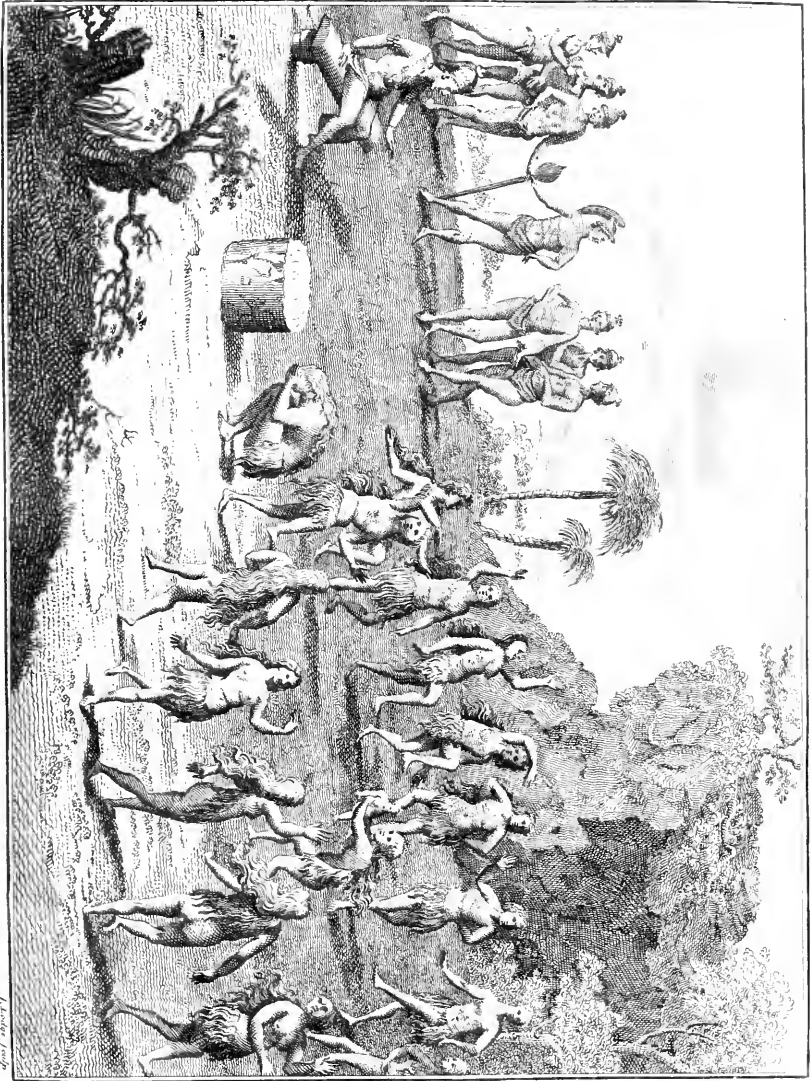
The British government at length perceiving, how much these defects in the political constitution of Georgia had prevented the progress, and diminished the population of the colony, revoked the grant to the trustees, annulled the particular regulations; and placed it on the same footing with Carolina. Instead of being dependent on the caprice of a few individuals, it became one of the national possessions, and though a less extensive territory, and less fertile soil, will ever prevent it from rivaling Carolina, while it cultivates only the same commodities, namely, rice and indigo, it has other resources. The climate, and even the soil of Georgia, promise great advantages from the culture of silk, and the planting of vines and olives. But mankind must be provided with the necessaries of life, before they can think of its superfluities. It was therefore necessary that the inhabitants of Georgia should begin with the raising of corn, the breeding of cattle, and the culture of such mercantile productions as were certain to succeed, before they carried their experiments in the more lucrative, but doubtful articles, to any great length. Nor is there any reason to despair of their raising silk, and producing wine in such plenty, as will make Georgia one of the most valuable provinces in North America.

All these advantages will happily be increased by the acquisition of Florida; a province, which from its vicinity, must necessarily influence the prosperity of Georgia, at the same time that it forms its security, and quiets all our apprehensions on account of the disproportionate number of negroes in a frontier colony. Under the name of Florida, as we have frequently had occasion to remark, the ambition of Spain comprehended all the coast of North America, from Mexico to its most northern extremity; but fortune which sports with the vanity of nations, as well as of individuals, has long since confined within narrower limits this vague description of a country to which the Spaniards had no right, if priority of discovery has any thing to say in such a question. Florida, which for upwards of a century past has consisted only of the peninsula formed by the sea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louisiana, was discovered in 1497, by the famous John Cabot, to whom England is so much indebted for her American claims, if not for her possessions.

f D. 1565. The different attempts of the Spaniards to conquer this country from the natives, their jealousy of any European nation settling in it, and the massacre of the French protestants, have been already related*. After de Gourgues had taken vengeance on the murderers of his countrymen, in 1667, the Spaniards kept quiet possession of Florida, till their coasts were visited by Sir Francis Drake, who reduced all their settlements near the shore. Those settlements never deserved the name of colonies; they were little more than Spanish garrisons, supported at a considerable expence, in order to prevent the population of a country abounding with all the conveniencies of life, and capable of yielding most of its

* Book IV. chap. ii.

The People of FIDORIDA, dancing their first Boon to the Sun.



W. H. Woodcut

luxuries. St. Matheo or St. Juan, continued to be their most northerly settlement; and though it is situated on a navigable river, and in an agreeable and fertile plain, it was suffered to go to decay, and would in all probability have been finally abandoned, had they not discovered the *Jasséfras* in its neighbourhood.

This tree, which is a native of America, is of a better species in Florida than in any other part of the New World. It grows equally in the vicinity of the sea, and upon the mountains, but always in a soil that is neither too dry nor too damp. It is straight and lofty, like the fir-tree; it has no branches, and its top is formed somewhat in the shape of a cup. It is an ever green, and its leaves resemble those of the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is intused for drinking in the manner of tea. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very fervericable in medicine, ought to be spongy, light, of a greyish colour; of a sharp, sweetish, and aromatic taste, and should have the smell of the fennel and anise.

These qualities give the *Jasséfras* the virtue of promoting perspiration, resolving thick and viscous humours, and relieving palsies and catarrhs. It was formerly much used in venereal complaints; and the first Spaniards who settled in Florida would probably have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, without the assistance of such a powerful remedy. At least they must have sunk under those dangerous fevers, to which they were generally subject at St. Matheo. But the natives taught them that, by drinking in a morning fasting, and at their meals, water in which *Jasséfras* had been boiled, they might depend on a speedy recovery; and the experiment, on trial, proved successful. St. Matheo, however, never emerged from its original poverty and obscurity, the necessary consequences of Spanish indolence and superstition, in every country that does not yield the precious metals.

St. Augustine, which stands fifteen leagues to the south of St. Matheo, on the same coast, and which was founded, as we have seen *, by that blood-thirsty fanatic, who butchered the French protestants at the former, then called Fort Caroline, is a place of more consequence. This town, which at last came to consist of about eight hundred houses, was scarcely established, when it was reduced by Sir Francis Drake, that scourge of the Spanish nation. It underwent a similar fate in 1665, being pillaged by Capt. Davis, at the head of a resolute party of Buccaneers. In 1702, an attempt was made by Col. Moore to annex it to the British settlements. This gentleman, who was governor of Carolina, permitted himself to be persuaded by the assembly to undertake the reduction of all the Spanish possessions in Florida. He accordingly set out at the head of such a force as the province was able to furnish, consisting of five or six hundred English, and seven hundred Indians, and sat down before St. Augustine, after having laid every thing waste before him; but when he was on the point of accomplishing his enterprize, the arrival of some Spanish ships to the relief of the garrison, induced him to raise the siege, and retire with the utmost precipitation to Carolina, to the no small disgrace of the British arms, as it is doubtful if the Spaniards would have dared to attack him.

A. D. 1560.

* Book IV. chap. ii:

The people of Carolina were so much discouraged by this repulse, that they made no second attempt to reduce Florida; but in 1740, general Oglethorpe, governor of Georgia, renewed the attempt with all the force he was able to collect, though by no means adequate to the undertaking. The Spanish governor, who was an officer of abilities and experience, having intelligence of the designs formed by the English, had augmented his garrison to near a thousand men, all well-disciplined soldiers, and taken every other precaution which his knowledge in the art of war dictated. He had in particular laid traps for general Oglethorpe, by abandoning a number of out-posts. These, though of no consequence to the defence of the place, were entered in triumph by the English commander, and garrisoned with British troops, to the great diminution of his strength; a circumstance of which the Spanish governor made such good use, that he cut off an hundred and thirty of our people posted in the Negro Fort, under the conduct of Col. Palmer. This unfortunate incident immediately turned the scale against the besiegers, who were farther discouraged by the fruitless toil of erecting batteries in the island of Eustatia, which were found incapable of making any impression upon the fort. Sensible of the disadvantages under which he laboured, and that pursuing his project could answer no other end but that of sacrificing the lives of a number of brave men, and giving the Spaniards further cause of triumph, general Oglethorpe raised the siege of St Augustine, to the great disappointment of the nation, which had formed the most sanguine expectations from the enterprise. It was hoped that our southern settlements would not only have been secured against any attacks from the Spaniards by land, but that we should thenceforth be able to annoy their plate-fleets, in returning by the channel of Bahama.

Some Scotch Highlanders, who accompanied general Oglethorpe, suffered greatly in attempting to cover the retreat of the provincial and British troops. Many of them were cut off, in violation of the laws of war, and the rights of humanity; but an officer, who had peculiarly distinguished himself by his valour, was spared by the Indians who fought among the Spaniards, although only that he might be reserved to undergo those frightful torments, which they inflict upon such of their prisoners as seem entitled by their bravery to that awful mark of esteem. The Highlander, on seeing the tortures that awaited him, is said to have addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following words:—"Heroes and patriarchs of the western world, ye are not the enemies for whom I fought; but ye have been the conquerors, and have a right to vengeance. This right I do not call in question. The chance of war has put me in your power: make what use you please of your victory; but as it is customary in my country to offer a ransom for one's life, listen to a proposal not unworthy of your attention.

"Know, gallant Americans! that in the land to which I owe my birth, as in yours no doubt, there are some men who possess a superior knowledge of the secrets of nature. One of those sages, to whom I am connected by the ties of kindred, imparted to me, when I became a soldier, a charm to make me invulnerable. You must have observed, how I escaped all your well-directed darts. Without such a charm, would it have been possible for me to have sur-
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vived all the mortal blows aimed at my body? For I appeal to your own valour, to testify that mine has sufficiently exerted itself, and that I have not shrunk from any danger. Life is less the object of my request, than the glory of having communicated to you a secret of so much consequence to your safety, and of rendering the bravest people upon earth invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my hands at liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies of enchantment, of which I will now make trial upon myself before you."

The Indians listened with eagerness to this discourse, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a short consultation, they untied one of the prisoner's arms. This was no sooner done, than the Highlander laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and uttered some words accompanied with magic signs, begged that they would put his broadsword into the hands of the most expert and stoutest man among them; then inclining his body, he cried with a cheerful voice, "Observe, O gallant Indians! an incontestable proof of my sincerity. Thou, warrior, who dost now wield my keen-cutting blade, strike! with all thy strength. Far from being able to sever my head from my body, thou wilt not even wound the skin of my neck."

Scarce were these words uttered, when the Indian champion, aiming the most violent blow, struck off the head of the Highlander to the distance of twenty feet. The savages astonished, stood for some minutes motionless, contemplating the bloody corpse of the stranger; then turned their eyes on each other, as it to reproach themselves for their blind credulity. Admiring, however, the artifice which the prisoner had made use of, in order to avoid the torture by hastening his own death, as well as the gallantry which he had displayed in battle, they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of their country*.

The Spaniards, who in all their progress through America, were more employed in destroying the inhabitants, than in building towns, or cultivating the earth, had no settlements in Florida worth naming besides those already mentioned, except one in the Bay of Pensacola, on the frontiers of Louisiana. A good harbour, with some abatement in regard to the entrance, and an improvable soil within land, conspired to make this the most considerable place on the west side of the peninsula, belonging to the crown of Spain. These three settlements, with two others of less account, dispersed over a space sufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thousand inhabitants, surpassing each other in sloth and poverty, when Florida was ceded to the crown of Great Britain, by the treaty of Paris in 1703; and as most of those miserable men chose to retire to Cuba, the country was received in a condition almost altogether desolate.

Great hopes have, however, been entertained from a territory so large, and so capable of improvement as Florida, whose limits are extended even to the Mississippi,

* This story is adopted from Raynal, who does not himself attack its authenticity; and if it should prove to be a fable, it is at least one of those that serve rather to embellish, than debase the page of history.

by the cession which France has made of part of Louisiana. England had long been desirous of possessing this portion of the American continent, and from a variety of motives. She was desirous of securing her southern colonies against the dangerous neighbourhood of the Spaniards, too often combined with the French and Indians; she was ambitious of sharing in the lucrative fur-trade, carried on in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi; and she was above all anxious of approximating her settlements to Mexico, the seat of the precious metals, great part of which she did not doubt of being able to attract by a contraband traffic. The two first objects have been gained, nor is the last to be despaired of; but an advantage so precarious and illiberal, is by no means suited to the views of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the settlements of a commercial people flourishing.

Sensible of this truth, the parliament has given every encouragement to agriculture, in one of the finest provinces of the British empire; which has been divided into two governments, under the names of East and West Florida. It is not easy to conjecture to what degree of splendour so much indulgence, with time and good management, may raise the Floridas, but appearances are highly promising. The air is healthy, and the soil fit for every kind of culture. The first trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were attended with such success as greatly increased the number of the settlers. Nor have succeeding attempts contradicted those early experiments; but the Floridas are not yet sufficiently peopled, to attain distinction as planting colonies. Planters were pouring in from the neighbouring provinces, and industrious inhabitants from all the protestant countries in Europe, before the present unhappy disturbances deadened activity and enterprise in all our settlements, by rendering all property insecure; and as soon as these disturbances shall be composed, it cannot be doubted but Florida will acquire that consequence among the British possessions in America to which it is intitled by its natural advantages, its climate, its soil, and its position.

C H A P. VIII.

The Discovery and Settlement of Louisiana by the French.

WE have already seen the French settle themselves in Canada. When they became more fully acquainted with that boundless region, they discovered the stream, and afterwards the mouth of the Mississippi. To the beautiful and level country, which lies on both sides of that river, and extends above five hundred leagues in length, and two hundred in breadth, from New Mexico to the Apalachian mountains, they gave the name of Louisiana, in honour of Lewis XIV. In their accounts of the discovery and settlement of this country,

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from which the highest expectations were formed, the French writers are pompous and prolix; but a concise narration of the most interesting particulars, will be sufficient for our purpose.

Being told by the distant savages, that to the west of Canada there was a great river, which flowed neither to the north nor to the east, the enterprising spirit of the French colonists was roused. They very reasonably concluded, that it must empty itself into the Gulph of Mexico, if its course was southward; and if westward, into the South Sea. A communication with either of those, was of sufficient importance to deserve some inquiry. The undertaking was committed to one Jolyet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a man of sense and experience, and to the jesuit Marquette, whose virtues were respected by all the savage nations of Canada. These two men, equally upright in their intentions, maintained the most friendly harmony during their researches. They went together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which empties itself into that lake, and sailed up almost to the head of the river, notwithstanding the currents, which render the navigation difficult. After some days march, they arrived at the river Ouifconsing, on which they embarked; and holding still westward, came to the Mississippi, and sailed down the stream of that river, as far as the country of Akanfas, about the thirty third degree of north latitude.

A. D. 1673.

The zeal of these adventurers would have carried them further, but they were in want of provisions; and it would have been otherwise imprudent to venture very far into an unknown country, with only three or four men. Besides, they were fully convinced, that the river which they had found discharged itself into the Gulph of Mexico. They therefore resolved to return to Canada; and on entering the river Illionois, they found the Indians of that name pretty numerous, and disposed to enter into a friendly intercourse with the French nation. Marquette remained among them to cultivate those good dispositions, while Jolyet returned to Quebec, where he communicated to the governor all the information they had procured, without concealing or exaggerating one particular.

Among the inhabitants of New France at that time, was a Norman named La Salle, who was equally desirous of procuring a great fortune, and of establishing a brilliant reputation; who was alike fond of wealth and fame. This man had spent his younger years among the Jesuits, where he had acquired that activity, enthusiasm, and firmness, with which those fathers were so capable of inspiring their disciples; especially when they met with young men of keen parts, with whom they were fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, whose genius was of the most bold and enterprising kind, fond of seizing every opportunity to offer himself to distinction, and anxious even to seek out such occasions, perceived with pleasure that the governor of Canada neglected to pursue the discovery of the Mississippi. Determined that it should not be lost for want of spirit, he embarked for Europe, went to the court of Versailles, and was listened to almost with admiration, at a time when both the prince and the people were smit with the love of glory and greatness. He returned to

A. D. 1627.

Quebec

BOOK VIII. Quebec loaded with honours, and with orders to prosecute the undertaking that had been so happily begun*.

Such a commission was La Salle's supreme wish; yet did not his ardour, on obtaining it, transport him beyond the bounds of moderation and prudence. In order to secure success to his scheme, he proceeded with the greatest caution. The distance was considerable, from the most southerly French settlements in Canada, to the banks of the river that was to be the object of inquiry. It was a matter of the utmost consequence to secure this tract. La Salle's first step therefore was to create several fortified stations, which took up more time than he imagined, the work being often interrupted by unforeseen accidents. At length, when time and caution had disposed every thing favourable to his hopes, he embarked on the Illinois, entered the Mississippi, and sailed down the stream of that river, till he was perfectly sensible that it emptied itself into the Gulph of Mexico.

A. D. 1661.

This information was of the utmost consequence; and La Salle, who well knew its value, and the benefit which might be derived from it, hastened back to Quebec. Nor did he remain long there: he took the first opportunity to return to France, in order to propose to the court the discovery of the Mississippi by sea, and the establishment of a colony, which could not fail to be of infinite importance in that vast country of which he had taken possession in the name of his most Christian majesty. His plan was approved of; and he obtained four ships, of different sizes, with about two hundred and fifty persons, of all conditions, and of both sexes, and an ample supply of provisions, as well as of European goods, for the Indian trade. But he missed the object of his voyage, by steering too far to the westward; and after fruitlessly traversing the coast for some time, he landed in the Bay of St. Bernard, an hundred leagues beyond the mouth of the Mississippi. That error might have been repaired; but La Salle, who was of an haughty and severe temper, had quarrelled with Beaujeu, the commander of his little fleet; and being unwilling to owe any obligation to him, he permitted him to depart with the largest vessel, and the greater part of the military stores, without once soliciting him to stay, or employing one soothing expression to incline him to such a measure. In this obstinacy he was encouraged by an idea which he had formed, that the river he had entered must be a branch of the Mississippi, and that he should be able to accomplish his design without any other force than what he still possessed. But he was soon undeceived in his conjecture. Nor did he profit by that experience: instead of seeking for guides among the savages, who would have directed him to the place of his destination, he chose to go nearer to the Spaniards, and inform himself relative to the visionary mines of St. Barbe, which had so long and so unprofitably employed their search. He was wholly occupied with this romantic project, when his associates, no longer able to bear the hardships to which they were exposed, in consequence of his violent and tyrannical disposition, no less than his ambitious views, conspired

A. D. 1664.

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

against his life, and shot him from an ambuscade, after having massacred two of his attendants.

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 1687.

The death of La Salle occasioned the utter ruin of his enterprise. The ruffians who had murdered him, fell by each other's hands. Several of the company incorporated with the natives, and many of them perished of hunger and fatigue. The greater part of those who survived shared a worse fate. The Spaniards of New Mexico, being informed of the French undertaking, had advanced up the country, in order to oppose it. Into their hands many of the dispersed adventurers fell, and were sent to the mines, where they miserably perished, in digging for gold which they had already suffered to many hardships in searching after, and which had tempted them from their native soil. Those who had shut themselves up in the little fort that had been erected, fell into the hands of the savages. Only seven Frenchmen escaped to Canada by land, to relate the melancholy fate of their companions, and the failure of the enterprise in which they had been engaged*.

These disasters made the French, for some years, resign all thoughts of Louisiana; but the attention of the court was again called back, in 1697, to an object which had formerly inspired such sanguine hopes. These hopes were revived by M. Iberville, a gentleman of Canada, who had distinguished himself by some very bold and fortunate attempts in Hudson's Bay, in l'Acadie, and Newfoundland. He was dispatched from Rochfort with two ships, and entered the Mississippi on the second of July 1699. After sailing up the river sufficiently high to take a full view of the beauty and fertility of its banks, he contented himself with erecting a small fort, and proceeded to another place to settle his colony.

Between the mouth of the Mississippi and Pensacola, a settlement then newly founded by the Spaniards in Florida, lies a coast of near forty leagues in extent, and every where so flat, that ships of burden cannot come within four leagues of the shore, nor even the lightest brigs within two. The soil, which is composed entirely of sand, is equally unfit for agriculture and the breeding of cattle. Nothing grows there but a few cedars and fir-trees. The climate is so exceedingly hot, when the sun shines upon those sands, that in some seasons it would be insupportable, were it not for a light breeze which springs up regularly about nine or ten in the morning, and never ceases till towards evening. In this extensive tract is a place called Biloxi, from the name of a savage nation that formerly settled there. That spot, the most barren and inconvenient on the whole coast, was made choice of for the residence of the few men that accompanied Iberville, and who had been allured by the most sanguine expectations.

On his return to France, however, he found no difficulty in bringing over a new colony, which he settled thirteen leagues to the east of Biloxi, not far from Pensacola. The banks of the Mobile, a river of some extent, but which is no where navigable except for boats, were thought worth inhabiting. Nor was the barrenness of the adjacent lands deemed a sufficient objection to such a measure;

* Id. *ibid.* Joutel. Charlevoix. Hennepin.

it being conjectured that the connexions which might be formed with the Spaniards and neighbouring Indians, would compensate all these disadvantages. An island opposite to the mouth of the Mobile, at the distance of four leagues, offered a harbour, which might be considered as the sea port of the new colony. It was named the Isle of Dauphin, and was very convenient for unloading the French goods, which it had before been necessary to send ashore in boats. This island, though a barren one, was soon peopled, and became the principal settlement in Louisiana; until the sands, by which it had been originally formed, were heaped up to such a degree as to deprive it of its port, the only advantage that had given it any degree of reputation.

A colony established upon such a barren shore, without vast commercial resources, which this never found, could not possibly make any progress; and the death of Iberville, its founder, who gloriously perished in the service of his country, put an end to the small remaining hopes of the settlers. France was then so deeply engaged in an unsuccessful war in Europe, that no assistance could be expected from her. The colonists thought themselves entirely forsaken by the mother-country; and those who entertained any hopes of bettering their condition in another place, went in quest of a more convenient situation. The few whom necessity compelled to stay behind, subsisted upon vegetables, or by means of excursions among the Indians. In the midst of this misery, the Isle of Dauphin was pillaged by an English privateer*; and twenty-eight wretched families formed the whole inhabitants of the colony, when M. Crozat petitioned for, and obtained the exclusive trade of Louisiana, in 1712.

A. D. 1710.

Crozat, according to an author very able to judge of human characters †, was one of the few men born for great undertakings. He possessed a superiority of talents and sentiments, which enabled him to execute the greatest designs, and to engage in the most ordinary business for the service of the state, being desirous to derive all his fame from the glory of his country. The soil of Louisiana was not the object of this active genius. He could not be ignorant of the barrenness of those tracts already settled, nor does it appear that he had any idea of attempting to improve them, or of discovering lands more fertile. His intention was to open communications both by sea and land with Old and New Mexico; to pour in all kinds of European merchandise upon those parts, and to draw in return the produce of the Spanish mines. The country he had requested appeared to him, as it has to others, the natural and necessary mart for this rich commerce; and all the steps taken by his agents were directed to that end. But being undeceived, by several unsuccessful attempts, he relinquished his scheme, and resigned his privilege to a company, whose progress astonished the world for a time; and, like a meteor, disappeared as suddenly as it had risen to view.

A. D. 1717.

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. This attack is said to have been made in consequence of an idea that the French of Louisiana were possessed of immense treasures, which they concealed from the world, and which enabled Lewis XIV. to carry on his expensive wars.

† Raynal.

This company was formed by the famous Law, a native of Scotland, who had made it his business from his earliest years to observe attentively the different powers of Europe, to examine their several springs, and to calculate the strength of each. He was singularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the kingdom of France. To remedy this evil, appeared a task worthy of his daring genius, and he flattered himself that he could accomplish it. The greatness of his idea recommended it to the court, and the French ministry. His plan was, by speedily paying off the national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interests which absorbed it. The introduction of paper credit could alone effect this amazing revolution; and the exigencies of the state seemed to require such an expedient. The public creditors came into the new scheme the more readily, as they knew they might at any time change their notes for shares in the company. On the other hand, there appeared no doubt but the company would be able to answer their several engagements; since, independent of the produce of the taxes which were to centre in their hands, as a company of finance, they had opened a new channel, as a commercial company, through which immense riches were expected to flow.

From the year 1538, when the celebrated Ferdinando de Soto perished on the banks of the Mississippi, it was generally believed that the neighbouring country contained inexhaustible treasures. It was doubtful, indeed, where those treasures were to be found; but still their existence was less or more credited, and the celebrated mines of St. Barbe, were talked of with rapture. If they seemed to be forgotten awhile, that temporary neglect served only to quicken the attention of mankind towards them, when by any accident or artifice the fable was revived. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage and increase it by mysterious reports. It was whispered, as a secret, that these and many other mines, had at length been discovered, but that they were much richer than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, so industriously propagated, and which had already gained too much credit, a number of miners were sent to Louisiana, in order to dig the imaginary treasure, with a body of troops sufficient to defend them, and protect the precious produce of their toils.

The impression which this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty, is altogether inconceivable: every one was eager to obtain a share in the new company; and every speculation, scheme, and expectation, was directed to the same channel. The Mississippi became the grand object, and the ultimate end of all pursuits*. The adventurers were not content with a bare association with

* Mr. Law had prevailed in transferring in 1718, all the privileges of the East India company to the Mississippi, or West India company, and in consolidating both under the more simple title of the India company. In July following the company obtained a grant of all the profits arising from the coinage of gold and silver for nine years, in consideration of twenty-five millions of specie advanced to the government. An act about the same time was published, enabling the directors of the bank to issue two hundred and forty millions in bank-bills, which made the whole stock of the company consist of four hundred millions of livres; and though no dividend

with the company which had obtained the disposal of Louisiana: they were eager to obtain large tracts of land for plantations; which, it was represented, would in a few years yield an hundred times the sum laid out upon them. Whether they were blinded by motives of avarice, or acted from conviction, or were seduced by flattery, certain it is that those who were accounted the most intelligent men in the nation, the richest, and the highest in repute, were the most forward in forming these settlements. Others were induced by their example; and those whose fortunes would not allow them to become proprietors, solicited to have the management of the plantations of others, or even to be permitted to work in them.

During this general infatuation, all persons who offered themselves, whether natives or foreigners, were promiscuously and carelessly crowded into ships. They were landed upon the sands of the Biloxi, where they perished by thousands of want and vexation. They might have been conveyed up the Mississippi, and landed immediately in the country they were to clear; but the conductors of the enterprise never thought of sending proper boats for that purpose. Even after they found that the ships coming from Europe could navigate that river, the head quarters still continued to prove fatal to those numerous and deluded victims, doomed to fall a sacrifice to a political imposture. New Orleans had been founded in 1718, but the head quarters were not removed thither for four years after; that is, till hardly any of those miserable people remained, who had been so unfortunate as to quit their native country, in search of imaginary wealth.

A. D. 1722.

But at this period, when it was too late, the charm was dissolved, and the mines vanished, with the other visionary advantages. Nothing remained but the shame of having been misled by chimerical notions. Louisiana shared the fate of those extraordinary † men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards punished for their unmerited fame, by being degraded below their real worth. This enchanted country was now held in detestation, and execrated, as the sink of ruin. Its very name became a reproach. The Mississippi became the terror of freemen as well as of men of property: no recruits could be found to send thither, except such as were taken from gaols and houses of correction. It became the receptacle of the lowest and most profligate set of men in the kingdom. What could be expected from a settlement composed of such persons?—Vicious men will neither people a country, nor labour, nor continue long in one place, unless attached by very extraordinary advantages.

had yet been made, every share that had been purchased for one hundred livres, now sold for five hundred. The romantic schemes which this infatuation produced are incredible. The madness at length prevailed so far, that the company offered to lend to the government the sum of one hundred and fifty millions sterling. Even that enormous sum was insufficient to discharge the public debt: the ministry, however, assailed themselves of the phrensy to get into their hands almost all the ready money in France; and when the bubble burst, and the people came to their senses, they found themselves almost all beggars.

† M. Law, who held the high office of comptroller-general of the finances, was obliged to abdicate; and the seals were taken from M. d'Argenson, his principal associate in the Mississippi scheme.

Louisiana afforded no such advantages to men alike void of industry and property. Many of the miserable wretches transported thither, went to the English or Spanish settlements, to exhibit the melancholy view of their distress and poverty. Others wandered wild in the woods, till hunger and weariness put an end to their existence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions of livres had been sunk in settling it. The managers of the company, who advanced this vast sum, ridiculously pretended that in the capital of France they could lay the plan of such establishments as were fit for America. From the company's office they pretended to regulate and direct all the inhabitants of Louisiana, and imposed various restraints upon them, all for the emolument of the exclusive charter. Had they granted certain encouragements to citizens of character, who should settle in a country, valuable though detested, by securing to them that liberty which every man covets; that property which every man has a right to enjoy in the fruits of his own labour, and that protection which is due from every society to its members, Louisiana would have worn a very different appearance. Proprietors well informed of their real interest, and planters zealous to improve their property, directed by the circumstances of the times and of the place, would have established more extensive, permanent, and profitable settlements, than any the company could possibly form with all their treasures, dispensed and managed by agents, who could neither have the knowledge requisite to conduct so many, and such various operations, nor be influenced by any immediate interest in their success. The French ministry, however, thought it conducive to the welfare of the state, to leave the concerns of Louisiana in the hands of the company; which was under the necessity of exerting all its interest to obtain permission to alienate that part of its property, and even to purchase such liberty, in 1731, by paying down the sum of one million four hundred and sixty thousand livres*.

It will now be proper to take a view of the climate and soil of Louisiana, and of those events that were not immediately connected with the affairs of the Mississippi company, as well as of the future progress of the colony.—In a country so extensive, the climate cannot be every where the same; but in this famous territory, it was in no place found to be such as might have been expected from its latitude. Lower Louisiana, though under the same parallels with the coast of Barbary, is little hotter than the South of France; and those parts of it, which are situated in the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth degrees of latitude, are no warmer than the northern provinces of the mother-country. This phenomenon, which seems so extraordinary to a common observer, may be accounted for by a naturalist from the thick forests which prevent the rays of the sun from heating the ground; the numberless rivers, which keep it constantly damp; and the winds which blow from the north, over a vast extent of land.

The sky in Louisiana, however, is seldom clouded. The sun, which gives life to all things, shines almost every day. When it rains, the showers are

* Raynal, liv. xvi.

heavy, but they seldom happen; and the want of them is amply compensated, by copious dews. The air in general is pure, but much more so in upper than lower Louisiana. In this happy country, the women are blest with a pleasing figure, and the men, tall and erect, are less subject to disorders in the vigour of life, and have fewer infirmities in old age than the Europeans. Nor is the soil inferior to the climate. The country naturally abounded with wild fruits, very pleasing to the taste: it furnished a liberal provision for a great number of birds and wild beasts; and in consequence of that plenty, a luxuriant supply of food for man, the meadows or savannahs, on which no art or labour had been bestowed, being covered with herds of deer and buffaloes. Perhaps no trees in the world can be compared with those of Louisiana for height, variety, and thicknets; and since the soil has been tried in different districts, it has been found fit for all kinds of culture.

The source of that celebrated river, which divides this immense country almost into equal two parts, from north to south, has never yet been discovered. The boldest travellers have not advanced higher than about an hundred leagues above the falls of St. Anthony. Thence to the sea, which is near seven hundred leagues, the navigation is not liable to be interrupted; and the Mississippi, after being augmented by the influx of the Illinois, the Missouri, the Ohio, and a great many smaller rivers, maintains an uninterrupted course till it falls into the Gulf of Mexico. Here the sea throws up a prodigious quantity of mud, leaves of reeds and plants, boughs and stumps of trees, washed down by the river in its boundless course. These different materials being driven backwards and forwards, and collected together, by the opposite actions of the stream and the tide, form themselves into a solid mass, continually tending to the elongation of this vast continent: and a variety of circumstances conspire to prove, that the bed of the Mississippi is already extended near an hundred leagues, and that its bottom is almost recent ground, since not a single stone is to be found in it.

Another still more striking singularity is, that the waters of this great river, when once diverted from their channel, never return into it. The reason of such a phænomenon is not inexplicable. The Mississippi is annually swelled by the melting of the northern snows, which begins in March, and continues for about three months. The bed of the river being very deep at the upper part, it seldom overflows on the east side till it comes within sixty leagues of the sea, nor on the west till within an hundred leagues; in a word, not till after it has reached the low lands, which we conjecture to be recently formed. Those muddy grounds, like all others that have not yet acquired a due consistence, produce a prodigious quantity of large reeds, in which all extraneous bodies washed down the river are entangled. All these bodies uniting together, and augmented by the slime that fills up the interstices, in process of time compose a mass which raises the banks of the river higher than the adjacent grounds; so that the waters having once departed from the general stream, are prevented

from the possibility of returning into their former channel, and must force a passage for themselves, through the sands, into the sea. CHAP. VIII.

When the breadth and depth of the Mississippi alone are considered, the navigation appears to be easy; but it is, in truth, quite otherwise. It is very tedious, even in coming down; because it would be dangerous, on many accounts, by night in dark weather, and because the light canoes made of bark, which are so convenient on all other North American rivers, are useless upon this. It requires larger boats, which are of course heavier, and not so easily managed; and as it is always full of trees that fall from its own banks, or float into it from the other rivers which it receives, the boats, without the utmost precaution, are in continual danger of striking against the boughs, or roots, of some tree lying under water. The difficulties are still greater in going up the river.

At a certain distance from land, before the mouth of the Mississippi, care must be taken to keep clear of the floating wood, that comes down from Louisiana. The coast is so flat, that it cannot be seen at the distance of two leagues; and it is not easy to get up to it. The river empties itself into the sea by a great number of openings. These openings are continually varying, and most of them have but little depth of water. When a vessel has happily surmounted all these obstacles, she may sail, without much difficulty, for ten or twelve leagues, through an open and sandy country. But on advancing farther, the banks on each side are covered with thick forests, which wholly intercept the winds, and such a dead calm prevails, that it commonly takes a month to sail sixty leagues. The difficulty is increased on sailing beyond the forests; so that the rest of the navigation on a stream so rapid, and so full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and sails, and which after all their united efforts, though they set out by break of day, are thought to have made a good progress, if they have advanced five or six leagues by the close of the evening*. The Europeans engaged in this navigation, are attended by some Indian hunters, who follow by land, and supply them with subsistence during the three months and an half that are employed in sailing from one extremity of the colony to the other.

These difficulties are great, and must ever prove a prodigious discouragement to trade; but they are almost the only obstacles that the French had to struggle with, in forming settlements in the vast region of Louisiana. The English colonists of Virginia and Carolina, on the east, were too assiduously employed in their plantations, to neglect them for the pleasure of ravaging distant regions. The Spaniards, unfortunately for themselves, were less peaceably disposed in the west. The desire of removing an intriguing neighbour, whose restless disposition might one day prove dangerous to them in New Mexico, induced them in 1720, to project a settlement far beyond the lands which, till that time, had formed their boundary. The numerous caravans that were to compose this new colony, set out from Santa Fé, with all the requisites for a permanent establishment. They directed their march towards the Ozages,

* Charlevoix. *Rapport*.

whom

BOOK IV.

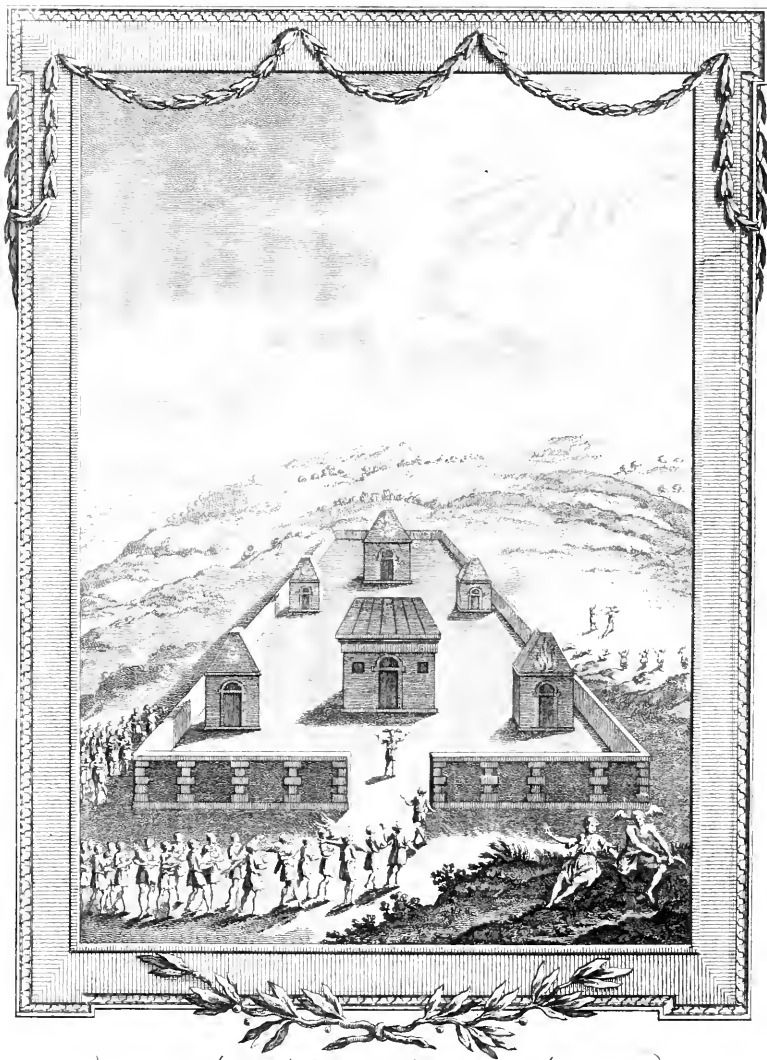
whom they wanted to induce to join with them in extirpating an Indian nation, who were neighbours and enemies to the Ozages, and whose territory the Spaniards wanted to occupy: but they accidentally missed their way, and came directly to that nation whose ruin they were meditating; and mistaking the Missouris (for so the devoted Indians were called) for the Ozages, communicated their designs to them without reserve.

The chief of the Missouris, who by this singular mistake, was made acquainted with the danger that threatened himself and his people, dissembled his resentment. He told the Spaniards, that he would gladly concur in promoting the success of their undertaking, and only desired two days to assemble his warriors. When they were armed to the number of two thousand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amused with feasting, dancing, and drinking: they found their guests fast asleep, and massacred them all, without distinction of age or sex, except the chaplain, who owed his preservation to the singularity of his dress, and those arts which the Romish priests very generally possess, of softening the savage, and working on the untutored mind.

This catastrophe having secured the tranquillity of the colony, on the side where it was most threatened, it was in little danger of molestation except from the savages; nor were these much to be feared. The natives of Louisiana were divided into a variety of nations; none of them very populous, and all at enmity with each other, though separated by immense deserts. Most of them had a fixed abode, and they generally worshipped the sun. Their houses were only made of leaves interwoven with each other, and fastened to a number of stakes. Those who did not go quite naked were covered only with the skins of wild beasts. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fishing, upon maize, and some spontaneous fruits. Their customs were nearly the same with those of the other savages of North America; but their character was less warlike than that of the Canadians, and some of them were under the dominion of chiefs who exercised an absolute authority over them.

This was more especially the condition of the Natches, the only nation worthy of particular notice. A difference of rank took place among them with which the northern tribes were altogether unacquainted. Some families were reputed noble, and enjoyed hereditary dignity. The body of the people were considered as vile, and formed only for subjection. This distinction was marked by appellations which intimated the high elevation of one state, and the ignominious depression of the other. The former were called *Respectable*, the latter the *Stinkards*. The Great Chief, in whom the supposed authority was vested, is reputed a being of superior nature, and the brother of the Sun, the sole object of their worship. They approach him with religious veneration, and honour him as the representative of their Divinity. His will is a law, to which all submit with implicit obedience. If dissatisfied with any one, it was only necessary for him to say, "Rid me of that dog!"—and his commands were instantly executed. The lives of his subjects are so absolutely at his disposal, that if any one





The Casade of the Great Temple of the Incas.

one thinks he has incurred his displeasure, he comes with profound humiliation, and offers him his head*. The wife of the GREAT SUN, as this political and religious ruler was called, is vested with an authority no less absolute than himself. Nor does their tyranny end with their lives: their principal officers, and favourite servants are sacrificed at their tombs, that they may be attended in the next world by the same persons who ministered to them in this; and such is the reverence in which they are held, that those victims welcome death with exultation, deeming it a recompence of their fidelity, and a mark of distinction, to be selected to accompany their deceased master or mistress †.

It is truly surprising that the Natches, though themselves but little advanced beyond the neighbouring tribes in civility and improvement, should have tasted of the worst calamities incident to polished nations. But when by any accident or artifice, a divine origin is assigned to the prince, the people soon become abject, and superstition serves to complete the plan of despotism. The superstition of the Natches was, however, of the most liberal kind. The Sun, as already observed, was the chief object of religious worship among them. In their temples, which were constructed with some magnificence, and decorated with various ornaments, according to their mode of architecture, they preserved a perpetual fire as the purest emblem of their Divinity. Ministers were appointed to watch and to feed the sacred flame. Festivals returned at stated seasons, which were celebrated by the whole community, with solemn but unbloody rites; and the first function of the Great Sun, who like the Incas, was head of the religion as well as of the state, is an act of obeysance every morning to that luminary whose name he bears ‡. His mode of performing this is somewhat singular, and may be considered as a curious example of the union of barbarism with a refined superstition. He stands in the door of his cabin, with his face towards the east, and as soon as he perceives the rays of the sun begin to break forth, he howls three times, prostrating himself as often on the earth §.

As the country inhabited by the Natches lay on the banks of the Mississippi, and was alike pleasant and fertile, it drew the attention of the first Frenchmen, who sailed up that river. Far from opposing their design of settling among them, the Natches assisted them in it; and a mutual exchange of good offices laid the foundation of a lasting peace between the two nations. This might have been perpetuated, had not the avidity of the French weakened the connexion: they at first desired only to traffic for the productions of the country, but afterwards set their own price upon them, and at length, they found it would be more convenient to have them for nothing. Their audacity and avarice, in a word, increased to such a degree, that they drove the old inhabitants from the fields they had cleared and cultivated.

These acts of tyranny incensed the Natches. In vain had they recourse to entreaties, and to force. Every expedient was either useless or prejudicial to them.

* Dumont. Charlevoix.

† Ibid.

‡ Charlevoix. Dumont.

§ Ibid.

At length, driven to despair, they endeavoured to engage all the eastern Indians, with whose dispositions they were well acquainted, to join in the common cause of vengeance; and towards the end of the year 1720, they succeeded in forming an universal league, the object of which was the assassination of all their oppressors at the same instant. As the art of writing was unknown to the confederate nations, they agreed to count a certain number of bits of wood. One of these was to be burnt every day, and the last was to be the signal for the massacre.

The wife of the Great Chief was informed of the plot; and as she had conceived a general affection for the French, in consequence of her intimacy with certain individuals, she mentioned it several times to the commanding officer in the neighbourhood, and acquainted him with all the particulars. This intelligence was disregarded; but still she persisted in her resolution of refusing from ruin those strangers, whom certain attachments had conspired to render dear to her. What is truly extraordinary, however, though her regard had its origin in personal liking, and unlawful love, and might therefore be supposed to be confined to particular objects, or at least to those settled in her own territory, she determined, by an uncommon stretch of benevolence, to save the persons she had never seen, at the peril even of those with whom she was acquainted, and who had inspired her with the strongest emotions!—Her authority, as wife of the Sun, gave her free access to the temple, where the bits of wood were deposited; and satisfied with the intelligence which she had given to the French that were settled near her, she took away one or more of those counters every morning, though she by that means hastened the destruction of her incredulous friends, in order to preserve the lives of the rest—of the greater number, though unknown to her. Every thing happened as she had feared, if not foreseen.

The Natches, on the day indicated by the signal agreed upon, not doubting but all their allies were at that instant exhibiting the same horrid tragedy, fell upon the French in their territory, and massacred them: but as the bits of wood had not been stolen from the other conspirators, all remained quiet every where else; and this circumstance alone saved the feeble colony. In case of an attack, they had nothing to oppose to their enemies but a few rotten pales, ill defended by a handful of undisciplined vagabonds, almost unarmed. But Perrier, in whom the government was then vested, did not lose that presence of mind which courage inspires. The less he was able to resist, the more haughtiness he affected. This appearance of confident security had such an influence upon the Indians, that, either from fear of being suspected, or in hopes of pardon, many of the conspirators joined with him to destroy the Natches. The whole people were either made prisoners or put to the sword, after a gallant resistance: their houses were burnt; their territory was laid waste; and no vestige of them was left, but the place which they had formerly occupied*.

* Charlevoix. Du Pratz. The Great Sun, and about four hundred of his subjects, among whom were many of the chief nobility, were carried to St. Domingo to be the associates of the miserable and depressed herd of African slaves. Du Pratz. No provocation can justify such inhumanity.

A few of the unfortunate Natches, however, who had happily made their escape, took refuge among the Chickasaws, the most warlike nation in Louisiana. This nation had entered with greater warmth than the rest into the league against the French; and their undaunted and generous spirit made the laws of hospitality, which are inviolable among savages, still more sacred to them, so that no person dared at first to insist on their delivering up the Natches, to whom they had afforded refuge, as it was supposed that death would be the reward of the messenger: but Bienville, who soon after succeeded Perrier in the government of Louisiana, had the boldness to demand that those fugitives should be put into his hands. The Chickasaws treated the request with disdain; and by that means exposed themselves to the danger of extermination, the whole forces of the colony, combined with the Choctaws, one of their own nations, being sent against them. These forces formed two separate bodies; one of which was repulsed, with great slaughter, before the principal fort of the Chickasaws, and the other was defeated in the open field. A second attempt was made, about four years after, to subdue them with fresh troops from Europe and Canada, as well as by a combination of all the friendly Indians; but the Chickasaws continued to maintain their independency with their former intrepidity, till some fortunate incidents brought on an accommodation*. Since that time, nothing has disturbed the repose of Louisiana.

A. D. 1734.

A. D. 1736.

A. D. 1740.

The coasts of this extensive country, which are all situated on the Gulph of Mexico, are in general flat, often overflowed, and every where covered with fine sand, as white as snow. The French never established either forts or settlements on these barren coasts, to the west of the Mississippi. To the east of it stands Fort Mobile, on the banks of the river of the same name, the course of which extends one hundred and thirty leagues. It was intended as a check upon the Choctaws, the Alibamons, and some smaller tribes of Indians; in order to retain them in alliance with France, as well as to secure their fur-trade.

The Mississippi, as already observed, empties itself into the sea by a number of outlets. These are not always found in the same situation: several of them are at times dry, and most of them will only admit small vessels; but there is one that can receive ships of five hundred tons burden. On the channel through which they must sail, a kind of citadel is built, called La Blaise. About twenty leagues higher are two forts, which flank both sides of the river. Though in themselves not remarkably strong, they would be able to obstruct the passage of an hundred ships, as only one ship could advance at a time, and even that could neither cast anchor nor come to a mooring at this place. The first settlement that presents itself, on the Mississippi, is New Orleans, at thirty leagues distance from the sea. It was began, as we have seen, in 1717, but made no progress till 1722, when it became the capital of the colony.

At this period was traced out the plan of a handsome city, which has been gradually, and as it were insensibly raised. The streets are all straight, and cross

* Du Pratz.

each other at right angles. They form sixty-five detached pieces of ground, each of three hundred feet square, and subdivided into twelve allotments for as many inhabitants to build upon. The huts which formerly covered this great space, are now transformed into commodious houses, mostly built with brick. They are all surrounded by canals, which communicate with each other. This was thought a necessary precaution against the floods. New Orleans, intended to be the center of all intercourse with Louisiana, stands on the east side of the Mississippi, and the landing is so easy that the largest ships need only form a little bridge with planks, in order to unload their goods; but when the waters are high it is requisite that they should hasten their departure, as the quantity of wood which floats down the river at that season would accumulate in the anchoring place, and cut the largest cables asunder.

The plantations are ranged in an uninterrupted line, on both sides of the Mississippi. Below New Orleans they extend but five leagues, and are not very considerable. Near the mouth of the river, the land begins to diminish in width, and continues to narrow all the way to the sea. On this neck of land, nothing is to be seen but sands and marshes, which afford no shelter to the human species, and are only fit for the reception of water fowl and mosquitoes. The plantations up the Mississippi, reach ten leagues above the town. The most distant have been cleared by some Germans, who with indefatigable labour have erected two villages, inhabited by the most industrious men in the colony.

In all this extent of fifteen leagues of cultivated land, the river has been embanked, in order to preserve the grounds from the floods, which return regularly every spring. The bank is secured by broad ditches, cut round every field, to drain off the waters which might otherwise overthrow the strongest dike. Throughout the whole cultivated space the soil is very muddy, and extremely proper for productions which require a moist situation. When it becomes necessary to break up any fresh ground, the great reeds, with which it is over-run, are cut down; and as soon as dry, they are set on fire. If the earth is afterwards but stirred in the slightest manner, it produces great crops of rice, Indian corn, and all sorts of grain, pulse, or other vegetables that are sown upon it, except wheat, which exhausts itself in straw, from the two great luxuriance of the soil.

Possibly the habitations, which are scattered along the banks of the river, might have been more judiciously disposed at the distance of half a league, on some of the little eminences which are frequent in the neighbouring country. A more pure air and a good bottom would have been found there; and probably wheat would have succeeded, when the woods had been cleared. The fertility of the grounds, if left open to the annual inundations of the river, would have exceeded all belief; because the waters, as they subsided, would constantly have enriched them with a fresh supply of slime, which must greatly have promoted vegetation. Both sides of the Mississippi would, in a course of years, have been adorned with extensive pastures, covered with innumerable herds and flocks, as well as with a range of gardens, orchards, plantations

plantations of rice, and fields of every other sort of grain, sufficient for the maintenance of a numerous people. CHAP. VIII.

This glorious prospect might have been extended from New Orleans, all over the lower Louisiana; and thus a second France would have appeared in America: but instead of such extensive improvement, only ten leagues above that city, begins an immense desert, where, in an extent of thirty leagues, appear but two wretched towns, inhabited by savages. At the extremity of this desert stands a place called Point Coupée, which is in a peculiar manner the work of European industry. Here the Mississippi formerly made a considerable bend; and some Frenchmen, by deepening the bed of a rivulet, which ran behind a point of land, brought the waters of the river into it. In this new channel they flowed with such impetuosity, that they entirely cut off the rest of the point of land; by which circumstance the navigation has been made shorter by fourteen leagues. The old channel was soon dry, and covered with such large trees as astonished all who had seen them grow up. This happy change of course gave life and vigour to one of the finest settlements in Louisiana. The inhabitants, settled on both sides of the river, have enriched, as well as embellished their plantations, with all kinds of European fruit-trees, none of which have degenerated. For their own consumption they cultivate rice and maize, and for exportation cotton and tobacco. The sale of their timber is likewise a lucrative branch of trade.

Above Point Coupée, about twenty leagues, falls into the Mississippi, on the west side, the Red River; on which stands a fort built by the French, thirty-five leagues from its influx. The design of this fort was to convey into Louisiana the gold and silver of New Mexico, which had already circulated near that place; but every such hope vanished, on surveying the poverty of the neighbouring Spaniards, and their little intercourse with richer places. The only advantage reaped from that establishment, and no contemptible one, was a plentiful supply of horses and horned cattle, which were scarce in Louisiana. But since they have multiplied in the latter country, the post on the Red River has continued to decline; nor is the colony of the Natches in a more flourishing state.

This settlement, which is at the distance of an hundred and ten leagues from the sea, was the most favourable that Iberville could meet with in sailing up the river. He saw no spot more eligible for the capital of the intended colony. All who surveyed it after him, were equally delighted with the advantages that it offered. The climate is healthy and temperate, the soil fit for tobacco, cotton, indigo, and every kind of culture. The land is high enough to be in no danger from the inundations, and the country open, extensive, well watered, and within reach of every settlement that has been made. Its distance from the ocean is no impediment to the arrival of ships. So flattering a prospect very soon engaged five hundred men to settle in the country of the Natches; where their intolerable rapacity, insolence, and cruelty, occasioned their total destruction, in the manner already related, by the hands of the exasperated savages. Those who came after to supply their place, and avenge their death, did not raise this settlement beyond

its former condition; and the desolate country of the Natches remains a striking monument of the destructive rage of Gallic tyranny, without having benefited even the tyrants.

An hundred and twenty leagues above the colony of the Natches, is that of the Akanas, which would have been very considerable, if the nine thousand Germans raised in the Palatinate, with a view to form it, had arrived there safe. They were a sober industrious people, but all perished before they reached the place of their destination. The Canadians who fixed there, in coming down the river, found a delightful climate, a fruitful soil, with ease and tranquillity. As they had been accustomed to live with savages, they were not averse from marrying the daughters of the Akanas; and these alliances were attended with the happiest consequences. There never was the least coolness between the two nations, united by these intermarriages, though so different from each other in manners. They have continued to live in that train of commerce, and that intercourse of good offices, which the fluctuating state of their affairs occasionally required, and mutual interest rendered necessary.

The like harmony, though in an inferior degree, subsists between the Illinois and the colony settled in their country, at three hundred leagues distant from the Akanas. This nation, the most northern in Louisiana, was constantly at war, and always in danger of being destroyed by the Iroquois, when the French arrived among them from Canada. These strangers, who were renowned for their valour in that part of the New World, were favourably received by the Illinois; and their interest was courted by the nation, as being able to make the most vigorous opposition against, if not to help them to humble an old and inveterate enemy. The French have so much increased, that they fill six considerable villages, while the natives, who were formerly very numerous and widely extended; are now confined to three towns, which do not contain above two thousand inhabitants. Both have forsaken the river which took its name from the people, in order to settle towards the south of it, on the more pleasant and fertile banks of the Mississippi. This colony, which has made great progress, and the fertility of whose territory it is impossible to exaggerate, is become the granary of Louisiana, and might supply an infinitely more considerable population.

The population of Louisiana, as a colony, has ever indeed been small. It never exceeded five thousand white people, including twelve hundred soldiers, who composed the military force of the colony*. These people, however, were not composed of the dregs of Europe, which France had sent over to Louisiana, during the prevalence of Law's system. All those abandoned men had fortunately perished, without leaving any posterity; and the new colonists, their successors, were robust men, who migrated from Canada, or disbanded soldiers, who had prudently preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleness, the natural consequence of pride and prejudice. Every inhabitant received from the government not only a piece of ground, with seed to sow it, but likewise a

* Raynal, liv. xvi.

musket, an axe, a mattock, a cow and a calf, and a cock and six hens, with a plentiful supply of provisions for three years *. Some officers, and a few men of substance, had improved these advantages by laying out large plantations, which employed about six thousand slaves; but the produce of their labour was very inconsiderable. The annual exports of the colony never exceeded two hundred thousand crowns †.

Louisiana, however, would probably have attained a much higher degree of prosperity had it not been for an original error in the mode of granting lands. Every one who solicited not only obtained them, but with a permission of settling, according to his own capricious fancy, in a boundless country, at the distance often of an hundred leagues from any other plantation; whereas had they fixed in a common centre, they would have profited by mutual assistance, lived harmoniously under the same laws, and have enjoyed all the advantages of a well regulated society. As population increased the lands would have been cleared to a greater extent; and instead of a few hords of savages, France would have beheld a thriving colony, which might in time have become a great and powerful nation, and proved of infinite advantage to the parent-state.

The French, who purchase annually from foreign powers, seventeen millions weight of tobacco, might easily have been supplied with that commodity from Louisiana. Twelve or fourteen thousand men skilled in the cultivation of it, would have furnished a sufficient quantity for the consumption of the whole kingdom. The government entertained such hopes, when it ordered all the tobacco plantations in Guiana to be destroyed. Convinced that the lands in that province were adapted to more important and richer cultures, and could produce necessary articles of greater consequence, they thought it would be equally advantageous to the mother country and the colony, to secure to Louisiana, then in its infant state, a market for tobacco; but when Law, the projector of this scheme, fell into discredit, his most rational plans were laid aside, and shared the same fate with those which were merely the offspring of a disordered imagination. The farmers of the revenue, who were gainers by the mistake, omitted nothing to continue it; and this, adds Raynal, is not one of the smallest mischiefs which the *finance* has done to the monarchy.

The profit arising to the colony from tobacco, would have made it sensible of the advantages that might be derived from the spacious and beautiful meadows, with which Louisiana abounds. They would soon have been covered with cattle, whose hides would have amply supplied the mother-country with leather, and whose flesh, when salted, might have been disposed of in the West India islands. Horses and mules, multiplying in the same proportion as the horned cattle, would have freed the French colonies from that dependence which they have always had upon the English and Spaniards for those necessary articles.

As soon as the colonists had begun to exert themselves, they would have proceeded from one branch of industry to another: they could not possibly have

* *Id. ibid.*† Raynal, *ubi sup.*

BOOK IV.

avoided ship-building, because the materials were at hand. The country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir trees which grow in great plenty along the coast, would have afforded masts and yards, as well as tar for the making of pitch. Hemp might easily have been raised in sufficient quantity for the sails and rigging. Nothing perhaps need have been imported but iron; and it is even more than probable, that there are iron mines in Louisiana. The forests being felled for those purposes, without any expence, and even with advantage, the ground would have been laid open for corn, cotton, indigo, flax, or olives; and even the culture of silk might have been prosecuted with success, when once the colony had been sufficiently populous to attend to an employment which the mildness of the climate, the increase of mulberry trees, and some fortunate trials had invited them to undertake. What might not, in a word, have been expected from a country, where the air is temperate, the soil fertile, and the lands susceptible of improvement boundless?

Had Louisiana reached that degree of prosperity which it was capable of attaining, the mouth of the Mississippi would have been rendered more easy of access; and this might have been effected by attending constantly to it, without incurring any great expence. For that purpose it would have been sufficient to have stopped up all those smaller outlets, which are rather a hindrance than a help to navigation, with the floating trees washed down by the stream. The whole body of the waters being thus confined to one channel, it would have become deeper at the mouth of the river, and the bar which almost shuts it up, would probably have been entirely removed. The largest ships might then have sailed into the Mississippi with more ease and safety than the smallest do at present; and as a farther means of facilitating navigation, the thick forests that intercept the winds might have been felled, and the passage up the river rendered less tedious. New Orleans would have become a populous city; and every art, science, and useful improvement, would have successively appeared to form a flourishing and vigorous colony in one of the finest countries in the universe.

But France overlooked all these advantages, when she ceded to Spain that part of Louisiana which remained to her, after the peace of 1763; when it was stipulated, "that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majesty, and those of his most Christian majesty, on the continent of America, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of that river and the lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian king cedes, in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic majesty the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the east side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France, provided that the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New

Orleans,

Orleans, and the west bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth *.”

Not only the French nation, but all Europe were astonished at this concession: how great then was their surprize, in 1763, when they were informed that his most Christian majesty had ceded the remainder of that fine country, which alone could compensate his former losses, to the crown of Spain!—It may long perhaps remain a political problem whether this transfer, of people as well as territory, detestable in a moral view, is not alike detrimental to both kingdoms; to the one, by giving up what she ought to have retained, to the other, by accepting what she cannot keep, and what must in the mean time prove a burthen to her.

But whatever influence this transaction may have upon the interests of France and Spain, we cannot doubt of its beneficial consequences to Great-Britain. Our southern colonies are, by that means, not only freed from a dangerous neighbour, but approximated to the Spanish settlements: an advantage of itself of no small import, as it opens the way for a beneficial commerce; and in case of a rupture with the court of Madrid, we will now find little difficulty in extending our conquests to the bottom of the Gulph of Mexico. This is a still nearer approach to New Spain, the great fountain of treasure and fertility, and will lead to still more important advantages. Old and New Mexico, indeed, seem necessary to complete the British empire in America; and there is no doubt but the isthmus of Darien will one day mark the boundary between the English and Spanish possessions in the New World.

Whether those possessions will then belong to the mother-countries, is a question not easy to be settled, and a thing rather to be wished than hoped for. It is, however, highly probable, that the present unnatural alliance of our colonies with a foreign and arbitrary power, will make them sensible of their natural and necessary connexion with Great Britain; and that she will at least continue to enjoy the exclusive benefit of their trade, as long as they stand in need of European commodities.—But before we enter on that unhappy contest, whose progress will enable us to judge more distinctly of this matter, we must carry forward the history of New England, as well as that of New France.

CH A P. IX.

New England from the Year 1691, when the Massachusetts New Charter was granted, and the other Colonies settled on the same Foundation on which they stood at the Beginning of the present Troubles.

NO sooner did the fanatical sectaries of Massachusetts Bay find themselves in security, in consequence of the charter granted them by king William, than their persecuting spirit began again to shew itself; but being now restrained by the

* Treaty of Paris, Article VII.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1662

laws from imbruing their hands in the blood of the Quakers and Anabaptists, their religious fury took a new direction, and running through the colony, like an infection, exhibited one of the most extraordinary spectacles recorded in history.

One Mr. Paris, minister of Salem, having two daughters, who were troubled with convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms, he conjectured that they were bewitched; and having, in consequence of this idea, cast his eyes upon an Indian woman who lived as a servant in his family, he compelled her by harsh treatment to acknowledge her intercourse with the devil, and that she was the cause of the disorders that had awakened his suspicions. The unhappy wretch was committed to prison, and the alarm of witchcraft spread. Other women, troubled with similar complaints, began to believe that they were bewitched also. Persons in an ill state of health in general, but especially those who are affected with such distempers as draw the eyes of the world upon them, are fond of discovering supernatural causes for their maladies. In the present case, there was likewise perhaps a share of malice, or the gratification of private resentment; for among the persons first accused was one Mr. George Burroughs, formerly minister of Salem, but who on account of certain religious disputes, had differed with his flock, and left them. Other accusations left equal room for suspicion.

Mr. Burroughs was tried for witchcraft, along with two others, by a special commission of oyer and terminer, directed to six gentlemen of the best fortunes, and reputed to be persons of the best understanding in the colony. Before these gentlemen was exhibited a piece of evidence the most weak and childish, the most repugnant to itself, and to the common-sense of mankind, that ever disgraced any court of justice, yet by those judges, on that evidence, and the verdict founded upon it, this minister, a man of most unexceptionable character, and two others, men irreproachable in their lives, were sentenced to suffer death, and hanged accordingly. The bodies of these victims of popular madness were stript naked, and thrown into a pit, half covered with earth, and there left to the discretion of the birds and wild beasts. Soon after, sixteen more persons were convicted on the same evidence, and suffered in like manner; the greater part of whom died in the most exemplary sentiments of piety, and with the strongest protestations of their innocence. One man refusing to plead to such an infamous charge, suffered the punishment which the law directs in that case, by a slow pressure to death.

Powerfully affected by these shocking examples, the imagination of the people was wholly occupied with gloomy and horrid ideas. The most innocent and ordinary actions were metamorphosed into magic rites; and the fury of the populace increased, in proportion as this gloom of imagination gathered. The contagion spread with rage and rapidity into every corner of the country. Neither the tenderness of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modesty, the sacredness of the ministry, fortune, honour, virtue, nor public employments, were any security against the accusations of a people insatuated with a visionary superstition. Children of eleven years old were taken up on suspicion of witchcraft; young girls were stript naked, and their bodies examined with the most indecent curi-
sity

fly for *magical tests*; and those scorbutic stains common on the skins of aged persons, were called the *Devil's nips*, and considered as indisputable evidence of connexion with the infernal power. As such indeed they admitted every idle and flying report, and even the supposed appearance of ghosts, which they honoured with the name of *spirital evidence*.*

The torture completed what these extraordinary testimonies wanted; a number of unhappy victims being driven to confess whatever their tormentors thought proper to dictate to them. Some women declared that they had been lain with by the Devil, and others avowed things equally absurd and abominable. In a word, it is more easy to imagine than to express the deplorable state of a colony, where all men's lives depended upon the caprice and folly of disordered minds; where fanaticism, malice, and revenge, had full opportunity of gratifying themselves in a most sanguinary manner, by an instrument that was already prepared, and to which the public phrenzy gave a certain and destructive effect. As a further evil, the wretches who were exposed to the torture, being pressed to discover their accomplices, no less warmly than to acknowledge their own guilt, named people at random; and these imaginary accomplices in an imaginary crime, were treated in the same cruel manner, on this extorted evidence, as those from whom it had been drawn, and new accomplices were named.

Terror and consternation seized upon all men; no man in such a state of society being sure of his life a moment. Some prevented accusation, by voluntarily charging themselves with witchcraft, and so escaped death; for it is remarkable that of all the persons who pleaded guilty, not one suffered capitally. Others fled the country, and many were preparing to fly: the prisons were crowded, and people were daily executed; but their blood seemed only to make their persecutors ravenous of more, and the number of witches and the bewitched increased every hour, till Dudley Bradstreet, a magistrate who had committed forty persons for the crime of witchcraft, fatigued with so disagreeable an employment, and ashamed of the share he had taken in it, refused to grant any more warrants. But what was the consequence?—The witch-persecutors and witnesses accused him and his wife of having killed nine persons by their forceries; and they were obliged to fly out of the province, in order to save their lives. The madness, however, was now at its height. A jury, struck with the affecting behaviour and solemn assurances of the innocence of Rebecca Nurse, a woman of great piety and virtue, ventured to acquit her; but the judges sent them out again, and in an imperious manner forced them to find her guilty, and she was hanged immediately †.

The magistrates and ministers of New England, whose prudence and authority ought to have been employed in healing this distemper, and assuaging its fury, had hitherto served only to inflame it: they had encouraged the accusers, assisted at the examinations, and extorted the confessions of witches. None signalized his zeal more on this occasion than Sir William Phips, the governor, who being

* Mather. Neal. Douglafs.

† Ibid.

a man of low education, was a dupe to vulgar prejudices. Dr. Increase Mather, and Dr. Cotton Mather, the pillars of the New England church, were equally sanguine; and several of the most popular ministers, after twenty persons had been executed for witchcraft, addressed Sir William Phips, thanking him for his pious zeal, and exhorting him to proceed in so laudable a work, as the weeding of the Lord's garden.

A. D. 1673. Encouraged in this manner, the persecutors did not know where to stop, nor the judges how to proceed. Ashamed of some late decisions, they discouraged farther prosecutions, on which they themselves were accused. The nearest relations of Dr. Increase Mather were involved, and witchcraft began to approach even the governor's family. It was now high time to give things another turn: the accusers were restrained by authority; one hundred and fifty persons who lay in prison were discharged; two hundred more under accusation, were passed over; and those who had received sentence of death were relieved, and in due time pardoned. A few moments of cool reflection shewed the people the gross delusion and stupid phrenzy by which they had been borne away. They looked back with horror on those executions which they had enjoyed with transport: they saw the fains of Christ in the very persons whom they had condemned as the associates of hell, and were filled with sorrow and regret, as well as with shame, for what they had done. A general fast was appointed, in order to supplicate the Almighty "to pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy, raised amongst them by Satan and his instruments *."

This violent paroxysm of fanatical fury, carried off so much of the virulence of the old puritanical humour, that the people of New England became somewhat like the rest of mankind in their manners: nor did any thing remarkable occur in any of the provinces, till the present unhappy contest roused that jealous spirit of independency, which had lain so long dormant, and which has communicated its rage to all the neighbouring colonies. The history of New England therefore, from the period of which we are treating, to that æra, affords few interesting events; and those worthy of notice are chiefly connected with the history of Canada, in which they shall be related. But the commerce, population, and manufactures of New England demand our immediate attention.

This country, bounded on the north by Canada, on the west by New York, and on the east and south by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles along the sea coast, and upwards of an hundred into the continent, though not above sixty of that width is cultivated. It lies between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude; and therefore is almost ten degrees nearer the equator than the greater part of Britain, yet the winter begins earlier, lasts longer, and is infinitely more severe in New than in Old England. The summer, on the contrary, is extremely hot, and even more fervently so than in countries which lie under the same parallels in Europe. Both the heat and the

* Dr. C. Mather.

cold, however, are now far more moderate, and the temper of the air in all respects better, than when it was first settled. The cutting down of the woods, and the opening of the grounds, by giving a free passage to the winds, have carried off those noxious vapours which were prejudicial to the health of the first inhabitants. The sky is generally clear, both in summer and winter, and the weather steady. Two months frequently pass without the appearance of a cloud. The rains are heavy, but of short continuance.

The soil of New England is various, but no where rich, except in what they call interval lands. Few European fruits, however, have there degenerated. It is even said, the apple has improved. At least it has multiplied exceedingly, and made cyder a more common drink in this province than in any other country in the world. All European roots and garden stuff have also prospered, but corn has not succeeded so well. The wheat is apt to be blighted, barley is an hungry grain, and the oats are lean and chaff; but the maize or Indian corn, which makes the ordinary food of the common people, flourishes exceedingly. The ear of this plant is about a span in length, consisting of eight or more rows of grain, according to the goodness of the ground, with about thirty grains in each row. On the top of the ear hangs a sort of flower, not unlike a tassel of silk, of various colours; white, blue, greenish, black, speckled, striped, which gives the maize as it grows a very beautiful appearance. The grain is of all the colours that prevail in the flower, but most frequently yellow or white. The stalks grow to the height of six or eight feet, and are of a considerable thickness. They are jointed like a cane; and at each of those joints shoot out a number of leaves, like flags, that make very good fodder for cattle. The stalk is supplied with a juice as sweet as that of the sugar-cane; but from repeated experiments, it appears to be incapable of being rendered useful*.

This grain is generally sowed in little squares, and requires a very attentive cultivation. The soil in which it flourishes most is a light sand, with a small intermixture of loam. A peck of seed is sufficient for an acre, which, at a medium, produces about twenty-five bushels. The Indians have various methods of using this corn; but the most common is to dry it high, without burning, to sift and beat it in mortars into fine meal, which they either eat dry or mixed with water. The English bake it into bread in the same manner as flour, though with the best food made from it is called *saryß*, which is prepared thus: the corn being steeped in water for half an hour, is beat in a mortar until it is thoroughly cleared of the husk, then sifted, boiled, and eaten with milk, or butter and sugar, like rice. This is not only an agreeable but a wholesome and strengthening diet †. The people of New England also brew good strong beer from maize; and their method of making it green, points out an experiment which might perhaps be improved to advantage by the maltsters of Great-Britain. The greater part of their beer, however, is made of molasses, hopped; with an infusion frequently of the tops of the spruce fir.

* Winthrop's Letter to the Royal Society.

† Ibid.

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Besides maize and other kinds of grain, the New England people raise a large quantity of flax, and have made experiments in the culture of hemp, by no means unsuccessful. An acre of their best land produces about a ton of this commodity, but the soil is soon exhausted. Hemp probably requires a climate more uniformly warm than that of New England; for although the greater part of our hemp is brought from the northern countries, it is in the more southern provinces of Russia that the best which we receive is produced. Horned cattle are numerous in New England, and some of them very large. Hogs are also plenty, and particularly excellent; and sheep are more numerous there, and both their flesh and wool of a better quality, than in any other part of the New World. The common breed of horses is small. But these little animals are remarkably hardy, and pace naturally, though in no very graceful manner, but with such swiftness as must appear altogether incredible to those who have not experienced it.

According to the most exact calculations, the number of people in New England before the beginning of the present troubles, was estimated at four hundred thousand souls, including a small mixture of Negroes and Indians. They may be proportioned in the following manner: Massachusetts Bay, two hundred and twenty thousand; Connecticut, one hundred and ten thousand; Rhode Island, forty thousand; and New Hampshire, thirty thousand. This population, which greatly exceeds that of any other of our colonies, may be chiefly ascribed to the equal division of property; for although there are in New England several gentlemen possessed of considerable landed estates, which they let to farmers, or manage by their stewards or overseers, the great body of the people is composed of a substantial yeomanry, who cultivate their own freeholds, without a dependence upon any superior but Providence, or any aid but their own industry.

These freeholds generally pass to the children of the proprietors in the way of gavel kind, or to heirs general, without any distinction of elder and younger; a circumstance which prevents them from being ever almost able to emerge out of their original happy mediocrity. Other good effects flow from this method of inheriting: it makes the people more ready to remove into the uncultivated parts of the country, where land is still to be had at an easy rate, and in large portions. In no part of the world are the middling class of people so independent, nor do they any where possess so many of the conveniencies of life as in New England. This commodious and desirable equality of fortune, joined to their religious principles, and their form of government, has at all times given them a republican cast, and a turbulence of spirit which, though at times subdued, has long aspired after independent jurisdiction. The terror of the arms of the mother country, and the danger from the French in Canada, only could have kept New England so long in the form of a province, or British colony, under the controul of British laws.

Though the arts and manufactures have been carried to a greater degree of perfection in New England, than in any other of our colonies, they have not made an equal progress with agriculture. The first which was attempted, as formerly observed,

observed, was that of ship-building, which maintained for a long time a great reputation. The vessels that came out of the New England docks were highly esteemed; because the wood of which they were composed was found much closer, and less apt to split, than that of the southern provinces. But since the year 1740, the demand has continued to decrease, by reason of the little attention paid to the wood used, and its application to other purposes. In order to prevent this inconvenience, it was proposed to forbid the cutting of any timber for ship-building within ten miles of the sea; but such a regulation, though salutary, has never been put in force.

The distilling of rum has succeeded better in New England than the building of ships. The opportunity which the colonists had of importing vast quantities of molasses from the West Indies, in exchange for their various commodities, gave rise to this branch of trade. The molasses were at first used for several purposes in their original state: at length the people of Boston learned to extract beer, and afterwards spirit from them. With this spirit, which is an inferior sort of rum, they soon supplied almost the whole consumption of our American colonies; the Indian trade there, and the vast demands of their own, the Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland fisheries, as well as those of the Guinea trade. Nor did the base quality of their rum diminish its sale, as it was sold remarkably cheap.

The same circumstance has supported and increased the making of hats. Though this manufacture was limited by the British parliament to the internal consumption of the colony, the merchants have found means to elude the law, and to smuggle large quantities into the neighbouring settlements. New England sells no cloths, but it buys very few. Of the wool of their flocks, which is of a staple sufficiently long, though not so fine as that of the mother-country, the colonists make many stuffs, cloths, and coarse drabs, admirably adapted for the ordinary wear of country people. Nor are they strangers to the linen manufactory.

A number of Presbyterians, expelled from the north of Ireland by the rapacity of their landlords, in consequence of an affinity in religious sentiments, made New England their asylum, in preference to more fertile colonies. That skill in the linen manufactures, which they brought along with them, procured them a favourable reception; and meeting with due encouragement, they soon exercised their industry to the great advantage of the colony. They made large quantities of cloth, and of a very good kind, of the flax of the province. Their principal settlement is a considerable town, and in compliment to them, named Londonderry.

The mother-country, whose political measures have not always corresponded with that wisdom which might be expected from her councils, has omitted nothing to thwart those several manufactures; which, it must be owned, have rendered the trade of New England of very little benefit to Great Britain. But the legislature did not perceive, that as New England has properly no staple commodity, those British subjects who were employed in clearing this considerable portion of the North American continent, so beneficial to our West India islands, must be reduced to the necessity of abandoning so desirable a country, unless they

they could procure, by their skill and industry, from among themselves, the things of general use, and of immediate demand. Nor would even this resource have been sufficient for their support, if good fortune and ingenuity had not opened to them several other channels of profit, the origin and progress of which we must endeavour to trace.

The first external resource which they found, as we have already had occasion to notice, was in the fishery. It has been encouraged to such a degree, that a regulation has taken place, in consequence of which, every family that can declare it has lived upon salt fish for two days in the week during a year, is exempted from part of the public taxes. Mackerel is caught only in the spring, at the mouth of the Pentagonet, a considerable river, which empties itself into the Bay of Fundi, towards the eastern extremity of New England; but in the very centre of the coast, and near Boston, the cod fish is at all times found in such plenty, that Cape Cod, notwithstanding the sterility of its soil, is one of the most populous parts in the province. Not satisfied, however, with the fish found in its own latitudes, New England sent every year before the present disturbances, about two hundred vessels, from thirty five to forty tons burden, to the Great Bank of Newfoundland, and to Cape Eretch. These vessels generally made three voyages in a season, and brought back at least ninety nine thousand hundred weight of cod. Larger ships also sailed from the same ports, in order to exchange provisions for the fish caught by the English settled on the frozen and barren shores of Newfoundland.

All this cod was afterwards distributed in the southern parts of Europe and America. Nor is fish the only article with which the British islands in the West Indies were supplied from New England. It furnished them besides with hares, oxen, hogs, salt beef and pork, butter, tallow, cheese, flour, biscuit, Indian corn, peas, apples and pears, cyder, and wood of all kinds. The same commodities pass into the islands belonging to the other European powers; sometimes openly, sometimes clandestinely, but always in smaller quantities during peace, than in times of war. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent, are also markets open to New England; whose vessels likewise visit Madeira and the Azores, whence they import wines and brandies, in exchange for fish and corn.

The ports of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, were wont to receive annually sixty or seventy New England ships, laden with cod, wood for ship-building, naval stores, corn, and fish oil. Many of these vessels carried back olive-oil, salt, wine, and money immediately to America, in defiance of a positive statute, commanding the ships so employed to touch at some of the ports of Great Britain in their way home; in order to prevent them from making their returns in foreign manufactures, against which the legislature cannot guard too carefully. The ships that do not return to the port whence they take their departure, are generally sold in that where they dispose of their cargo. They have frequently no particular destination, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaser.

The mother country received from this colony masts and yards for the royal navy, planks, potashes, pitch, tar, turpentine, fish oil, a few furs, and in years of scarcity, some corn. The amount of all these articles, together with the other exports of New England, was very considerable; but besides the trade which she carried on with her own productions, she appropriated to herself part of the produce both of North and South America, by undertaking to convey the several exchanges made between these countries. On this account, the New England men are considered as the Dutch of the New World. But notwithstanding such animated exertions, and their great frugality, the people of this colony have never been able to discharge their debts: they have never been able to pay exactly for what they received from the mother-country, either of her own manufacture or of foreign produce and ingenuity; all which articles used to amount annually to about four hundred thousand pounds sterling, and their trade was evidently on the decline, before the commencement of the present troubles. They were rivalled by the other colonies in almost every article, except masts and yards, and these were become scarce. Their commerce, however, was still sufficient to employ six thousand sailors, and five hundred ships, besides fishing and coasting vessels.

Almost all these ships took their departure from Boston, the capital of Massachusetts Bay, the chief city in New England, and the only one worthy of a particular description. This city is seated on a peninsula, about four miles long, at the bottom of a delightful bay, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is sheltered from the impetuosity of the waves by a number of rocks which rise above the water, and from the winds by twelve small islands, most of which are inhabited. These dykes and natural ramparts, will not allow above three ships to enter the port together. Towards the end of the last century a regular fortification, named Fort William, was erected in one of the islands which form this narrow channel. That fortification mounts an hundred pieces of large cannon, which are disposed in such a manner, that they can rake any ship fore and aft, before it is possible for her to bring her guns to bear against the place. A league further on is a very high light-house; the signals from which, in case of an invasion, are perceived and repeated by the forts along the whole coast; and Boston has besides its own light houses, which spread the alarm to all the inland country. If a fleet should even be able to pass the artillery of Fort William, it would receive a severe check from a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and south of the town, command the whole bay; and would at least afford time for all the ships in the port to take shelter from cannon shot, in Charles River.

Boston harbour is so large, that five or six hundred vessels may anchor in it safely and commodiously. At the bottom of the harbour is a magnificent pier, near two thousand feet in length; by means of which ships are enabled to unload their goods without the help of a lighter, and to deposit them in the warehouses, ranged on the north side. The head of this pier joins the principal street in the town, which, like most of the others, is spacious and well built.

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The city itself appears in the form of a crescent, at the extremity of the bay, and forms an agreeable and striking prospect from the sea. According to the bills of mortality, which are become the only foundation of political arithmetic, it contained about thirty thousand inhabitants in the year 1770; and the houses, furniture, drefs, food, and manners of the people nearly resembled those of Old England.

Such was Boston, the most populous and best fortified city in British America before the present troubles. It has already suffered several alterations, and will most likely undergo more; but these we shall have occasion to notice in relating the military transactions between the colonies and the mother-country. In the mean time we must relate the events which led to those; the struggles of Great Britain with France in America, and the security procured to our settlements, in consequence of the conquest of Canada.

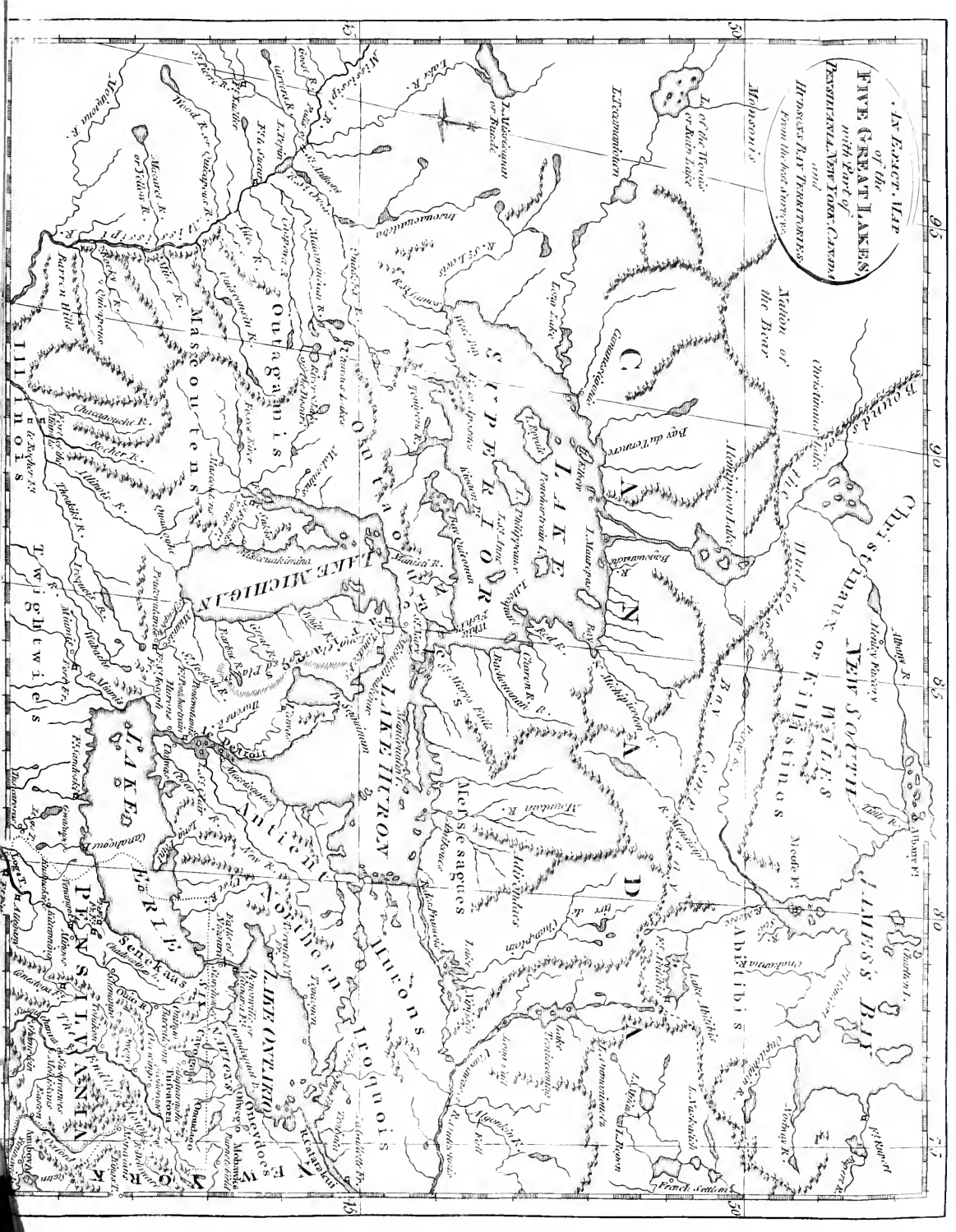
C H A P. X.

Canada and the adjacent Islands from the building of Quebec to the Conclusion of the late War, with an Account of the principal military Transactions between Great Britain and France in North America.

WHEN the French had established themselves in Canada by the building of Quebec, which they found admirably calculated by its situation to serve as a place of retreat, in case of any disaster, as well as a port for receiving supplies from Europe, they began to look abroad on that immense country which offered itself to their view, and into whose bosom they had been conducted by the great river St. Laurence. Every thing in this rude part of the New World appeared grand and sublime. The boundless prospect discovered only dark, thick, and deep forests, the size of whose trees was a sufficient proof of their antiquity. Numberless rivers came from remote regions to water that extensive territory. The intervals between them were full of lakes, four of which measured from two to five hundred leagues in circumference. These inland seas, as they may be called, communicated with each other; and after forming the finest navigable canal in the universe, considerably increased the bed of the ocean by opening the gulph of St. Laurence.

Nature here appeared in such luxuriant majesty as commanded veneration and respect. A thousand wild graces broke upon the sight, far superior to the artificial beauties of more cultivated regions. Here the imagination of the poet or painter would have been elevated, roused, and filled with those ideas which leave a lasting impression upon the mind; and the colonists, whose views were otherwise directed, found the air highly favourable to human life. Nor does this temperature lose any thing of its wholesomeness by the severity of a long and intensely cold winter; the rigour of which must in some

AN ENLARGED MAP
OF THE
FIVE GREAT LAKES
with part of
PENNSYLVANIA, NEW YORK, CANADA
and
HOWEVER PART THEREABOUTS
shown in the best advantage



Howsoever Part THEREABOUTS
shown in the best advantage

THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE PROVINCE OF NEW SCOTLAND
THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

LAKES
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO

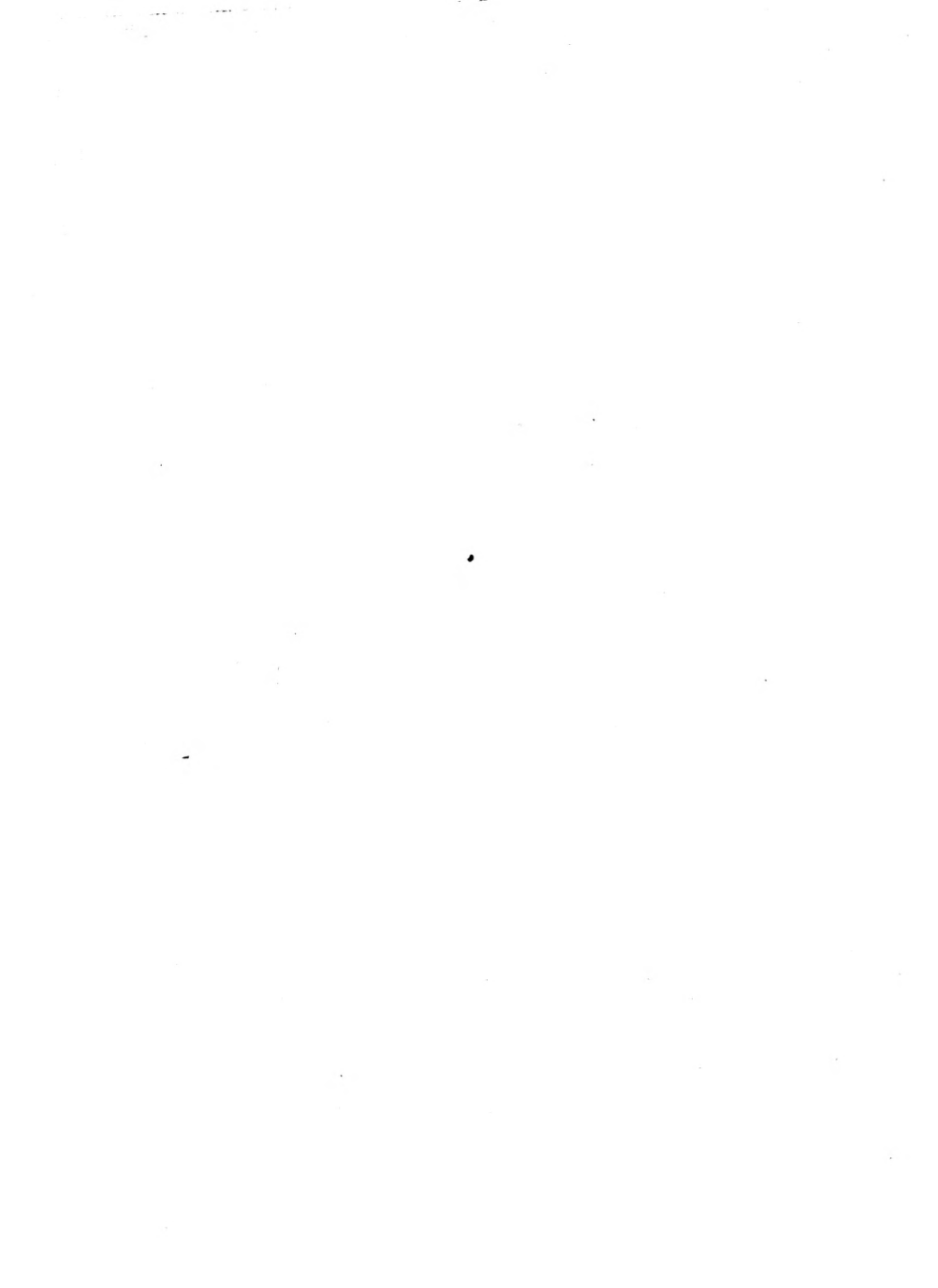
CITIES
DETROIT
TOLEDO
CLEVELAND
BUFFALO
ROCHESTER
ALBANY
MONROE
WARREN
WYOMING
WARREN
WARREN

RIVERS
ST. LAWRENCE
DETROIT
ST. CLAIR
ERIE
WYOMING
WARREN
WARREN

PROVINCES
NEW YORK
NEW SCOTLAND
QUEBEC
ONTARIO

COUNTIES
ALBANY
WARREN
WARREN
WARREN

DEGREES
MINUTES
SECONDS



some measure be imputed to the woods, lakes, and mountains with which the country abounds, to the elevation of the land, and the direction of the winds, which blow from north to south, over seas of eternal ice.

The inhabitants of this sharp and bleak climate were, however, thinly clad. Before their intercourse with the French, a cloak of buffalo or beaver skin, bound with a leathern girdle, and stockings made of a roe-buck skin, were the whole of their dress. The additions which they have since made, though not very considerable, give great offence to their old men, who are continually declaiming against the degeneracy of the manners, and the effeminacy of new customs, with as much energy as the most rigid moralist in the most corrupted country in Europe. Few of these savages knew any thing of agriculture. They only cultivated maize, and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being below the dignity of independent men. It was their bitterest imprecation against an enemy, that he might be reduced to till the ground for a subsistence. Sometimes they employed themselves in fishing; but their chief delight, and the occupation of their whole life, was the chase. Hunting, which is nearly allied to war in its nature, proved the source of perpetual hostilities between the different Indian tribes, by which the country was inhabited: they were continually quarrelling about their boundaries, or breaking out into violences in the pursuit of their game.

The Iroquois, who it is said had been subject to the Algonquins, being roused by the murder of their principal huntsmen, while asleep, had broke from their servitude; and having learned to approach like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they express themselves, were no longer afraid to encounter their oppressors. They therefore carried on war against them with a degree of rancour proportioned to their resentment, and the injuries they had sustained. This war, which had become general, was at its height, when the French made their first appearance in Canada. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St. Laurence; the Algonquins, who were settled on its banks, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were dispersed about the lake that bears their name; and some less considerable nations, who roved about in the intermediate space, were all inclined to favour the settlement of the strangers. These several nations, combined against the Iroquois, and unable to withstand them, imagined that they might find in their new guests an unexpected resource. From the opinion which they entertained of the French, as just as if formed upon a thorough knowledge of their character, they flattered themselves that they could engage them in their quarrel; and they were not disappointed. Champlain, who ought to have availed himself of the superior knowledge of the Europeans to effect a reconciliation between the savage Americans, did not once attempt it. He warmly espoused the interests of his neighbours, and accompanied them in pursuit of the enemy.

The country of the Iroquois was near eighty leagues in length, and more than forty in breadth. It was bounded by lake Erie, lake Ontario, the river St. Laurence, and the countries now known by the names of New York and Pennsylvania.

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sylvania. The space between these vast limits was watered by several fine rivers, and inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thousand warriors into the field. Under the general name of Mohawks or Iroquois, they formed a kind of league or association, not unlike that of the United Provinces or the Swiss cantons. Their deputies met once a year, to hold the feast of union, and to deliberate on the interests of the commonwealth.

A. D. 1610. Though the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies whom they had so often vanquished, they were not unprepared when the confederated forces advanced against them. The engagement was begun with equal hopes on both sides; the one relying on their usual ascendancy, the other on the assistance of their new ally, whose fire-arms could not fail of insuring victory, over a savage herd unacquainted with their destructive power: and indeed no sooner had Champlain and the few Frenchmen who accompanied him, made one discharge, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmost amazement and consternation. This alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of altering the mode of defence. In the next campaign, they therefore judged it necessary to entrench themselves, in order to elude the force of weapons to which they were strangers. But this precaution proved ineffectual: their entrenchments were forced by the Indians, under cover of a brisk fire from the French, who were more numerous than in the first expedition. The Iroquois warriors were almost all either killed or taken prisoners; for those who escaped from the field, were precipitated into a river and drowned*.

This nation, or confederacy of nations, might now perhaps have been entirely destroyed, or at least compelled to sue for peace, had not the Dutch, who had formed in their neighbourhood the colony of Nova Belgia, furnished them with arms and ammunition. Interest, which has at all times been the ruling passion of the Dutch, induced them to this measure; the furs taken by the Iroquois from the enemy, during the continuance of a successful war, being more considerable than those which they could procure by their own hunting. Various hostilities and injuries were committed by the associated nations on both sides, which weakened their strength; but this perpetual ebb and flow of success, which in governments actuated by motives of interest or ambition, would infallibly have restored tranquillity, served only to increase animosities, and to inflame the spirit of revenge, among a number of petty tribes bent upon each others destruction. The consequence was, that the weakest of those nations were soon extirpated, and the rest reduced to a very feeble condition. Even the Iroquois, once so powerful, are now reduced to fifteen hundred fighting men.

This havoc of the natives, however, did not contribute to advance the power of the colonists. In 1626, the French had only three wretched settlements, surrounded with pales; the largest of which, namely Quebec, did not contain above fifty families. The climate had not proved destructive to the people sent thither:

* Charlevoix, Hist. N. France. Colden, Hist. of the Five Nations.

though

though severe it was healthful, and the Europeans strengthened their constitutions, without endangering their lives. The small progress which the colony had made was entirely owing to an exclusive company, whose chief design was to enrich themselves by the fur-trade, instead of creating a national power in Canada. That event might have been immediately remedied by abolishing the monopoly, but the minds of men were not yet sufficiently opened for such a measure.

Cardinal Richelieu, however, who at that time governed France, and whose ideas were more liberal than those of his age, as well as more magnificent than those of common ministers, chose to employ at least a more numerous association, composed of men of greater ability and credit. To this company the government gave the disposal of all the settlements that were or should be formed in Canada, together with a power of fortifying and governing them, and of making peace or war, as should seem most conducive to their interest. The whole trade, both by sea and land was secured to them for the term of fifteen years, except the coal and whale fisheries, which were left open to all. The fur-trade was secured to the company for ever.

A. D. 1628

Further encouragements were added to these. The king made the company a present of two large ships of war, manned with a crew of seven hundred sailors; and he granted them the extraordinary privilege of conferring titles of honour, of creating dukes, marquises, and earls or counts, with the royal letters of confirmation, on the presentation of cardinal Richelieu, grand master, head and superintendent of the commerce and navigation of France. To this a variety of indulgencies were added. Ecclesiastics, noblemen, and others associating themselves in the company, might do it without derogation of their rank or character; twelve of the members were created nobles; and all the natives of Canada were, to all intents and purposes to be reputed natives of Old France. The company were allowed the liberty of sending and exporting all kinds of merchandize duty-free; and every person who had exercised any trade in the colony for the space of six years, was entitled to exercise the same in any town of the mother country. The last favour was of a very singular nature: all goods manufactured in Canada were permitted a free entry into France*; a privilege which gave the workmen a vast advantage over those of the mother-country, loaded with a variety of oppressive taxes.

In return for so many advantages, the company, which had a capital of an hundred thousand crowns, engaged to carry over to the colony in 1628, the first year of their privilege, two or three hundred artificers, of such trades as were most wanted, and sixteen thousand persons of all conditions; before the year 1643. They were to lodge, maintain, and furnish them with all necessaries for three years; and then to make an equitable distribution among them of the lands that should be cleared, according to their respective want; furnishing each family with a sufficient quantity of grain to sow its allotment for the first year †. But fortune did not second the endeavours of government in favour of the new

* Charlevoix, vol. I.

† H. E. C.

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company, to such a degree as to enable them to fulfil their engagements. The first ships which they fitted out were taken by the English, who had commenced hostilities against France on account of the siege of Rochelle.

This city was the chief bulwark of the Hugonots, and cardinal Richelieu, bent on their destruction, had resolved to reduce it. The interest of England was deeply concerned in supporting a party which divided the power of France, independent of religious considerations. The nation was sensible of it, as well as zealous to protect their protestant brethren against civil and ecclesiastical tyranny; but the court was so little friendly to the liberties of mankind, that it despised the voice of the people, and would have beheld in silent inaction the ruin of the Hugonots, had not Buckingham quarrelled with Richelieu *. The duke, who governed Charles I. with as absolute an ascendant as that which the cardinal had acquired over Lewis XIII. prevailed on his master to declare war against France, and attempted in person the relief of Rochelle. That important place was, however, taken; but the English gained, in the course of the war, sufficient advantages, had they known their value, to have stipulated for its restitution. They had made themselves masters of Quebec, and of all the French settlements in Canada †; which were restored in 1636, by the treaty of St. Germain

A. D. 1628.

A. D. 1629.

* The cause of this quarrel is too curious to be omitted in any history, where the names of those two ministers are mentioned. When Charles I. married by proxy the princess Henrietta, the duke of Buckingham had been sent to France, in order to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new queen to England. The beauty of his person, the gracefulness of his air, the splendour of his equipage, and his fine taste in dress, drew upon him the eyes of the French court; and the affability of his behaviour, the gaiety of his manners, and the magnificence of his expense increased yet more the general admiration that was paid him. Amid the pleasures that accompanied such an embassy, he found himself in a situation where he was perfectly qualified to excel. But not satisfied with the smiles of ordinary beauties, he dared to carry his presumptuous addresses even to the queen herself, and failed not to make impression on a heart sufficiently disposed to the tender passions. Even after his departure, he secretly returned on some pretence; was admitted to her presence, and dismissed with a reproof that favoured more of kindness than anger. Richelieu, either from politics or vanity, had also paid his addresses to the queen; but a priest of the middle age, of a severe character, and occupied in the most extensive plans of ambition or vengeance, was but an unequal match in that competition for a young courtier, entirely disposed to gaiety and gallantry. The cardinal's disappointment therefore strongly inclined him to counterwork the amorous projects of his rival. Accordingly, when the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to France, a message was sent him from Lewis, that he must not think of such a journey. Buckingham, in a romantic passion exclaimed, "By God! I will see the queen, in spite of all the power of France!"—and from that moment he determined to engage England in a war, which might thwart the schemes of the French monarch and his minister. Clarendon, vol. I. Mem. de Mad. de Mazarin.

† This conquest was achieved by three English ships under the command of David Kirk, a French protestant, as already related in the History of Nova Scotia, which was afterwards reduced. The English historians of the present age seem as ignorant of the importance of these acquisitions, as the ministers of Charles I. Even Hume tells us, "that the situation of the king's affairs did not enable him to demand any conditions for the Hugonots." He might at least have demanded that Canada should be their asylum, under the protection of the English crown; a demand, which, if complied with, would soon have made it the most populous and valuable province in North America.

main en Laye, without one stipulation in favour of the Hugonots, who were abandoned to the will of their sovereign, or any article in favour of England, on account of such restitution! - And what is no less extraordinary, the council of Lewis XIII. were so little acquainted with the value of Canada, that they were in doubt whether they should demand it; till Champlain, whose pride was interested in preserving it, made them sensible of its importance *.

The exclusive company, however, even after the restoration of Canada, fulfilled none of their engagements; and this breach of promise, in place of being punished, was in a manner rewarded, by a prolongation of their charter. The distance of the colonists made their complaints be disregarded; and the deputies sent to represent their wretched condition, were denied access to the throne. Attempts were even made to awe them into silence by threats and punishments. This conduct, equally repugnant to humanity, private interest, and sound policy, was followed by such consequences as might naturally be expected from it. Commerce declined, in proportion as the communication became less inviting, or rather dangerous; and the confederate Indians, but weakly supported by their new allies, were again taught to fly before an old enemy, whom they had been accustomed to dread. The Iroquois, resuming their wonted superiority, openly boasted that they would soon compel the strangers to quit the country. In the meantime they seized some of their children, in order to replace by degrees such of their warriors as had fallen in battle. The French themselves, forgotten by the mother country, and unable to gather in their little crops without the utmost hazard of their lives, were determined to abandon a settlement so ill supported: and to such a deplorable state was the colony reduced, that it was obliged to subsist upon the charities which the missionaries received from Europe.

In the midst of this distress, the company of New France, as it was called, made a voluntary surrender of its privileges to the king; and the French ministry, roused at length from their lethargy, sent a body of four hundred well disciplined troops to Canada, in 1662. This body was afterwards reinforced by the regiment of Carignan, and the colonists and their allies gradually acquired a superiority over the Iroquois. Three of their tribes, alarmed at their losses, made proposals for an accommodation; and the other two were so much weakened, that they were induced to accede to it in 1668. Then the colony first enjoyed a profound peace, which paved the way for its prosperity, and a freedom of trade contributed to secure it. The beaver-trade alone continued to be monopolized.

Industry was excited by this change in the state of affairs. The former colonists, whose weak and unprotected condition, had hitherto confined them

America. Such a demand, indeed, could not well have been refused; but the treaty of St. Germain was patched up, without any regard to the interests of England, in order to shield Charles an opponent of trying his strength with his parliament. How much blood and treasure would have been saved to Great Britain, by an early possession of Canada and Nova Scotia, which would have entirely excluded the French from North America, we shall have occasion to see in the course of this narration.

* *Id.*, *ibid.*

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A. D. 1670.

chiefly within their settlements, now ventured to extend their plantations, which they cultivated with confidence and success. All the soldiers, who consented to settle in Canada, obtained their discharge, together with a grant of some land; and the officers had lands granted them according to their rank. The old settlements were improved, and new ones established, whenever the interest or safety of the colony required it. An increase of trade with the Indians was one of the desirable consequences of this spirit of industry; and the general prosperity was augmented by the care of the governor not only to preserve friendship with the natives, but also to establish peace and harmony among the colonists themselves. Not a single act of hostility was committed for several years throughout a territory of four or five hundred leagues, inhabited chiefly by savage nations, jealous of each other. It appeared as if the French had only kindled the war on their arrival, in order to extinguish more effectually the sparks of discord.

But such tranquility could not be lasting among a people always armed for the chase, unless the power that had established it had been able to maintain it by the superiority of its forces. Finding that this precaution was neglected, the Iroquois incited by that restless disposition which is insinuated by the love of war and dominion, prepared themselves for hostilities. They were careful, however, to continue on good terms with all those tribes who were either allies or neighbours to the French. But they were told, notwithstanding this moderation, that they must immediately lay down their arms, and restore all the prisoners they had taken, or expect to see their country desolated, and their habitations destroyed. This haughty summons incensed their pride: they answered, That they should never suffer the least encroachment on their independency; and that they would make the French sensible, they were neither to be neglected as friends, nor despised as enemies.

Staggered, however, with the air of authority that had been assumed, and sensible of the destructive power of fire-arms, the Iroquois complied in part with the terms required of them, and the matter was compromised. But this kind of humiliation rather increased the resentment, than tamed the spirit of a people, more accustomed to commit than to suffer injuries. The English, who in 1667, had dispossessed the Dutch of Nova Belgia or New Netherlands, as we have already seen, and remained masters of the conquered territory, to which they gave the name of New York, availed themselves of the hostile dispositions of the Iroquois, to attach them to their interest, and widen further the breach between them and the French. They were invited to bring their beaver and other furs to Albany, where they sold at a higher price than at Montreal.

A. D. 1685.
Lewis M^r. V. who was then in the height of his glory, impatient of so many insults, sent over Denonville, an officer of reputation, to restore the authority of France in Canada. The new governor immediately perceived, that the first step towards the security of the French colony must be the cutting off from the English all communication with the savages by the lakes; and particularly the securing that of Ontario, on the west as well as the east, by building at Niagara, a strong fort of stone, capable of containing five or six hundred men. Dongan, governor

of New York remonstrated, though ineffectually, against this measure; and as he was sensible that his master, James II. was in a manner the slave of France, he paid very little regard to the orders which he received in favour of the French in North America. He even summoned a meeting of the Iroquois cantons, laid before them their danger from the French, and shewed them that their best course would be to prevent the blow meditated against them, by immediately attacking the enemy, while yet unprepared for resistance.

But the governor of Canada had received intelligence of this assembly, and defeated its purpose by means of Lamberville, the French missionary among the Iroquois, who had great ascendancy over them; and Barrillon, the French minister at the court of London, prevailed upon the weak and bigotted James to agree to a neutrality between his subjects and those of the most Christian king in America; in consequence of which the French were left in possession of all their usurped claims, and the Iroquois exposed to that destruction which was preparing for them. Denonville, however, sensible that this nation must not be attacked without being extirpated, remained in a state of inaction, and seeming friendship, till he had received from Europe the necessary reinforcements for executing to desperate a resolution. These succours arrived in 1687, when the colony consisted of near twelve thousand inhabitants, about one third of whom were fit to bear arms.

Though able to take the field with so considerable a force, Denonville had recourse to stratagem, and dishonoured the French name among the savages by an infamous perfidy, no less deserving the detestation of civilized nations. Under pretence of terminating their differences by negotiation, he basely abused the confidence which the Iroquois reposed in the Jesuit Lamberville, on whose faith they had consented to a conference. As soon as the Indian chiefs arrived, they were put in irons, carried to Quebec, and transported to France, in order to be condemned to the galleys.

On the first intelligence of this treachery, the old men of the Iroquois sent for their missionary, and addressed him in words to the following purport:—"We are authorized by every law, and impelled by many motives, to treat you as an enemy, but we cannot resolve to do so. Your heart had no share in the injury that we have sustained, though you were made the instrument of so base an insult: it would therefore be unjust to punish you for a crime which you detest, if possible even more than ourselves; but you must leave us. Our rash young men may consider you in the light of a traitor, who has delivered up the chiefs of our nation to the shame of slavery; and should once the war song be raised, it might not be in our power to save you*." When this speech was finished, the generous savages appointed Lamberville a guard, which conducted him to a place of safety; and then both parties took up arms.

The French presently spread terror among the Indians bordering on the great lakes; but Denonville had neither the activity nor the genius necessary to improve these first successes. While he was deliberating, instead of acting, the campaign

* Charlevoix, tom. II.

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A. D. 1683.

was closed, without any permanent advantage being gained. The boldness of the Iroquois who lived near the French settlements: the industry destroyed by these irruptions, at the same time that the terror caused by the Indians prevented them from repairing the damage they had sustained; and it seemed no easy matter to appease an enemy filled with rage and indignation, on account of the most atrocious outrages, and burning with revenge. Denonville, however, who still maintained his ascendancy over the Iroquois, prevailed on them to listen to pacific overtures.

While these negotiations were carrying on, a Machiavel educated in the forests of Canada, known by the name of Le Rat, the bravest, the most enterprising, and most intelligent savage ever found in the American wilds, arrived at Cataracouy, a French fort, with a chosen band of Hurons, fully determined upon exploits worthy of the reputation which he had acquired. But he was told that a treaty was already on foot; that the deputies of the Iroquois were on their way to Montreal, in order to conclude it; and that the greatest service he could do the colony would be to return home, as it would be an insult upon the governor to commit hostilities against a nation with whom he was treating of peace. Piqued that the French should enter into negotiations without consulting their Indian allies, Le Rat resolved to punish them for their presumption, at the same time that he gratified his own passion for war. Without discovering the smallest emotion of dissatisfaction, he left the fort, and ambushed his party at a place by which he knew the deputies must pass. Some of them were killed, and the rest taken prisoners. When the latter told him the purport of their journey, he affected great surprise, as the governor, he said, had sent him to intercept them; and to carry on the deceit more successfully, he immediately released them all except one, whom he pretended to keep, in order to replace one of his Hurons who had been killed in the fray. He then hastened to Michillimakinac, where he presented his captive to the French commandant; who, not knowing that Denonville was treating with the Iroquois, was prevailed upon to order the unhappy savage to be put to death.

One other step was now only necessary to complete the intrigues of Le Rat; and it was not delayed. He immediately sent for an old Iroquois, who had long been a prisoner among the Hurons, and gave him his liberty to go and acquaint his nation, That the French, while they amused their enemies with negotiations, continued to take prisoners and to murder them, and that they had shamefully violated the law of nations in the person of an ambassador*. This artifice, worthy of the most insidious Italian policy, succeeded to the wish of Le Rat: the war was renewed with greater fury than ever; and as the English councils were no longer governed by French influence, the nation having deposed the timid James, and placed the prince of Orange upon the throne, the governor of

* Charlevoix, tom. III.

New York undertook the protection of the Iroquois, and hostilities became general between the English and French colonists.

The principal enterprise in the course of this war was the siege of Quebec. That, as already related, was committed to Sir William Phips, whose vain-glorious confidence disappointed the armament of its object, by permitting the French to assemble their forces, after he had summoned the place to surrender, but before he made the attack. If we credit the French writers, however, other causes conspired to this disappointment, which Sir William could not foresee. As the people of New England, by whom this expedition was planned, had nothing less in view than the entire reduction of Canada, a body of troops was appointed to march by land, in order to attack Montreal, at the same time that the fleet and transports sailed for Quebec. The land forces, it was supposed, would divide the strength of the colony, and render the reduction of the capital more easy, as Montreal could have made but little resistance against three thousand English and savages. But when they were nearly arrived at the place, the Iroquois, who were the soul of the war, recollected the hazard they ran in conducting their allies to the conquest of Canada. "Situated as we are," said one of their old men, in a council held on that occasion, "between two European powers, each strong enough to destroy us, and both interested in our ruin when they no longer stand in need of our assistance, what better step can we take than to prevent the one from becoming victorious over the other?—While their rivalry subsists, each will be obliged to court our alliance, or to bribe us into a neutrality." This deep reasoning, which seems to be dictated by the same spirit of policy as that which regulates the balance of Europe, determined the Iroquois to return to their respective homes, under various pretences*. The other savage tribes followed their example; and their English associates were obliged to retreat, in consequence of a defection so general; while the French colonists, now in security on their plantations, united their forces for the defence of their capital, and blasted the sanguine hopes of Sir William Phips, at the very moment that he thought himself sure of success.

The war between the French and English was continued with various fortune in America, and distinguished by several expeditions fatal to the colonists, but of little consequence to the two mother countries. In one of these expeditions we meet with a singular instance of savage generosity. Provisions beginning to fail among a party of French and Indians, the Hurons supplied them plentifully by hunting, and offered some of their game to their European associates. The French declined the offer, from motives no less noble than those by which it was dictated. On this, the liberal spirited Hurons replied, "You share with us the fatigues of war; it is but reasonable that we should share with you the necessaries of life: we should not be men if we acted otherwise with men." Similar instances of magnanimity occur in the history of these depredations, which have too little connection with the progress of the colonies to merit a detail in a

* Id. *ibid.*

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general work, such as these excepted as serve to illustrate the character of the Indians. It will also be sufficient to observe, that the peace of Ryfwick at length put an end to the calamities of Europe, and the hostilities in America, where no material alteration had taken place in regard to the state of property.

The Hurons and the Iroquois, as well as the French and English, were now sensible that they required a long continuance of peace, in order to repair the losses they had sustained in war. Unfortunately for all parties, the peace was not so durable as might have been wished. It afforded the Indians leisure, however, to recruit themselves; the Europeans resumed their labours; and the fur trade, the first that could be entered into with a nation of hunters, was more fully established.

Canada, which at the time of its discovery by the French, was entirely covered with wood, might be considered as little more than an extensive haunt of wild beasts. They had multiplied there prodigiously; because the few inhabitants of those wilds having no flocks or tame animals, left abundant room and food for such as were savage and free like themselves. But even these paid tribute to the sovereignty of man, who has every where asserted his dominion over the animal creation. Having neither arts nor husbandry to employ them, the savages fed and clothed themselves entirely with the wild beasts they destroyed; and as soon as luxury had led them to make use of their skins as an article of commerce, they waged a perpetual war against them. This was the more destructive, as it not only procured them a variety of gratifications, with which they had been hitherto unacquainted, but was carried on with new weapons, the Indian hunters having very early adopted the use of fire-arms. This fatal industry, exercised in the woods of Canada, occasioned a prodigious quantity, and a vast variety of furs to be brought into the ports of France. Some of these were consumed in the kingdom, and the rest disposed of in the neighbouring countries. Furs of almost every species were at that time known in Europe: they came from the northern parts of our hemisphere, but in too small quantities to supply a general demand. That demand has increased since caprice and novelty have made furs more or less in fashion, and since it hath been found to be the interest of the American colonies, that they should be valued in the mother-countries. It will not therefore be improper to give some account of those that are most in request.

The otter is a voracious animal, which runs or swims along the banks of lakes and rivers; commonly lives upon fish, and when that fails, will feed upon grass, or the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner of living, and place of residence, he has been ranked among amphibious animals, who can live equally in the air, and under water; but improperly surely, since the otter cannot live without respiration, any more than other land animals. He is found in all those countries which abound in water, excepting the most northern latitudes; but in the northern parts of America, he is more common, and of a larger size, than any where else. His hair is in no other country so black, or so fine; a circumstance peculiarly fatal to him, as it exposes him the more to the pursuit of man. Nor is the pole-cat in less estimation among the Canadian hunters. There are

three

three species of this animal; namely the common pole-cat, that called the mink, and the flinking pole-cat. Their hair is darker, more glossy, and more silky, than in Europe.

Even the rat in North America is valuable on account of his skin. There are two sorts that enter into commerce: the hair of the one, which is called the Opossum, and is twice as large as an European rat, is commonly of a silver grey, but sometimes a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which she can open and shut at pleasure; and when pursued, she puts her young into this bag, and carries them off. The other, which is called the Musk-Rat, has all the characteristic qualities of the beaver, of which he seems to be a diminutive species, and his skin is employed for the same purposes. The ermine, which is about the size of a squirrel, but not quite so long, has the most lively eyes and keen look; and his motions are so quick, that the sight cannot follow them. The tip of his long and bushy tail is as black as jet; and his hair, which is as yellow as gold in summer, turns as white as snow in winter.

This lively and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada, but by no means plenty. Though smaller than the fable, it is less common. The marten, which is only to be met with in cold countries, and in the center of forests, far from the habitations of men, is a beast of prey, and lives upon birds. Though but half a yard long, it leaves prints in the snow, which appear to be the footsteps of a very large animal. This is occasioned by its mode of walking; for it always leaps, and leaves the marks of both feet together. Its fur is, in general, much esteemed, though commonly far inferior to that species, which is distinguished by the name of Sable. This is a shining black; and the finest among the other kinds, is that whose skin is the brownest. The martens seldom quit the inmost recesses of their impenetrable forests more than once in two or three years. The natives think that such an appearance portends a good winter; that is a great quantity of snow, and consequently good sport.

The animal by the ancients called the Lynx, and known in Siberia by the name of the Ounce, is only called the Wild-cat in Canada, where it is smaller than in our hemisphere. This animal, to whom common opinion would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if it were not endued with the faculty of seeing, hearing, and smelling at a great distance, lives upon what game it can catch, and which it frequently pursues to the tops of the tallest trees. Its flesh is white, and well-flavoured; but it is chiefly hunted for the sake of its skin, the hair of which is long, and of a fine light grey, though less esteemed than that of the fox. This carnivorous, cunning, and mischievous animal is a native of the frozen regions. In warmer climates the fox has lost much of his original beauty, and his fur is not so fine. In the north it is found long, soft, and full; sometimes white, sometimes brown, and often red, or sandy. The finest of any is that which is black; but this is more scarce in Canada than in Siberia, which lies farther north, and is less damp.

Besides these smaller furs, North America supplies us with skins of the stag, the deer, and the roe-buck; of the moose-deer, called also Caribou, and of the

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elk, which is named Original. Those two last kinds, which, in our hemisphere, are found only towards the polar circle; the elk, on this side, and the moose deer, on the other, are to be met with in America in more southern latitudes. This difference may be owing to the greater intenseness of the cold in America, in contradiction to the general law of nature. Their strong, soft, and warm skins make excellent garments, which are very light.

All these animals are hunted by the Europeans in common with the natives; but the savages have in a manner reserved to themselves the chase of the bear, it being their favourite amusement, and peculiarly adapted to their warlike manners, as well as their wants. In northern climates, the bear is most commonly black. Being rather shy than fierce, he chuses for his lurking place, instead of a cavern, the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he fixes himself in winter, as high as he can climb; and as he is very fat at the end of autumn, very well furnished with hair, takes no exercise, and is generally asleep, he can loze but little by perspiration, and consequently must seldom have occasion to go abroad in quest of food. He is frequently, however, forced from his retreat, by fire being set to it; and when he attempts to come down, he is assaulted by a shower of arrows, before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his flesh, rub themselves with his grease, and cloath themselves with his skin.

Such was the object of the North Americans in their pursuit after the bear, when a new interest directed them towards the beaver. This animal possesses all the friendly dispositions requisite for society, without being subject, like man, to the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for social life, he is endued with an instinct adapted to the preservation, as well as the propagation of his species: yet this animal, whose tender plaintive accents, and whose striking example draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philosopher, who contemplates his life and manners—this harmless animal, who never hurts any living creature, who is neither carnivorous nor sanguinary, is become the object of man's most ardent pursuit, and the prey which the savage hunts after with the most blood thirsty eagerness. This cruelty is owing to the luxury and unfeeling rapacity of the most polished European nations.

The beaver is between three and four feet long, and his usual weight about fifty pounds. His head, which he carries downwards, resembles that of a rat, and his back is raised in an arch, like that of a mouse. "Man had hands given him," says Lucretius, "and he has made use of them," leaving it as a matter of doubt, whether they were given him for that end. In like manner the beaver has webs at his hinder-feet, and he swims with them. The toes of his fore feet are separate, and answer the purpose of hands. His tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with scales, he employs to carry loads, and to work with; and he has four sharp incisors, or cutting-teeth, which serve him instead of carpenters tools. All these instruments, which are in a manner useless while he lives alone, and do not then distinguish him from other animals, are of infinite service to the beaver, when he lives in society, and enable him to display a degree of ingenuity seemingly superior to the instinct of brutes. Without passions,

passions, without a desire of committing injury, and without craft, when he does not live in society, he fearfully ventures to defend himself. He never bites, unless he is caught: but in the social state, in place of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to secure himself without fighting, and to live without committing or suffering any injury.

This peaceable and mild animal is nevertheless independent: he is a slave to none, because all his wants are supplied by himself; he enters into society, but will not serve, nor does he pretend to command, all his labours being directed by a silent instinct. It is the common want of subsistence, and the desire of propagation that calls the beavers, and collects them together in summer, in order to build their towns against winter. As early as the months of June and July, they assemble from all quarters, to the number of two or three hundred, and always by the water-side. Sometimes they give the preference to still lakes in unfrequented districts, because there the waters are constantly at an equal height; and when they find no pools of standing water, they make one in the middle of rivers or streams, by means of a causeway or dam. The very plan of this labour implies such a multiplicity of ideas, as our short sighted reason would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent mind, were we not sensible that it is the contrivance of animals denominated irrational.

The first thing erected is a dyke an hundred feet long, and twelve thick at the base, which shelves away two or three feet in a slope, answerable to the depth of the water. In order to save work, or to facilitate their labour, the beavers chuse the shallowest part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-side, they fell it in such a manner, that it falls across the stream; and though it should be larger in circumference than a man's body, they saw it, or rather gnaw it through, with their four sharp teeth. The branches are soon lopped off by these industrious workmen, who want to fashion it into a beam. A number of smaller trees are felled, and prepared for the intended pile. Some drag these trees to the river side, while others swim over with them to the place, where the causeway is to be raised. But how, it will be asked, are those animals to sink the trees in the water with the assistance only of their teeth, tail, and feet? Their contrivance is this: with their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water; with their teeth they rest the large end of the stake against the bank of the river, or against the great beam that lies across it; and with their feet raise the stake, and sink it, with the sharp end downwards into the hole, where it stands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the stakes, which are bound together with twisted boughs; and thus the structure is completed. The slope of the dam is opposite to the current, in order more effectually to break the force of the water by a gradual resistance, and the stakes are driven in obliquely, proportioned to the inclination of the plane: but the stakes are planted perpendicularly on the side where the water is to fall; and in order to open a drain, which may lessen the effect of the slope, and the weight of the causeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the water of the river may run off.

When

When this work is finished by the whole body of the republic, every member considers of a lodging for himself. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the caufeway. These huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, of oval or round figure, and one, two, or three stories high, according to the number of families or households. Each hut contains at least two or three, and some ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and solid both within and without. They are varnished with a kind of flucco, alike impenetrable to the water and external air. Every apartment has two openings; one on the land side, in order to enable the beavers to go out, and fetch provisions; the other on that next the stream, in order to facilitate their escape, on the approach of the enemy—of man, the destroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the house opens to the water. There the beavers take the fresh air in the day time, and plunge into the river up to their middle. In winter it serves to fence them against the ice, which collects around it to the thickness of two or three feet. The shelf intended to prevent the ice from stopping up this window rests upon two stakes, that slope in such a manner as to carry off the water from the house, and leave an outlet to escape, or to go and swim under the ice. The inside of the house, which is perfectly free from every kind of filth, has no other furniture but a flooring of grass covered with the tops of the fir tree. The materials for these buildings are happily always found in their neighbourhood; namely, poplars, alders, and other trees which delight in watery places; and the beavers have the satisfaction, at the same time that they fashion the wood, to nourish themselves with it. Like certain savages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark, though not in the same manner. The savages dry it and pound it, but the beavers chew it and eat it while it is quite green. They lay up a provision of bark and tender twigs in separate storehouses for every hut, proportionally to the number of its inhabitants; and every beaver knows his own storehouse, nor does any one steal from that of his neighbour. Each family live in their own apartment, and are contented with it, though jealous of the property they have acquired in it by their labour. The provisions of the community are collected, and expended without any contest. They are satisfied with that simple food which their labour prepares for them. The only passion they have seems to be conjugal affection, the end of which is the increase of their species, and which forms itself the basis of such population. Towards the end of winter the females bring forth their young, to the number of two or three, which have been conceived in autumn; and while the father ranges the woods, allured by the sweets of spring, leaving to his little family the room he occupied in their narrow cell, the mother suckles and nurses them. She afterwards takes them out with her in her excursions in quest of food, and tends them till the season of labour and procreation returns.

Such is the oeconomy of the republican, industrious, and intelligent beaver; skilled in architecture, provident, and systematical in his plans of police and society, and whose gentle and exemplary manners afford an important lesson to man, his destroyer. It has frequently happened, when the Americans have

demolished the houses of the beavers, those indefatigable animals have had the resolution to build them in the same place for several summers successively. The winter is the time for attacking them, and experience then warns them of their danger. At the approach of the hunters, one of the beavers strikes a hard stroke with his tail upon the water. That signal spreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to save himself by flight. It is very difficult, however, for this harmless race to escape all the snares that are laid for them, though they are seldom caught by surprise upon land, or by the water-side, as they see and hear at a great distance. But if the beaver should be wounded before he takes to the water, he has generally time to plunge in; and if he dies afterwards, he is lost, as he instantly sinks, and never rises again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is by laying traps in the woods, where they eat the tender bark of young trees. These traps are baited with fresh slips of wood, and as soon as the beaver touches them, a great weight falls and crushes his loins. The huntsman, who is concealed near the place, hastens forward, seizes the animal, and having killed it, carries it off. But there are other methods more commonly, and even more successfully practised. The houses are sometimes attacked in order to drive out the inhabitants, who are watched at the edge of holes, that have been made in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in fresh air. The instant they appear, they are killed. At other times the beaver, expelled his retreat, is entangled in nets, spread for some paces round his cell, the ice being broken for that purpose. If the whole colony is to be taken at once, instead of breaking down the sluices to drown the people, the causeway is opened, in order to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When thus left dry, defenceless, and unable to escape, they may be caught at pleasure, and entirely destroyed; but care is always taken to leave a sufficient number of males and females, in order to preserve the breed, an act of generosity dictated merely by avarice. The cruel foresight of man spares a few, that he may afterwards have the more to murder; and the beaver, whose plaintive voice seems to implore the clemency of the huntsman, finds only in the savage, rendered cruel by European luxury, a relentless enemy, whose depredations are undertaken less to supply his own wants, than to furnish superfluities for another continent.

The skin of the beaver varies with the climate, both in colour and quality. In the same district, however, where they are best, and where the colonies of social beavers are found, there are some that are wild and solitary. Those animals, who are said to be expelled the community for their ill behaviour, live in a subterraneous retreat, and have properly neither lodging nor storehouse. They are called Earth-Beavers. Their coat is dirty, and the hair on their backs is worn off by rubbing against the cave, which they dig for their habitation. The hole they make, and which commonly opens into some pond or ditch full of water, sometimes extends above an hundred feet in length, rising gradually in a slope in order to facilitate their escape from inundations. Some of these beavers are so wild, as to disclaim all communication not only with their species, but also

their natural element, and live entirely on land. Their furs are answerable to their manners, rough and coarse.

Beavers are found in America from the thirtieth to the sixtieth degree of north latitude. There are, however, but few towards the south, and those of a light colour; but they increase in number, and grow darker in a progressive gradation towards the north. In the country of the Illinois they are yellow and straw coloured; higher up in the country, they are of a light chestnut; to the north of Canada of a dark chestnut, and some are there found quite black, which are reckoned the finest. But even in that climate, which is inhabited by this last species, some among the black tribes are perfectly white, others white speckled with grey, with sandy spots sometimes on the rump: so much does nature delight in shewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences not only on the figure, but on the very covering of animals!

The fur-trade, as we have already seen, was the first which the French carried on in Canada. It was begun by the colony at Tadoufac, a port situated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres, twenty-five leagues above that city, became a second mart, in process of time all the fur trade centered at Montreal. The skins were brought thither in canoes in the month of June; and the number of Indians, who resorted to that place, increased as the fame of the French extended. The account of the reception they had met with, the sight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, all contributed to extend this traffic. Whenever they returned with a fresh supply of furs, they always brought, for several years, a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the various tribes of that vast continent resorted.

The English became jealous of this branch of commerce; and soon after their establishment at New York, they found means to divert the stream of wealth. They had no sooner secured a subsistence, by bestowing their first attention on agriculture, than they began to think of the fur-trade, which was at first confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations, comprehended under that general name, would not suffer their lands to be traversed, in order to afford the English an opportunity of trading with other savage nations, who were at constant enmity with them; nor would they permit those nations to come upon their territories, to share, in competition with them, the profits of the trade which they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguished, or rather suspended the hostilities between the Indian nations, the English spread themselves over the country: the savages flocked to them from all quarters, and soon gave them the preference to their rivals the French, over whom they had vast advantages. Their voyages were carried on with greater facility, and consequently they could afford to sell cheaper. They were besides the manufacturers of the coarse cloths most suitable to the savages; and among them, the beaver-trade was free, whereas among the French it was, and ever has been, subject to the tyranny of a monopoly. In consequence of this freedom, and these advantages,

Albany, and afterwards Oswego, as we have already seen, engrossed great part of the trade that had rendered Montreal so famous.

At this period the French in Canada indulged themselves more freely in a custom, which had been formerly confined within narrow limits. The passion of the first settlers for frequenting the woods was wicly confined to the territory belonging to the colony. Permission was, however, granted every year to twenty-five persons to go beyond those boundaries, in order to trade with the Indians; and the superiority which New York seemed acquiring, made the number of such permissions to be encreased. They were a kind of patents, which the possessors might make use of either in person or by proxy, and continued a year or more. The profits arising from the sale of these patents were assigned by the governor of the colony to the widows and children of officers, to hospitals, and missionaries; to such as had distinguished themselves by some great achievement, or some useful undertaking, and sometimes to his minions. The money, which he did not give away, or chuse to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was not accountable to any one for the mismanagement of it.

This custom was attended with fatal consequences. Many of those traders settled among the Indians, in order to defraud their partners, whose goods they had sold. A still greater number chose to settle among the English, where their profits were greater than in the fair trade among the French. The immense lakes, frequently agitated with violent storms; the falls, which render navigation dangerous in the higher parts of the river St. Laurence: the weight of the canoes, the provisions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to convey on their shoulders at the carrying-places, where the rapidity or shallowness of the stream obliged them to quit the river, and pursue their journey by land, proved the destruction of many of them. Some perished in the snow, and on the ice, some by hunger, and others by the sword of the enemy. Even those who returned to the colony with a profit of six or seven hundred per cent. were not always on that account more useful members, as they generally gave themselves up to the greatest excesses. Their fortunes were dissipated as suddenly as they had been amassed; and exhausted by the excessive fatigues, which their avarice had prompted them to undergo, as well as by the licentiousness of a wandering and dissolute life, most of those Coureurs des Bois dragged on a premature old age, in indigence and infamy.

The government became sensible of these irregularities, and changed the method of carrying on the fur trade. The French had long been incessantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought necessary for the preservation, and aggrandizement of their settlements in North America. Those built to the west and south of the river St. Laurence, being intended to restrain the ambition of the English, were large and strong; but those erected in the most important situations, on the several lakes, and which formed a chain extending southward to the distance of a thousand leagues from Quebec, were only miserable palisades intended to keep the Indians in awe, in order to secure their alliance, and the produce of their huntings. In each fort was a garrison, more

or less numerous, according to the importance of the post, and the enemies who threatened it: and it was thought proper to entrust the commandant of each with the exclusive privilege of buying and selling in the whole district under his dominion. This privilege was purchased; but as it was always advantageous, and often the means of acquiring a considerable fortune, it was only granted to officers that stood high in the government's favour. If any of these had not a stock sufficient for the undertaking, he could easily prevail with some moneyed men to assist him, by giving them a share in the trade.

This system, it was pretended, far from being detrimental to the service, would contribute to promote it, as it obliged the military men to keep up a more constant intercourse with the natives, to watch their motions, and use every means that could secure their friendship; but it was not foreseen, or at least only by those whose whole interest it was to conceal it, that such an arrangement must necessarily prevail over every principle except that of avarice, and prove a source of perpetual oppression. Experience justifies this conjecture. That tyranny, which soon became universal, was severely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of those three forts, by an abuse of their exclusive privilege, set so low a value upon the commodities that were brought them, and rated their own so high, that by degrees the Indians, instead of stopping at their usual stations, resorted in great numbers to the English factory on the lake Ontario, where they could trade on more advantageous terms.

Alarmed at the account of these new connections, the French court found means to weaken them, by taking the trade of those three posts into their own hands, and trading with the Indians on terms still more moderate than those demanded by the English. In consequence of this step, the refuse of all the furs that were not saleable became the sole property of the crown, and the skins of all those beasts that were killed in summer and autumn: in a word, all the most ordinary furs, the thinnest, and the most easily damaged, were reserved for the king: and these base furs, bought up without examination, were carelessly deposited in warehouses, and devoured by the moths. At the proper season for sending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the discretion of soldiers, passengers and watermen, who having no concern in the property, did not take the least care to keep them dry; so that when they came into the hands of the king's officers, their small value was still farther reduced. Hence the returns in this naturally beneficial trade were less than the sums advanced by the government for its support.

A. D. 1702. While things were in this situation, the promotion of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Spain spread an alarm all over Europe, and involved it once more in the horrors of war. The conflagration extended even to the New World, and was early advancing to Canada, had not the Iroquois put a stop to it. The English and French, as we have had occasion to notice, had long been contending who should secure their alliance. These marks of fear or esteem had so far increased their natural pride, that they considered themselves as the umpires between the two rival nations, and expected that the conduct of both was to be regulated

gulated by their humour. As they were inclined to peace at that time, they haughtily declared that they would take up arms against either of the two nations which should commence hostilities against the other, within their boundaries. This resolution was favourable to the situation of the French colony, which was ill prepared for war, and could expect no assistance from the mother-country; but the people of New York, on the contrary, whose forces were considerable, wished only to prevail with the Iroquois to join them, in order to commence hostilities. All their negotiations were however ineffectual till the year 1710, when they succeeded in forming a league with the Five Nations, and the reduction of Montreal was resolved upon, at the same time that a fleet from Boston was expected to assault Quebec.

An army of two thousand English, and an equal number of Indians, was accordingly advancing towards the heart of Canada with the greatest probability of success, when one of the chiefs of the Iroquois, who had never approved of the war, said with a mysterious air to his people, "What will become of us, if we should succeed in driving away the French?" These few words, and the manner in which they were uttered, immediately recalled to the minds of the Iroquois their former system, of keeping the balance equal between the two foreign nations, in order to secure their own independency; and they instantly resolved to relinquish a design, which now appeared to have been adopted contrary to the public interest. But as they thought it would be shameful openly to desert their associates, they determined to effect by secret treachery the purpose of open defection. In this they were assisted by circumstances peculiarly favourable to such an insidious design.

A. D. 1711.

The army having halted on the banks of a small river, to wait for the artillery and ammunition, the Iroquois, who spent their leisure hours in hunting, slayed all the beasts they caught, and threw their skins into the flood a little above the camp. The waters were soon infected; and the English, who had no suspicion of any baseness, continued unfortunately to drink of the poisoned stream*. The consequence was, that they died in such numbers, as made it necessary to suspend the military operations; and on their return to New York, they understood that the fleet destined for the siege of Quebec, had not been more successful. Through the rashness of the admiral, and the inexperience of the pilots, eight transports and eight hundred and eighty-four men were lost in the mouth of the river St. Laurence; and it was resolved in a council of war, that, on account of this accident, the advancing season, and other adverse circumstances, it was impracticable to proceed. Thus was Canada at once delivered from the danger that threatened it, both by land and sea; and Vaudreuil, the governor, had the glory of defending it without succours, and without loss, against the whole strength of New England and New York, supported by a powerful fleet, and a considerable body of land forces from Britain.

* Charlevoix, tom. IV. This historian had his information from father Moreville, a missionary among the Iroquois.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1712.

New France, however, was not yet in security. The Outagamis, vulgarly called the Foxes, who, for twenty-five years had scarcely been heard of, began about this time to make a figure in North America. They had promised to surprize Fort Detroit, and put it into the hands of the English, to whose interest they had lately come over. With this view they lay very near the place, and omitted no opportunity of insulting the garrison, which was commanded by an officer named Du Buiffon. The Kicapous and the Mascoutins, two other savage nations, were confederated with them in the same design, which was discovered to Du Buiffon by one Joseph, a Christian Outagamis. Buiffon, who had but twenty Frenchmen in the fort, informed his Indian allies of his danger; and, as soon as they returned from the chase, they marched to his relief. They consisted of the Outaouais, the Hurons, the Sakis, the Illinois, and several other tribes, each of which had a particular standard. The Outagamis, who had reared a slight fort for their defence, waited for their enemies with the most unshaken intrepidity; and their brave resistance obliged the assailants, after a vigorous attack, to raise two stages, each twenty-five feet high, from which they battered the little citadel. The Outagamis soon suffered every extreme of hunger and thirst; but so great was their affection for the English, that they hoisted red coverlets, by way of colours, upon their pallisadoes, calling out at the same time, with all their might, that they had no other father but the Englishman, who would not fail to come to their relief, or revenge their death. Those exclamations made no inconsiderable impression upon their Indian enemies; of which Du Buiffon was so apprehensive, that he ordered all conversation between the besiegers and the besieged to be broken off, and the artillery to be brought up.

The Outagamis now demanded a parley, on seeing the French cannon pointed against them; but this Buiffon could not grant, without consulting his Indian allies, who agreed to it, in order to draw from the hands of the besieged, three of their women, who had been made prisoners. In consequence of this resolution, Pemoussa, the chief of the Outagamis, was admitted into the assembly of the confederates, where he presented the French commander with two captives and a belt, and the Indian chiefs with the same, and begged for a delay of two days, in order to consult the elders of his nation, on the means of appeasing their father's wrath. The manner in which he spoke, touched the savages so much that they continued dumb, until Du Buiffon replied, that he would enter into no treaty with the Outagamis, till they sent him the three female prisoners. Pemoussa declared, that he could say nothing on that head, until he had consulted his nation; and, having obtained a further delay, he returned with a white flag in his hand, attended by the three women, and requested liberty for his people to retire. The French commandant referred him to his Indian allies for an answer; and the chief of the Illinois gave him to understand, that the Outagamis were to expect no mercy, unless they surrendered at discretion, but that they might re-enter the fort, and place their security in their valour. They did so; and the fire on both sides being renewed, the Outagamis made such a vigorous defence, as greatly surprised the French, and the savages despairing of the event, were on the point

of returning to Michillimachinac. But Du Buiffon found means to detain them by presents : the war song was renewed ; and the besieged were given to understand, that no safety was now left them unless they accepted of the proffered terms. They petitioned however for farther delay, and were permitted to send a fresh deputation to the camp of the besiegers ; who, notwithstanding all their entreaties, still insisted on their surrendering at discretion ; and it was with some difficulty that Buiffon prevented his Indian allies from putting the deputies to death. Being suffered to return to the fort, they renewed their defence with undiminished vigour ; and, under the favour of a tempestuous night, the whole garrison made their escape, after enduring for nineteen days, under all the pressure of famine, a close siege by superior numbers.

In the morning the French and their allies pursued the Outagamis, and found them entrenched on a small tongue of land near the island of St. Claire. Here they were again besieged ; and their defence was so vigorous for four days, that Buiffon was obliged to bring up the heavy artillery, in order to force their entrenchments. On the appearance of these terrible instruments of destruction, they surrendered at discretion. All those, who were found in arms, were immediately put to death ; and the rest being divided among the confederate Indians, also suffered the same fate, so that few, if any, escaped the general massacre. In a word, it was computed that two thousand of those gallant savages were cut in pieces, for no other crime than that of having declared themselves friends to the English ; and Charlevoix, on account of this horrid butchery, accompanied with so many circumstances of treachery, gives to Du Buiffon the character of a good officer, and a man of honour * !

Vaudreuil being now delivered from all the dangers that threatened his government, employed himself in the re-establishment of the fur-trade, by new alliances with the savages : but the series of defeats and mortifications which discoloured the latter years of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, made him happy to purchase peace by sacrifices, which made his humiliation evident, and blasted the hopes of the French in the New World. As he wished to conceal these sacrifices from his people, he made them chiefly beyond sea. It is easy, however, to judge, how much his pride must have suffered in relinquishing to the English by the treaty of Utrecht, Hudson's-Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia ; three possessions, which he then enjoyed in whole or in part, and which formed that immense tract of country then known by the magnificent name of New France.

But in the treaty of Utrecht, though so favourable to the interests of England in America, at a time when she had a right to dictate, one capital article was omitted ; namely, the restitution of Cape-Breton, or at least a prohibition, that the French should not fortify it. They were immediately sensible of its importance on turning their views towards the New World ; and as the moderation of queen Anne, or perhaps the corruption of her ministers, had not only left them in possession of this island, but laid them under no restrictions, they were at liberty to erect what fortifications they thought proper for its defence.

* Hist. N. France, tom. IV.

Cape Breton is situated at the entrance of the Gulph of St. Laurence, between the forty-fifth and forty-seventh degrees of North latitude. Newfoundland lies to the east on the same Gulf, and is but fifteen or sixteen leagues distant from it; and Nova Scotia to the west, is only separated from the island by a strait, not more than three or four leagues broad. Cape Breton thus situated between the territories of France and those ceded to her rival, threatened the possessions of the one, while it protected those of the other. The island, which measures about thirty-six leagues in length, and twenty-two at its greatest breadth, is surrounded with sharp pointed rocks, separated from one another by the waves, above which some of their tops are visible. All its harbours open to the east, verging towards the south. On the other parts of the coast, there are but a few anchoring places, and these for small vessels in creeks or between islets. Except in the mountainous parts, the surface of the ground has but little solidity, being every where covered with a light moss, or with water. The dampness of the soil, however, is exhaled in fogs without rendering the air unwholesome. In other respects the climate is very indifferent, being remarkably cold and bleak; owing either to the prodigious quantity of lakes, which cover above half the island, and remain frozen the greater part of the year, or to the number of forests, and the perpetual clouds, which totally intercept the rays of the sun.

Though several fishermen had long resorted to Cape Breton every summer, not more than twenty or thirty families had hitherto fixed their abode there. The French colony, which settled in it in 1713, were therefore properly its first European inhabitants. They changed its name into that of *Île-Royale*, and pitched upon Fort Dauphin as their principal settlement. The harbour of this place was two leagues in circumference; and the ships, which might come to the very shore, were well sheltered from the winds. Forests affording oak sufficient to build and fortify a large city were near at hand; the ground was less barren than in other parts, and the fishery more plentiful. This harbour might have been rendered impregnable at a trifling expence, but the difficulty of approaching it, made it be abandoned. The colonists next turned their views towards *Louisburgh*, the access to which was easier, and conveniency was preferred to security.

The harbour of *Louisburgh*, situated on the eastern coast of the island, is at least, a league in depth, and near a mile broad in the narrowest part. The bottom is good, and the soundings are usually from six to ten fathoms. It includes a small gulph, very commodious for refitting ships of all sizes; and they may even winter there with proper precautions. The only inconvenience attending this excellent harbour, is its being frozen up from November till May, and sometimes even till June. The entrance, which is naturally rather narrow, was further guarded by Goat Island, the cannon of which, while in the possession of France, playing upon a level with the surface of the water, would have sunk the largest ships that should have attempted to force a passage; and the batteries, one of thirty-six, the other of twelve twenty-four pounders, erected on the two opposite shores, would have supported and crossed this formidable fire. The town is built on a neck of land, that runs into the sea, and is about half a league in circuit. The streets are broad and regular, and the houses are generally

generally built of wood on a foundation of stone to the height of two yards from the ground. Those that are entirely of stone, were constructed at the expence of the government, and destined for the reception of troops. A number of wharfs projected a considerable way into the harbour, and were extremely convenient for the loading and unloading of ships.

The fortifications of Louisburg were begun in 1720, and executed upon a very good plan. The town was walled, and supplied with all the works that can render a place formidable. A space of about an hundred fathoms only was left without ramparts on the side next the sea, which was thought sufficiently protected by its situation, and a simple pallisade; the water being so shallow in this place, that it formed a sort of narrow canal, inaccessible from the number of its reefs to shipping of any kind: besides, the fire from the side-bastions completely secured it against every attack. The necessity of bringing stone from Europe, and other materials proper for these vast works, sometimes retarded their progress, but never made them discontinued. More than thirty millions of livres were expended upon them; nor was this thought a sum too great for the support of the fisheries, for securing the communication between France and Canada, and obtaining a safe retreat to ships, coming in time of war from the West-India islands. Nature and sound policy required that the wealth of the south should be protected by the strength of the north.

In 1714, some French fishermen, who had hitherto resided in Newfoundland, removed to Cape Breton. It was also expected that their number would have been increased by the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who were at liberty by the treaty of Utrecht to retire with all their effects, and even to dispose of their estates. But these hopes were disappointed: the Acadians, as they were called, chose rather to retain their possessions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage, which they might derive from their attachment to France. The place, which they were expected to fill at Cape Breton, was occupied by some distressed adventurers from Europe, who came over to that island from time to time; and the population of the colony gradually encreased to the number of four thousand. These inhabitants were settled at Louisburg, Fort Dauphin, Port Thoulouze, Nerica, and on all the coasts where they found a proper beach to dry the cod. They never applied themselves to agriculture, the soil being unfit for it. They only planted a few pot-herbs, which they were under the necessity of renewing every year from abroad. The poorness and scarcity of pastures also prevented the increase of cattle: in a word, Cape Breton was chiefly valuable as a military station, and a receptacle for fishermen.

Though this island was entirely covered with forests before the arrival of the French, its timber has scarce ever been an object of trade; for although a great quantity of wood was there found fit for firing, and some that might be applied to other uses, the oak was always scarce, and the fir never yielded much resin. Nor was the fur trade a more considerable object; for it consisted only in the skins of a few musk-rats, wild-cats, bears, otters, and foxes. Some

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of these were procured from a colony of Mickmack Indians: the rest came from St. John's, or the neighbouring continent. Greater advantages might possibly have been derived from the coal mines, which abound in the island. They lie in an horizontal direction, and being no more than six or eight feet below the surface, may be worked at a small expence. But notwithstanding the prodigious demand for this coal from New England, between the years 1745 and 1756, these mines would probably have been forsaken, had not the ships which were sent out to the French West-Indies wanted ballast. In one of the mines a fire has been kindled, which could never be extinguished, and will probably one day occasion some extraordinary explosion.

The whole industry of the French inhabitants of Cape Breton was constantly exerted in the cod fishery. The less wealthy colonists employed yearly about two hundred boats in this fishery, and the more opulent fifty or sixty vessels, from thirty to fifty tons burden. The small craft generally kept within four or five leagues of the shore, and returned at night with their fish, which being immediately cured, was always in the highest possible degree of perfection. The larger smacks went to fish farther out at sea, and kept their cargo uncured for several days, in consequence of which the cod became less valuable. But this disadvantage was compensated by the opportunity it afforded them of pursuing the fish, when the want of food compelled them to leave the coast of the island; and by the facility of carrying, during the autumn, the produce of their labour to the West India islands, or even to Europe.

Besides the fishermen settled in Cape Breton, others came there every year from France, either to dry their fish on the stages erected by the inhabitants, in consequence of an agreement with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reserved for their use. The mother country regularly sent them several ships annually laden with provisions, liquors, wearing-apparel, household goods, and all things necessary for the support of the colony. The largest of these ships having no further destination, returned to Europe as soon as they had bartered their lading for cod; but those from fifty to an hundred tons burthen, after having landed their cargo, went a fishing themselves, and did not return till the season was over. Notwithstanding this trade, which was chiefly carried on at Louisburg, and one no less considerable, which they carried on with the French sugar islands, most of the colonists were extremely poor. This was occasioned by that dependence, to which their indigence had subjected them on their first arrival. Unable to procure the implements necessary for the fishery, they had been obliged to have recourse to the ruinous practice of borrowing; and this, with the dearth of salt provisions, kept them always in a necessitous condition.

But all the French colonies in those latitudes have not been destined to struggle with such inconveniencies from their first establishment. The neighbouring island of St. John, more happily situated, has been more friendly to its inhabitants. It lies further up the Gulph of St. Laurence, is near thirty leagues in length, and about seven at its greatest breadth. It bends in the form of a crescent, both ends
terminating

terminating in a sharp point. Though the right to this island had never been disputed with France, she paid no regard to it, till after the peace of Utrecht, when the loss of Nova Scotia, and her possessions in Newfoundland, turned her attention towards all the adjacent isles, and the government began to enquire what use could be made of such a spot. It appeared that the winters there were long, the cold extreme, with abundance of snow, and a prodigious quantity of insects; but that these disadvantages were compensated by a healthy coast, a good seaport, and several convenient anchoring-places. The country was level, enriched with fine pastures, and watered by an infinite number of springs and rivulets; the soil exceedingly diversified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain. The profusion of game, the multitudes of wild beasts, the amazing shoals of fish of all sorts, and a greater number of savage inhabitants than had been found in any of the other islands, were so many proofs of the superior value of that of St. John.

The reports, spread to this purpose in France, gave rise to a company which formed the design of clearing that fertile island, and establishing a cod-fishery there in 1719; but unfortunately interest, which had brought the adventurers together, set them at variance before they began to execute the plan which they had projected, and the island of St. John was once more forgotten, when the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia began to remove thither in 1749. In a few years they increased to the number of three thousand one hundred and fifty-four; and as they were for the most part husbandmen, and particularly accustomed to the breeding of cattle, the government thought proper to confine them to that employment. But prohibitions and monopolies, when they restrain industry, are equally detrimental to the labours they permit, and those they prohibit. Though St. John does not afford a sufficient extent of sea coast for drying the vast quantities of cod that come in shoals to the island, and though the fish is too large to be easily dried, it was nevertheless incumbent upon a power, whose fisheries were not sufficient for the consumption of its own subjects, to encourage this kind of employment. If there were too few drying-places, for the quantity of fish that could be caught, that which is called green cod, and which alone would have been a valuable branch of commerce, might have been prepared; whereas by confining the inhabitants of St. John to agriculture, they were deprived of all resource in those unfortunate seasons, which happened frequently in the island, when the crops were devoured by the field mice, and other vermin, or destroyed by the rage of the elements.

In consequence of this disadvantage, the exchanges which the mother-country could and ought to have transacted with the colony of St. John, were reduced to nothing. Only two or three small vessels came annually to the island from Europe, and landed at Port La Joie, where the inhabitants were supplied with what they wanted, and made their returns to Louisburg in wheat, barley, pulse, oats, black cattle, and sheep. A party of fifty men served rather to regulate the police, than to protect them; and their commanding officer was dependent on Cape Breton, which was itself under the controul of the governor of Canada.

BOOK IV.

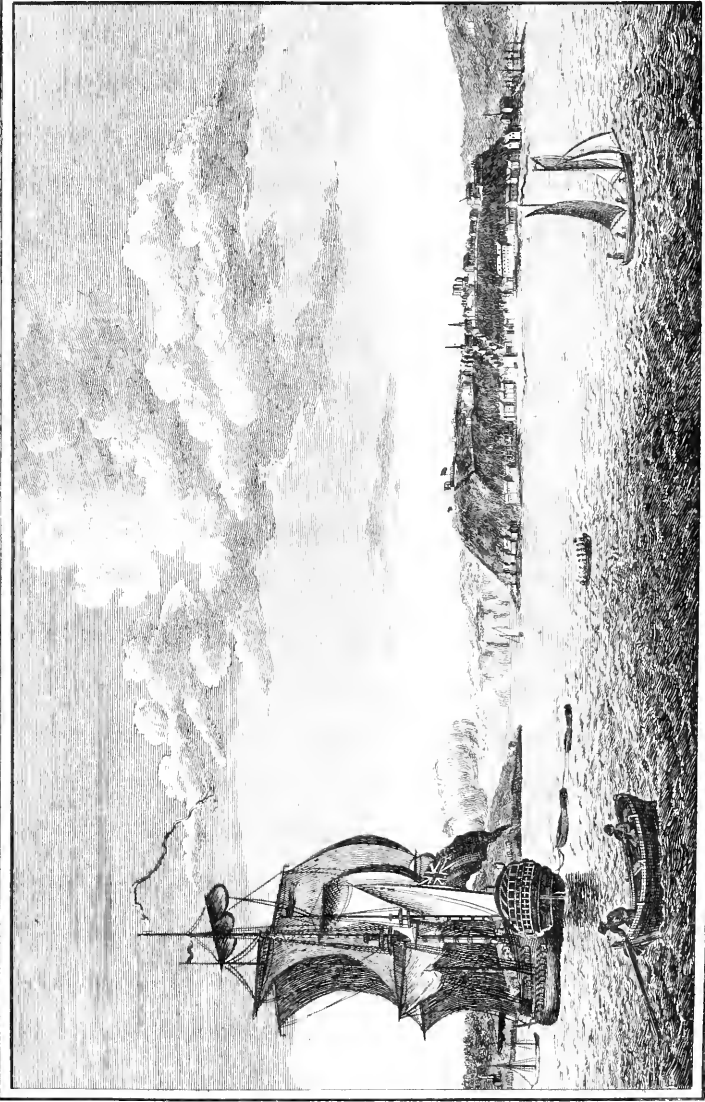
That vast country, as well as the adjacent islands, continued to enjoy an almost uninterrupted tranquillity till 1745, when war having again broke out between France and England, an attack was made upon Louisburg. This expedition, the idea of which was originally suggested by one Mr. Vaughan of Sagadahock, a whimsical projector in his own private concerns, and entirely unacquainted with military affairs, was planned at Boston, and New England bore the expence of it. A body of three thousand men accordingly embarked under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataqua, supported by a fleet of ten ships commanded by commodore Warren, and a landing was effected with little or no opposition. But though the garrison of Louisburg consisted only of six hundred regular troops, and eight hundred inhabitants, hastily armed the success of the undertaking was still precarious. Inexperienced troops, or rather a militia suddenly assembled, who had never seen a siege, or faced an enemy, stood in need of some fortunate incident to facilitate their operations; and with this they were favoured in a very singular manner.

The conservation and repair of the fortifications of Louisburg had always been left to the care of the governor. The soldiers were eager of being employed in these works, which they considered as conducive to their safety, as well as the means of procuring them a comfortable subsistence; and when they found that those who should have paid them appropriated to themselves the profit of their labours, they demanded justice. It was denied them, and they determined to assert their right; but as these spoils had been shared between the chief persons in the colony and the officers of the garrison, the soldiers could find no redress. Their indignation against their oppressors rose to such a height, that they despised all authority: and they had lived in a state of almost open rebellion for six months, when the English squadron appeared before the place.

This was the time for a reconciliation, that both parties might unite in the common cause. The soldiers made the first advances; but their commanders mistrusted a generosity of which themselves were incapable. Had these rapacious men conceived it possible, that the soldiers could entertain such elevated notions as to sacrifice their private resentment for the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this disposition, to fall upon the English while forming their camp, and erecting their batteries; and besiegers unacquainted with the art of war, might have been disconcerted by a regular and vigorous attack. But it was firmly believed, that the soldiers were only desirous of sallying out, in order that they might have an opportunity of deserting; so that their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till the English had considerably damaged the town, and were preparing to storm the fortifications. Afraid to stand the shock, the garrison capitulated; and the whole island of Cape Breton shared the fate of Louisburgh, its only bulwark*.—This valuable acquisition was restored to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, with its fortifications entire, to the great mortification of the people of New England, in whose possession it had in some measure continued †,

* Douglass. Raynal.

† It was garrisoned chiefly with New Englandmen.



A View of QUEBEC from the Basin.

and who were bent upon its demolition, if it could not be retained; but the misfortunes of Great Britain in Flanders, obliged her to make that humiliating sacrifice to peace.

CHAP. X.
A. D. 1748.

The tranquillity which Canada enjoyed both before and after this period, served to recover it from that state of languor in which it had been so long plunged; and from an estimate, taken in 1753, it appears that the inhabitants then amounted to ninety-one thousand, exclusive of the regular troops, whose numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony. Nor did this estimate include sixteen thousand Indians, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the French settlements, or the various tribes dispersed throughout that immense country. None of these were considered as subjects, though so considerable a number of them lived in the middle of a great European colony. The smallest tribes still preserved their independency. All men talk of liberty, but the savage alone, perhaps, can be said to enjoy it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual is truly free; and the consciousness of this freedom influences all his thoughts and actions. The Indian would enter the palace of an Asiatic monarch with the same indifference as the cottage of a peasant: he would neither be dazzled with the splendor of royalty, nor awed by the scepter of power. It is his own species, it is mankind, it is his equal, that he loves and respects: he would hate a master, and would have courage to lay the tyrant at his feet; to drag him from the throne, or dash him from the triumphal car.

The French inhabitants of Canada lived chiefly in three towns, namely, Quebec, Trois Rivieres, and Montreal. Quebec, the capital of the colony, is built in the figure of an amphitheatre, on a peninsula formed by the river St. Laurence, and that of St. Charles, at the distance of an hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, and commands a prospect over extensive and fertile fields, which serve to enrich it, and over a very safe road, that will admit upwards of two hundred ships. The city is about three miles in circumference, two thirds of which is better defended by the water and the rocks, than the remainder by the fortifications that cross the peninsula, though by no means weak. It is divided into an upper and lower town: the houses in both are of stone, and tolerably well built. When the late war broke out, Quebec contained near ten thousand inhabitants. Trois Rivieres, built about ten years later than Quebec, stands thirty leagues higher up the river. Though promising at first, it never contained more than fifteen hundred inhabitants, while Canada was in the possession of France. It takes its name from its situation. Three rivers unite their streams about a quarter of a mile below the town, and fall into the St. Laurence. Montreal is situated in an island formed by this great river, ten leagues long, and almost four broad, full sixty leagues above Quebec. A few huts thrown up there, as if by chance, in 1640, were improved by degrees to a regular town, containing five thousand inhabitants. It is of an oblong form, and the houses are well built. The fortifications are pretty strong, consisting of a wall, eleven redoubts, a ditch, and a kind of citadel or fort, the batteries of which command the streets of the town from one end to the other. Over the river St.

Peter is a bridge, by which there is a communication with the country to the west of the St. Laurence. Montreal, like the capital, is divided into an upper and lower town. In the latter the merchants chiefly reside, but the principal public buildings are in the upper town. A prodigious trade, as already observed, is here carried on with the Indians, some of whom come down from the distance of five hundred leagues.

Such of the French inhabitants of Canada, as did not reside within the walls of these three towns, were mostly dispersed along the banks of the St. Laurence; but none were to be seen near the mouth of that river, where the soil is rugged and barren. The first plantations towards the south were formed at the distance of fifty leagues, and those towards the north, at the distance of twenty below Quebec. They were widely separated from each other, and their produce was but indifferent. No very fertile fields were to be found, except in the neighbourhood of the capital, or towards Montreal. There cannot be a more delightful prospect than the rich borders of the long and broad canal that facilitates the intercourse between those two cities. Detached woods, adding beauty to the tops of the verdant tops, meadows covered with herds and flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, small streams of water tumbling down the declivities, churches and castles seen at intervals through the trees, exhibit a succession of the most enchanting views. These would have been still more delightful, if the edict of 1745 had been observed, which prohibited the colonist from dividing his plantations, unless they were an acre and an half in front, and thirty or forty in depth. Indolent heirs would not in that case, have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers: they would have been obliged to form new plantations; and vast spaces of waste land would no longer have separated rich and cultivated fields.

Nature herself, in the settling of Canada, directed the labours of the husbandman, and taught him that watery and sandy grounds, as well as those where the pine, the fir, and cedar grew solitary, were unfavourable to agriculture; but wherever he found a soil covered with maple, oak, or beech, he might reasonably expect a rich return for his labours, without the trouble of manuring. The plantations, though not equally large or fertile, all afforded a sufficient supply for the wants of their respective cultivators. Several of them yielded wheat, and most of them produced maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulse, and pot herbs in great plenty, and excellent in their kind. The planters had in general a score or two of sheep, whose wool was very useful to them; ten or twelve milch cows, and five or six oxen for the plough. The cattle were small, but their flesh was excellent; and the common people lived much better than the peasants in Old France. They had also horses, which were not fine, but very fit for drudgery, and able to perform journeys of an amazing length upon the snow.

Such was the situation of eighty-three thousand French colonists, dispersed or collected on the banks of the river St. Laurence. About the head of the river, and what is called the Upper Country, there were eight thousand more, who were rather engaged in trade and hunting, than agriculture. Their first settlement was at Cataracouy, or Fort Frontinac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the Lake Ontario, in order to stop the inroads of the English and Iroquois. The bay of

this place served as a harbour for the armed and trading vessels built upon that great lake, which might perhaps with more propriety be termed an inland sea, and where storms are almost as frequent and dreadful as on the ocean itself. Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, each of which measures three hundred leagues in circumference, lies a tract of land fourteen leagues in extent. That territory is intersected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara; which from its height, breadth, and aspect, as well as from the quantity and impetuosity of its waters, is justly accounted the most wonderful cataract in the known world. It was above this grand and awful cascade, that France had erected fortifications, in order to prevent the Indians from carrying their furs to the English settlements.

Beyond Lake Erie is an extent of land distinguished by the name of the Detroit, which exceeds all Canada in the mildness of the climate, the beauty and variety of the prospects, the fertility of the soil, and the profusion of game and fish. Nature has lavished all her blessings to enrich this delightful spot. But these advantages were not the motives that determined the French to settle there at the beginning of the present century. They were induced to such a measure by the vicinity of the several Indian nations, who could supply them with vast quantities of furs. The success of this new settlement proved fatal to the post of Michilimachinac, an hundred leagues further on, between Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, and Lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greatest part of the trade which had been carried on with the Indians there, was transferred to the Detroit, where it continued.

The manners of the French settled in Canada, were not always answerable either to the climate, or their condition. Those who lived in the country, spent the greater part of the winter in idleness, pensively sitting by the fire; and when the return of the spring called them out to the indispensable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially, without manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then relapsed into their former indolent course of life till the approach of harvest. Even then, as the common people were too proud, or too lazy to work by the day, and every family was obliged to gather in its own crops, nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy which enlivens the reaping season in Europe. This languor and negligence might be owing to several causes. During the excessive cold, which, by freezing up the rivers, prevented all the exertions of industry, and produced a winter of near eight months, they contracted such a habit of idleness, that labour appeared insupportable to them even in the finest weather; and this indolence was increased by the numerous festivals prescribed by their religion, which flattered a disposition to which they were of themselves but too much inclined.

The inhabitants of the towns, especially those of the capital, spent the winter as well as the summer in a perpetual round of dissipation. They were alike insensible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleasures or imagination: they had no taste for arts and sciences, reading, or instruction; their only passion was amusement, and persons of all ages and sexes were seized with the rage of dancing at assemblies. This mode of life naturally increased the influence of the

women, who possessed every attraction except those gentle graces, those soft emotions of the soul, which alone constitute the chief merit, and the ineffable charm of beauty. Lively, gay, coquettish, and addicted to gallantry, they were more fond of inspiring, than capable of feeling the tender passions. In both sexes there appeared a greater share of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, and a higher sense of honour than of real honesty. Giddiness took place of rational entertainment, and superstition of morality; which will always be the case where men are taught that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes may be expiated by prayers.

Idleness, prejudice, and levity would never have gained such an ascendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to permanent and useful objects. But as all the colonists were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority, they could have little pleasure in serious contemplation. They were unacquainted with the slow, but sure process of law; the will of the chief, or of his delegate, was an oracle which they were not even at liberty to interpret: they were obliged to submit without examination to the awful decree. Delays, representations, remonstrances, were so many crimes in the eyes of a despotic ruler, who was vested with a right of punishing, or of absolving merely by his word. All favours, penalties, rewards, and punishments depended upon his will—the power of imprisoning without the shadow of a crime, and the still more formidable power of enforcing a reverence for his own decrees as so many acts of justice, though in reality but the irregular sallies of a capricious imagination!

This unlimited power in early times was not only exercised in matters of military discipline and political administration, but extended even to civil jurisdiction. The governor decided absolutely, and without appeal, all differences arising between the colonists; but fortunately such differences were very rare in a country where all things might be said to be almost in common. This dangerous authority subsisted till 1663, when a tribunal was erected in the capital for the definitive trial of all causes depending throughout the colony; and the custom of Paris, modified according to local circumstances, formed the civil code of New France. That code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The administration of the finances in Canada required only a few fines of alienation, a small contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal, towards maintaining the fortifications, and certain duties upon all goods imported and exported. These taxes, it must be owned, were too high; yet, in 1747, the several foregoing articles brought into the treasury no more than two hundred and sixty thousand livres*.

The lands, though not taxed by the government, were not entirely exempt from taxes. At the first settling of the colony, a great error was committed, in granting to officers and gentlemen adventurers parcels of land from two to four leagues in front, and unlimited in breadth. These great proprietors, who

* Raynal, liv. xvi.

were generally men of moderate or small fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates: they were therefore under the necessity of making over their lands to soldiers or planters, on condition that they should receive a quit-rent and certain services for ever. This was introducing into America a species of tenure somewhat similar to that of the feudal government, which had for long been fatal to Europe. The superior ceded ninety acres to each of his vassals; who on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay him annually one or two tels per acre, and a bushel and a half of corn for the whole grant. This tax, though but a small one, maintained a considerable number of idle people, at the expence of the only class with which a colony ought to be peopled:— and the truly useful inhabitants, those engaged in laborious employments, found the burden of maintaining a lazy nobles, increased by the additional exactions of the clergy. The tythes were imposed in 1667; and though this grievous tax upon industry was reduced to a twenty-fifth part of the produce of the soil, notwithstanding the clamours of the priesthood, even that was an oppression in an infant colony, and a grievance in a country where the clergy had property allotted them sufficient for their maintenance.

So many impediments necessarily retarded the progress of agriculture, and disabled the inhabitants of Canada from paying for those manufactures which they received from the mother country. Of this disability the French ministry were at length so fully convinced, that, after having obstinately opposed the establishment of manufactures in America, they thought it their interest to promote them in 1736. But such late encouragement had very little effect: the united industry of the colonies could never produce more than a few coarse linens, and some very bad woollen cloths. Nor were the fisheries much more attended to than the manufactures. The only one that could become an object of exportation, was that of the seal. This animal has been ranked in the class of fish, though he is not dumb, is always produced upon land, and lives more on it than in the water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws, which are very short, especially the hinder ones, and serve him rather to crawl, than to walk upon. They are shaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His skin is hard, and covered with short hair. He is at first white, but turns sandy or black as he grows up; and sometimes he is of all these three different colours.

There are two kinds of seals. The larger kind sometimes weigh two thousand pounds, and seem to have a sharper snout than the other species. The small kind, whose skin is commonly marbled, are more active, and dexterous in eluding the snares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them, even so far as to make them follow them. They couple upon the rocks, and it is there also that the dams bring forth their young. They commonly bear two, and sometimes suckle them in the water, but more commonly on land. When they want to teach their young to swim, it is said that they carry them upon their back, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are strong enough to swim of themselves. Most little birds flutter about from spray to spray, before they venture to fly

abroad; and the eagle carries her young on her back, in order to train them to flight in the regions of air: it is not therefore surprizing that the seal, produced upon land, should use her little ones to live in the water.

The manner of fishing for these amphibious animals is very simple. They are accustomed to enter into creeks with the tide; and as soon as any place to which they resort is discovered, it is surrounded with nets and stakes, a little opening only being left for them to get in and out. At high water this passage is shut up, and when the tide retires, the seals remain on dry ground. It is then only necessary to kill them. At other times the fishermen get into a canoe, and follow the seals to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads above water to take in air. If only wounded, they are easily caught; but if killed they instantly sink to the bottom, whence they are brought up by large dogs, trained for the purpose, and who will dive for them seven or eight fathom under water. The skin of the seal was formerly used for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and since for housings, as well as for shoes and boots. When well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If not so fine, it preserves its colour longer. The flesh of the seal is generally allowed to be good eating, but it turns to better account when boiled down to oil. For this purpose it is sufficient to set it on the fire in a boiler of any kind, and it is thought enough to spread the fat on a large square board, where it melts of itself, and the oil runs off through an opening into a vessel placed to receive it. This oil keeps clear a long time, has no bad smell, nor any sediment. It is used for burning in lamps, and dressing leather.

Five or six ships were annually fitted out by the French colony in Canada for the seal-fishery in the Gulf of St. Laurence, and about an equal number for the trade of the West Indies. From these islands it received nine or ten vessels laden with rum, molasses, coffee and sugar; and from France about thirty ships, whose lading together might amount to nine thousand tons. In the interval between the two last wars, which was the most flourishing period of the colony, its exports did not exceed one million two hundred thousand livres in furs, eight hundred thousand in beaver, two hundred and fifty thousand in seal-oil, about the same in flour and pulse, and an hundred and fifty thousand in wood of all kinds. These several articles collectively amounted but to two million, six hundred and fifty thousand livres, or about an hundred and sixteen thousand pounds sterling a year; a sum insufficient to repay the commodities sent to New France from the mother-country. The government made up the deficiency.

While the French were in possession of Canada, the inhabitants had very little specie. The small quantity that was brought from time to time by the new settlers did not continue in the country; the necessitous state of the colony occasioned it soon to return to old France. This was a great obstacle to the progress of commerce and agriculture. The court of Versailles in 1670 had coined a particular sort of money for the use of all the French settlements in America, and set a nominal value upon it, one fourth above the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages expected from it, at least

with regard to Canada: it was therefore judged necessary to substitute paper-currency instead of coin for the payment of the troops, and other expences of government. This measure succeeded till the year 1713, when the engagements that had been entered into with the administrators of the colony were not faithfully observed. Their bills of exchange drawn upon the treasury of Old France were not honoured, and from that time consequently fell into discredit. In 1720 they were paid off with the loss of five eighths.

That event occasioned the revival of the use of specie in Canada, but with no better success than formerly. It lasted only two years. The merchants found it troublesome, chargeable, and hazardous to send money to Europe, as did all those colonists who had any remittances to make: they were therefore unanimous in soliciting the re-establishment of paper-currency. This now consisted of cards, on which were stamped the arms of France and Navarre, and which were signed by the governor, the intendant, and the comptroller. They were of different values, so as best to answer the purpose of circulation. The amount of the whole did not exceed a million of livres; but when that sum was found inadequate to the demands of the public, the deficiency was made up by orders signed only by the intendant. This was the first abuse; and it was followed by one of still greater consequence: the number of such orders was unlimited. These several papers circulated in the colony, and supplied the want of specie till the month of October, the latest season for the sailing of ships from Canada; then all the paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange, payable in Old France by the government, which was supposed to have received the value. But those bills were so much multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treasury could no longer answer such demands, and was forced to protract the payment. The war, which broke out two years after, increased still farther the number of the bills, and they were at last prohibited. This prohibition instantly raised the price of all provisions to an immoderate height; and as the king, on account of the enormous expences of the war, was the chief consumer, he alone bore the loss arising from the discarded paper, and from the dearth of provisions, as well as of other articles. In 1759 the French ministry were obliged to stop payment of the Canada bills, which amounted to an alarming number, till their origin could be traced, and their value ascertained.

If Canada was not worthy of the immense sums bestowed upon it, the French government only was to blame. That vast region, it had long appeared, was capable of yielding prodigious crops, yet no more corn was there cultivated than what was barely sufficient for the sustenance of the inhabitants; whereas, with moderate labour, enough might have been raised to supply all the West India islands, and even some parts of Europe; especially as the crops are liable to few accidents in Canada, where the corn is sown in May, and gathered in before the end of August. If husbandry had been encouraged and extended, the number of tame animals would have been increased, in a country where there is such plenty of pasture ground and of acorns, that the colonists might have bred a sufficient quantity of black cattle and hogs to have supplied all the French islands with beef and pork;
and

and it is even possible, that these cattle might have been augmented to such a degree, as to have victualled the ships of the mother country. Sheep, which are easily bred in Canada, would have been no less advantageous to France. If their number was not considerable, it was owing to the ewes being left at all seasons with the rams; by reason of which they generally brought forth in February, when the greater part of the lambs were destroyed by the severity of the weather. This might have been prevented by a law, enjoining all farmers to part the rams from the flock from September to February. In such case the lambs dropped in May might have been reared without any expence or hazard, and Canada in a short time would have been covered with numerous flocks. Their wool, which is known to be very fine, and of a good staple, would have supplied the manufactures of Old France, instead of that which is imported from Castile and Andalusia. The nation would have been enriched by this valuable commodity; and the colony would have received in return a variety of desirable articles from the mother country.

Another and surer plan for the encouragement of industry, was the working of the iron-mines which abound in Canada. The only one that ever attracted the notice of the French lies in the neighbourhood of Trois Rivieres, where the ore was discovered near the surface of the ground. There is no mine that yields a greater quantity; and the best in Spain is not superior to it in the pliability of the metal. A smith from Europe in 1739 greatly improved the working of this mine, which hitherto had been but unskilfully managed. From that time no other iron was used in the colony; but though some excellent samples were imported, France would not be convinced that it was fit for fire-arms. A scheme however, after much irresolution, was adopted of making use of this iron, by forming a naval establishment in Canada. That vast region, as already observed, was found entirely covered with trees. The principal of these were oaks of a prodigious size, and pines of all heights. The trees when felled might have been conveyed with ease down the river St. Laurence, and the numberless streams that fall into it; but by an unaccountable neglect all these advantages were overlooked or despised. At length the court of Versailles thought proper to attend to them.

Orders were accordingly given for erecting docks at Quebec for building men of war; but unfortunately the business was trusted to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private emolument. The timber should have been felled upon the higher grounds, where the cold air and dry soil harden the wood by contracting its fibres; whereas it was constantly fetched from the marshes and the banks of rivers, where the moisture gives it a looser texture. Instead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down in rafts to the place of its destination. There being forgotten, and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moss that rotted it; and when at last landed, instead of being put under shades, it was left exposed to the sun in summer, to the snow in winter, and to the rains in spring and autumn. Even when conveyed into the dock-yards, it had to sustain the inclemency of the seasons for two or three years longer; and negligence or fraud

fraud enhanced the price of every thing to such a degree, that sails, ropes, pitch and tar were imported from Europe, at a vast expence into a country, which with a little industry might have supplied the kingdom of France with all those materials. This bad management brought the wood of Canada entirely into disrepute, and effectually ruined the resources which that colony afforded for the French navy.

Canada furnished the manufactures of the mother-country with a branch of trade that might almost be called an exclusive one; namely, the preparation of beaver in all its various forms. This commodity, as we have seen, was subjected to the oppressive restraints of a monopoly. The Canada company could not well fail to make an ill use of their too extensive privilege, and actually did so. What beaver they bought from the Indians, they paid for chiefly in English scarlet cloth, which those savages are very fond of wearing. This was one disadvantage perhaps unavoidable, and another arose from the spirit of monopoly. As the Indians found by experience that they could get twenty-five or thirty per cent. more for their commodities in the English settlements than the French traders chose to give them, they carried thither all the beaver they could conceal from the search of the company's agents. Thus did France by the abuse of an institution, which she was by no means obliged to maintain, deprive herself of the double advantage of furnishing materials for her own manufactures, and of securing a market for the produce of others.

III, however, as the fur-trade was managed, it chiefly engaged the attention of the French government; and in order to acquire a superiority over the English in this trade, the court of Versailles erected thirty-three forts at different distances from each other. The building and victualling these forts diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engaged their attention, at the same time that they exposed them to new and unnecessary dangers. The Indians could not see without uneasiness the formation of so many settlements that seemed to threaten their liberty; and, as their suspicions induced them to take up arms, the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the French Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military education rendered them hardy from their youth, and fearless of danger. The sedentary arts of peace, and the patient labours of agriculture had no attractions for such men; and the court, which is unacquainted with the sweets of rural life, turned the Canadians still more against rustic employments, by bestowing all its favours and honours upon military actions. The distinction chiefly lavished was that of nobility, which was attended with the most fatal consequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleness, but also inspired them with an unconquerable passion for every thing that was gay and splendid. The profits that ought to have been reserved for the improvement of the lands were laid out in useless ornament, and real poverty was concealed under the trappings of a destructive luxury.

Such was the state of Canada in 1747, when La Galiffoniere was appointed governor of the colony; a man of very extensive knowledge, active, resolute, ambitious, and enterprising. He beheld with concern the English of Nova Scotia extending their claims as far as the south side of the river St. Laurence; and as the

boundaries of that province had never been distinctly fixed, he determined to confine them to the peninsula originally known by the name of l'Acadie. He also suggested the scheme of uniting the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana, and of making the Apalachian mountains the limits of the English settlements in that quarter. His successor, who was appointed while he was preparing the means of accomplishing this vast design, entered warmly into his views. Numberless forts were immediately erected on all sides, in order to support the system which the court had adopted; and at this period began those hostilities between the French and English in North America, which were rather for a time countenanced, than openly avowed by the respective mother-countries. This clandestine mode of carrying on war was perfectly agreeable to the court of Versailles, as it afforded France an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without exposing her weakness, what she had lost by treaties. But before we enter on the history of that war, it will be proper to trace its more remote causes.

As early as the year 1716, Spotwood, then governor of Virginia, a man of sense and spirit, finding that the Outouais were extremely well affected towards the English government, proposed to purchase some of their lands upon the river Ohio, which waters one of the finest countries in the world, and to erect a company for opening a trade with the savages to the southward, westward, and northward of that river. This scheme was equally rational and practicable; but as it clashed with the grand projects which France had formed upon the Mississippi, and as the court of London had then reasons for keeping well with that of Versailles, the design was not only laid aside, but the French were encouraged to build the fort of Crown Point upon the territory of New York. Spotwood's scheme was, however, revived soon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; but unfortunately no care was taken to conciliate the affections of the natives, on whose friendship the success of it entirely depended. On the contrary, certain merchants of London, trading to Virginia and Maryland, having agreed with government to settle the banks of the Ohio, provided they were secured in an exclusive trade with the Indians, employed a surveyor to take plans of the country as far as the falls of that river, without once consulting its original inhabitants. The neighbouring Indians, though naturally pacific, were alarmed at such a proceeding; and their jealousy was inflamed by the French, who painted the conduct of the English in the darkest colours. Even our Indian traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania perceiving their gainful trade with the savages ready to be swallowed up by an exclusive company, co-operated with the French in obstructing its views; so that the adventurers not only lost considerable sums, but all interest in the most beautiful and fertile country in North-America.

In the meantime the French, in pursuance of their ambitious views, had erected a line of forts along the Ohio, the most considerable of which was Duquesne; and occasional stockades were established from Canada to New Orleans, and the mouth of the Mississippi. Nor was Great Britain inattentive to her interests. The town of Halifax, as we have already seen, was built and

fortified at a prodigious expence, in order to secure our possessions in Nova Scotia; and settlers were invited by the greatest encouragements to people a province so necessary for the defence of our northern colonies. The French beheld with peculiar jealousy this rising settlement; and instigated first the Indians, and afterwards their countrymen settled in Nova Scotia, commonly known by the name of the French Neutrals, to rise in open rebellion against the British government. Hostilities were at the same time commenced on the banks of the Ohio, where the French surprized Loggstown, a post established by the people of Virginia for the convenience of trade, and plundered its warehouses of skins and goods to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, under pretence that it was within the government of Canada. Not satisfied with their booty, they murdered all the English traders except two, who fortunately escaped to relate the melancholy news.

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The certainty of these and many other hostilities arriving in England, orders were sent to the governors of our colonies to drive the French from the Ohio, and every where to oppose force by force. But experience soon taught the British ministry the great superiority of their enemies, arising from the constitution of the two governments in North America. That of Canada or New France, in whose jurisdiction was also comprehended Louisiana, being moved by one spring, was capable of more vigorous efforts than the powerful but separate governments belonging to the crown of Great Britain, whose interests were often contradictory. This evil had been long complained of; and it had evidently rendered our naturally superior strength on that continent ineffectual even for our own preservation. In order to remedy so palpable a defect, two measures seemed necessary; namely, a political confederacy among all the British governments, and an alliance with the most considerable Indian nations.

As a first step towards such a confederacy, the governor of New York, attended by deputies from the other colonies, gave a meeting to the Iroquois, or as they are now commonly called, the Indians of the Six Nations, at Albany; but only a few of their chiefs attended, and it was even evident that those were greatly cooled in their affection towards the English. This change was owing to the powerful, but secret practices of the French; who had lately employed every means to corrupt the savages, at the same time that they had sent immense supplies of arms and ammunition to Canada. In order to counterwork them in their negotiations with the natives, the British colonies had voted considerable presents to the Indians in their neighbourhood, though with little effect. The Iroquois could be brought to no other declaration, except that they were willing to renew their old treaties, and to join the English in driving the French from the posts which they had usurped upon their lands.

Encouraged even by this slight assistance, the governors of Virginia and New York came to a resolution to dispatch major Washington, a provincial officer of some reputation, with a party of four hundred men to maintain the British posts upon the Ohio. Washington accordingly encamped on what are called the *Great Meadows*, where he threw up some works, and erected a kind of temporary

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fort, in hopes of being able to defend himself in that situation till he should receive a reinforcement from New York. In the mean time de Villier, the French commandant at Monongahela, sent one Jamonville with a small party to summon the English to abandon their post, which he pretended was built on the territories of France. But so little regard was paid to the intimation, that Washington and his party fell upon the detachment, as the French pretend, without the least provocation, and either slew or took the whole prisoners. Enraged at this retaliation, de Villier advanced with a body of eight hundred men, and besieged Washington in his post; but he defended himself with so much intrepidity, that notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, the French commandant offered him and his party a very honourable capitulation. Washington accepted the terms, which stipulated, that both parties should retire, the English towards Wills Creek, and the French back to Monongahela; but scarce was the capitulation signed, when a body of French and Indians appeared; and though they were prevented from dissolving it, to which they seemed violently inclined, de Villier very patiently saw them harass the English in their retreat, and even plunder their baggage.

Intelligence of these events soon reached the courts of France and England, and both nations were now sensible that a rupture would be inevitable. France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of money to Quebec, for the prosecution of her ambitious projects, and orders were sent by Great Britain to the governors of her several colonies to arm the militia, and to use their utmost endeavours to repel the incursions of the enemy. But although prepared to cut with the sword the gordian knot of a long and intricate negotiation, the two courts in the mean time breathed nothing but peace, and exchanged reciprocal professions of good-will, which deceived neither party; yet the marquis de Mirepoix, the French ambassador at the court of London, a nobleman of more than Gallic integrity, appears to have been deceived by his instructions. He believed that the declarations of his court were sincere, and seriously endeavoured to prevent a war between the two nations, by declaring that no hostilities were intended by France. Confounded, however, by the proofs produced to the contrary by the British ministry, and filled with shame and indignation, he repaired to Versailles, and upbraided the French ministry with having made him the tool of their infamous dissimulation. They referred him to the king, who ordered him to return to London with fresh assurances of his pacific intentions; but scarce had the marquis obtained an audience to communicate the professions of his sovereign, when undoubted intelligence arrived that a powerful armament was ready to sail from Brest and Rochfort.

Roused by this information, the British government immediately took the most expeditious methods of equipping a squadron; and towards the end of April 1755, admiral Boscawen sailed with eleven ships of the line, and one frigate, having on board a considerable number of land-forces, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. But more perfect intelligence being received before he left the channel, relative to the strength of the French armament, which consisted

filled of twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with a quantity of military stores, and four thousand regular troops, under the command of baron Dieckau, admiral Holborn was detached with a reinforcement of six ships to join Boicawen. The English fleet directed its course to the banks of Newfoundland, and a few days after its arrival there, the French fleet from Brest, under the command of Ambois de la Mothe, came to the same latitude, in its passage to Canada. But the thick fogs which prevail upon those coasts, especially in the spring season, prevented the two armaments from seeing each other; so that part of the French fleet made its way unperceived up the river St. Lawrence, whilst another part of it escaped through the Straits of Belleisle, and also reached the place of its destination. Two French ships, however, the Alcide and the Lys, the one of sixty-four, and the other of fifty four guns, were taken after a smart engagement by the Dunkirk and the Desiance, two sixty gun ships of the English squadron, commanded by the captains Howe and Andrews.

Though the taking of these ships, from which the commencement of the war may properly be dated, fell greatly short of the expectations formed from the expedition, it served nevertheless to animate the nation, which now plainly saw that the government was determined to keep no measures with the French, but to repel with spirit their encroachments upon the English possessions in America. Nor were the Americans wanting to themselves. The assembly of Massachusetts Bay had passed an act prohibiting all intercourse with the French at Louisbourg; and early in the spring they raised a body of troops which they sent to the assistance of Mr. Laurence, governor of Nova Scotia, in order to enable him to complete the execution of a plan which he had formed of driving the French from the posts which they had usurped in that province. The French had foreseen this attempt, and had made preparations, though ineffectually, at Beau-sejour, to resist it. That fort was reduced after four days bombardment, by a detachment of regulars and provincials under lieutenant-colonel Monkton: the garrison, consisting of about an hundred and fifty regulars, was sent to Louisbourg, on condition of not bearing arms in America during the space of six months; and three hundred Acadians, or French Neutrals, also found in the place, were pardoned on a supposition of their having been forced to bear arms against Great Britain.

After putting a garrison into Beau sejour, the name of which he changed to that of Cumberland, colonel Monkton reduced another French fort upon the river Gaspereau, which runs into Bay Verte. Here he found a large quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds, this being the chief magazine for supplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries. In consequence of these advantages, fifteen thousand of the Acadians were disarmed; and captain Rous, who had been appointed to facilitate the operations by sea, sailed with three twenty gun ships and a sloop to examine St. John's river. There he found a French fort newly erected, which he was preparing to attack, when the garrison saved him the trouble of reducing it by bursting their cannon, blowing up their magazine, and destroying the works as far as

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their hasty retreat would permit. In all this expedition, which effectually secured the tranquillity of Nova Scotia, the English had but twenty men killed, and about an equal number wounded.

The British arms were less successful in other quarters. While the New England forces were employed in reducing the French in Nova Scotia, preparations had been made in Virginia for attacking them on the Ohio. The conduct of this expedition was committed to major-general Braddock, who sailed from Corke in Ireland with two regiments of foot, and landed in America before the end of February. Braddock himself, as well as the nation, was sensible that the success of his operations depended chiefly on his being able to take the field early in the spring; but when he arrived in Virginia, he found that the contractors with the government had neither provided a sufficient quantity of provisions for his troops, nor a competent number of carriages for the army with which he expected to begin his march. The general, who was naturally haughty, positive, and difficult of access, qualities ill suited to the temper of the people among whom he was to command, seems to have been rendered desperate by this disappointment; and he took little care to conceal his resentment against the provincials, whom he likewise held in contempt, because they could not go through their military exercise with the same dexterity and regularity as a regiment of guards in Hyde Park, the scene to which his experience in the art of war had hitherto been chiefly confined. Alas! he little knew the difference between the punctilios of a review and an American expedition through woods, wilds, and morasses.

Being at last supplied with provisions and carriages by some private gentlemen of Pennsylvania, Braddock set out on his march, and passed the Apalachian mountains at the head of two thousand two hundred men. This was a considerable force; but the general's conceit in his own abilities made him disdain to ask the opinion of any one under his command; and the Indians, who would have been his best guides, as well as safest guards, against the danger of a surprize, were so much disgusted with his imperious behaviour, that most of them forsook his standards before he reached the Meadows, where Washington had capitulated the year before. There he was informed that the French at fort Du Queine, which was his first object, expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops. On this advice, that he might march with the greater dispatch, he left his baggage, with about eight hundred men, under the command of colonel Dunbar, with orders to follow him as expeditiously as the nature of the service would permit; and with the main body of the army, twelve pieces of cannon, and the necessary ammunition and provisions, he advanced towards fort Du Queine with such expedition, that he seldom took care to reconnoitre the woods and thickets through which he was to pass. On the eighth of July he encamped within ten miles of that place; and though colonel Dunbar was near forty miles behind him, and though Sir Peter Halket, a brave, but prudent officer, entreated the general to proceed with caution, and intimated, that it was not even then too late to employ such friendly Indians as remained in reconnoitring the woods and defiles, he rejected the advice with disdain, as favouring of pusillanimity, and boldly continued his march the

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Next day, without so much as endeavouring to get any intelligence of the situation or disposition of the enemy.

While Braddock was advancing at the head of his little army with this careless confidence, altogether inexcusable in a commander in chief, he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, so artfully planted that they could do execution without being themselves exposed to any danger. About noon a general fire began upon the front and left flank of the English army, which was by this time in the middle of the defile, where the ambush had been laid with so much caution, that not a man of the enemy was to be seen, while they could take an unerring aim from behind the trees and bushes. The English van-guard fell immediately back upon the centre; and the whole army being seized with a panick from the unusual appearance and horrid cries of the savages, the terror and confusion, especially of the regulars, became instantly general, and a total rout ensued. Braddock himself was only left surrounded by his officers and a few brave men who endeavoured in vain to stop the flight, or to engage an enemy whom they could not see. His intrepidity and imprudence were alike conspicuous on this occasion. Instead of attempting a retreat, or bringing up his cannon to scour the woods and bushes with grape-shot, he obstinately continued upon the field, and gave orders to the gallant officers and soldiers who remained about him, to form in regular platoons against the invisible enemy, whose every shot did execution, especially on the officers, who were known by their dress. At length the general, whose obstinacy seemed only to encrease with the danger, after having five horses shot under him, was mortally wounded in the breast by a musket-bullet. Sir Peter Halket, and several other officers of distinction, with about seven hundred private men also were slain.

It is remarkable that the Virginians, and other provincial troops, who were in this action, and whom Braddock, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, far from being affected with the panick that had disordered the regulars, offered to advance against the enemy, till the others could form and bring up the artillery; but the terror of the latter was so great, that they never stopped their flight till they met the rear-division, which was advancing under colonel Dunbar. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and papers of the principal division under Braddock fell into the hands of the enemy, together with his own cabinet, and all his letters and instructions, of which the French court afterwards made great use in their printed memorials and manifestoes. Though no enemy pursued, the whole army retreated to Fort Cumberland near Will's Creek, in the back country of Virginia. There it was expected that the shattered remains of the army would have continued during the rest of the summer; but general Shirley, on whom the chief command had devolved, in consequence of the death of Braddock, ordered all the troops fit for service to march to Albany, in the province of New York, by which means Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were left, during the remainder of the year, exposed to the barbarous incursions of the French and their scalping Indians.

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These colonies were able to have provided effectually for their own defence, had they been unanimous in their councils; but the usual disputes between their governors and assemblies defeated every salutary plan that was proposed. The northern colonies were more unanimous, and more active in their preparations for war. New York and New Jersey following the example of New England, prohibited all intercourse with the French settlements in North America, at the same time that their assemblies voted very considerable supplies; and two expeditions, one against the French fort at Crown Point, and the other against that at Niagara, were unanimously resolved upon. The former of these expeditions was committed to the care of Sir William Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohawk river, in the western parts of New York, where he had acquired a considerable estate, and was universally beloved not only by the inhabitants, but also by the neighbouring Indians, whose language he had learned, and whose affections he had gained by his humanity and affability. The expedition against Niagara was conducted by Shirley in person.

Albany was appointed as the rendezvous for both these expeditions, and most of the troops arrived there before the end of June; but by reason of the delay of the artillery, provisions, and other necessaries for the attempt upon Crown Point, general Johnson could not set out before the end of August, when he began his march at the head of an army of between five and six thousand men, besides Indians. After advancing a considerable way, he chose a strong camp, defended on its flanks by swamps, in its rear by lake George, and in its front by a breast-work of trees, cut down for the purpose. Here he determined to wait for his batteaux, in order to proceed to Ticonderoga, a strong pass at the other end of the lake, which when taken would open his way to Crown Point, from which it is only distant about fifteen miles. While in this situation he was informed by his Indian scouts that a considerable number of the enemy were on their march from Ticonderoga towards the fortified encampment, since known by the name of Fort Edward, in which four or five hundred of the New Hampshire and New York Militia had been left as a garrison. On this intelligence, and some further advices, a council of war was called, in which it was unadvisedly resolved to detach a thousand men, accompanied with a party of Indians, in order to intercept the enemy, on a supposition of their retreat, although their number was not known. Before that detachment, which was commanded by colonel Williams, had been gone two hours, a close firing was heard in the camp, seemingly at three or four miles distance; and as it approached nearer and nearer, the general rightly judged that the detachment was overpowered, and retreating towards the main body. This conjecture was soon confirmed by some fugitives, and immediately after by whole companies, who arrived at the camp in the utmost terror and confusion. The enemy next appeared, marching in regular order up to the very centre of the entrenchment, where the consternation was so great, that if they had instantly attacked the breast-work, they might probably have thrown the whole army into disorder, and have gained an easy victory.

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Fortunately, however, for the English, the French halted at the distance of about an hundred and fifty yards, whence they begun their attack with platoon-firing, which was able to do little or no execution upon troops defended by a strong breast-work; whereas the English plied their great guns and musketry so warmly, that the central body of the French regulars, who were all picked men, began to flag in their fire, while the Canadians and Indians, who formed the flanks of the army, fled into the woods, and squatted below bushes, or skulked behind trees. Baron Dieckau, who commanded the French army, being now left alone with his shattered regulars, varied in his dispositions. Finding he could make no impression upon the centre of the English entrenchments, he made two unsuccessful attacks, one on the right, the other on the left of the camp, and obstinately persevered in his purpose of forcing a passage from mid-day till four in the afternoon, when his fire became so feeble, that the English and their Indian allies, without waiting for orders, jumped over the breast-work, and completed the rout of their enemies. After slaughtering great numbers, and entirely dispersing the rest, they took prisoner Dieckau himself, whom they found leaning against a tree. That general died a few days after of the wounds which he had received in the engagement, which though decisive in favour of the English, was followed by no extraordinary consequences, as Sir William Johnson neglected to pursue his victory, and it was thought too late in the season to proceed to the attack upon Crown Point.

We must now return to general Shirley's expedition against Niagara. The conferring of so important a command upon this gentleman, who is said to have been bred to the law, and who had never exhibited any striking specimens of his abilities either in a civil or military capacity, created much speculation, and damped the spirit of the troops. The public apprehensions were but too well justified by the event. The success of this expedition, like that of all others in North America, depended chiefly on the army's taking the field early in the spring. Shirley's march to Niagara was by Oswego, whose importance we have already had occasion to mention, and which lies almost three hundred miles due west from Albany. That long and dangerous march increased the necessity of an early campaign; but colonel Schuyler's New Jersey regiment did not take the field till the beginning of July, and when Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments, with the allied Indians were preparing to follow them, the melancholy news of Braddock's defeat arrived at Albany. The influence of this intelligence on the spirits of the troops is altogether inconceivable: a general damp hung over the whole; terror communicated itself from rank to rank, and great numbers deserted; so that when Shirley arrived at Oswego, he had scarcely the appearance of an army, in place of a force sufficient not only to secure the British settlements in those parts, but to undertake the reduction of Niagara. As a farther discouragement, the bateau men refused to proceed, without whom it was impossible to convey the necessary provisions for the troops; and the Iroquois, on whose assistance Shirley had laid great stress, were so far from joining him, that

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they absolutely declared against all hostilities on that side of the country, as tending to disturb their peace and commerce.

On account of these untoward circumstances, and the advanced season of the year, it was resolved in a council of war held at Oswego, that it was necessary to defer the attempt upon Niagara till the return of spring; and that in the mean time the troops should be employed in building barracks, and erecting two new forts, one on the east side of the river Onondago, four hundred and fifty yards distant from Oswego, which was to be called Ontario Fort, and the other four hundred and fifty yards to the west of the old fort, to be called Oswego New Fort. These things being settled, and the two forts marked out, rather than built, general Shirley, with the greater part of the troops under his command, set out on his return to Albany on the 24th of October, leaving colonel Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of only seven hundred men, though repeated advice had been received that the French had then at Fort Frontinac, upon the same lake, a vastly superior force. To complete the melancholy situation of colonel Mercer, he was ordered to employ his little garrison in finishing the new forts; and, if besieged by the enemy during the winter, it would be impossible for his friends to come to his assistance, or for men exhausted by hard labour to make the requisite defence.

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Such was the unfortunate issue of the campaign in 1755; nor was that of the following year more for the honour of the British arms, though high expectations of success were formed from the measures taken by the ministry. They were sensible of the mistakes that had been committed in the service; and as it appeared that certain private discontents lurked in the minds of the chief Provincials, a resolution was taken to throw the weight of the war upon the mother-country. Orders were accordingly issued for raising in North America four battalions of regulars, consisting of a thousand men each. General Shirley was dismissed from his military command, in which he was succeeded by general Abercrombie, and the chief command over all the forces in North America was conferred on the earl of Loudon. Besides this command, his lordship was made governor of Virginia, and colonel of the royal American regiment, composed of the four battalions already mentioned, which were to be disciplined by officers of experience. In this high character his lordship embarked for North America towards the latter end of May.

By that time the colonists seeing the mother-country determined to support them effectually, had brought a formidable force into the field; and general Abercrombie, who arrived at Albany on the 5th of June, took upon him the command of the forces there assembled. They consisted of two regiments that had served under Braddock, two battalions raised in America, two regiments which he had carried with him from England, four independent companies belonging to New York, the New Jersey regiment, a considerable body of troops raised by the New England provinces, and four companies levied in North Carolina. The other colonies towards the south, namely Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia had suffered, and were still so much exposed to the ravages of the French and Indians, that it was with the utmost difficulty that they could defend themselves; and the proportion

of negro slaves above the number of whites in South Carolina was so great, that the assembly judged it inconsistent with the safety of the province to spare any reinforcement for the general enterprize. The plan of that undertaking, or rather of the campaign, was to reduce Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new posts upon the Ohio; to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, that the frontier of New York might be delivered from the danger of an invasion, and Great Britain acquire the command of Lake Champlain, over which forces might be transported in any future attempt; to besiege Fort Du Quesne, and to detach a body of troops by the river Quenebec, to alarm the capital of Canada itself.

This plan of operations was promising, and by no means impracticable even with the troops that were in readiness; but as general Abercrombie postponed the execution of any important enterprize till the arrival of lord Loudon, which proved too late in the year to effect any thing of consequence, another campaign was lost by Great Britain through neglect and procrastination, while time was afforded the enemy not only to take their precautions at leisure against any subsequent attack, but to proceed unmolested in distressing the English settlements. They reduced a small post, and massacred a party of twenty-five men who defended it, in the country of the Six Nations; and soon after this barbarity they formed an ambuscade among the woods and thickets on the north side of the river Onondago, in order to cut off a convoy of provisions and stores destined for the garrison of Oswego. The convoy had fortunately passed before their arrival; but they resolved to wait the return of the detachment, which was commanded by colonel Bradstreet. Their design, however, was prevented by the vigilance and valour of that officer. He expected such an attempt, and had taken his measures accordingly. Having formed his bateaux into three divisions, in which order they were stemming the stream of the Onondago, he was saluted with the Indian war-whoop, and a general discharge of musketry from the north shore. He immediately ordered his men to land on the opposite bank, and took possession of a small island, where he was suddenly attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpose. This party he soon repulsed; and two others, who had passed the river higher up, were also defeated with great slaughter. In a word, the whole French detachment, amounting to seven hundred men, would certainly have been destroyed, had not a heavy rain prevented colonel Bradstreet from following his blow, by swelling the rivulets to such a degree as made it impracticable to pursue the enemy. Or this there was the more certainty, as he was joined the same evening by captain Patten, with a party of grenadiers, in his march to Oswego, and was reinforced next morning by two hundred men, detached to his assistance from the garrison of that fort.

Patten and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oswego, while Bradstreet proceeded to Albany, and communicated to general Abercrombie the intelligence which he had received from his prisoners; intimating that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the eastern side of the Lake Ontario, provided with

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artillery and all other necessaries, for the reduction of Oswego and the neighbouring forts. The garrison of these forts now amounted to fourteen hundred soldiers, besides three hundred sailors and workmen; but these not being thought sufficient, major general Webb was ordered to march with a regiment to their assistance. Unfortunately before his departure the earl of Loudon arrived at Albany; a circumstance which was productive of new resolutions and new delays. The province of New York, and the northern governments, though they did not absolutely oppose the relief of Oswego, were peculiarly clamorous for the reduction of Crown Point, and the security of their own frontiers, which they apprehended to be connected with this conquest. They insisted that some regiments of regulars should join general Winslow, who was ready to march against that fort, at the head of seven thousand Provincials; and they further stipulated, that a body of militia should be left at Albany, in order to cover New York, lest Winslow should be defeated, or fail in his attempt.

In consequence of these various obstructions, general Webb did not begin his march from Albany for the relief of Oswego before the middle of August. Meanwhile the marquis de Vaudreuil had been appointed to the government of Canada, and the marquis de Montcalm had succeeded Dieskau in the command of the troops, as major general under Vaudreuil. Montcalm, who possessed a true military genius, was entrusted with the conduct of the enterprise against Oswego. For this purpose he was furnished with a body of thirteen hundred regulars, seventeen hundred Canadians, and a considerable but uncertain number of Indian auxiliaries. The particulars of the siege are too uninteresting to merit a circumstantial detail: it will, therefore, be sufficient to observe, that the outposts being taken, and colonel Mercer killed, the garrison of Oswego surrendered themselves prisoners of war; that general Webb received intelligence of this event in sufficient time to retreat without disturbance, and that the earl of Loudon found the season too far advanced to undertake any expedition against the enemy. He exerted all his endeavours, however, in making preparations for an early campaign in the spring; in securing the frontiers of the English colonies; in concerting an uniform plan of action, and promoting a spirit of harmony among the different governments. An alliance was at the same time formed by the governor of Pennsylvania with the Delaware Indians, a powerful tribe that now dwell chiefly on the river Susquehannah; and the governor of Virginia secured the friendship of the Cherokees and Catawbas, two considerable nations, whom we have frequently had occasion to mention, and who were then able to bring three thousand fighting men into the field.

All these circumstances considered, Great Britain had reason to expect that the ensuing campaign would be vigorously prosecuted in America; especially as a fresh reinforcement of troops, with a vast supply of warlike stores, was sent to that continent in fourteen transports under convoy of two ships of war, about the beginning of November: but the hopes of the nation, notwithstanding the greatness of its armaments, were disappointed in a manner no less shameful than in the two preceding summers. The attack upon Crown Point, which had been

so long meditated, was laid aside for an expedition against Louisburg. Lord Loudon, who was to command the land-forces, left New York on the 10th of July, with a body of six thousand men, and sailed for Halifax, where he was joined by admiral Holbourn with a considerable fleet, and nearly the same number of land-forces; but when the united fleets and armies were on the point of departing for Cape Breton, news arrived at Halifax that the British fleet, consisting of seventeen ships of the line, besides frigates, with vast supplies of military stores, provisions, and troops, were arrived at Louisburg. This intelligence immediately suspended the preparations, and damped the ardour of the British officers: councils of war were held one after another; and the result of the whole was, that as the place which had been the object of their enterprize, was so strongly reinforced, the French fleet rather superior to the English, and the season of the year so far advanced, it was more advisable to defer the undertaking to a further opportunity.

Thus terminated the expedition against Louisburg, from which so much had been expected, and which was so inglorious to the British arms, as well as disgraceful to the spirit of the British officers. But these were not the worst consequences which attended it. Since the taking of Oswego the French had remained entire masters of all the lakes; nor could our forces prevent their collecting the Indians from all parts, and obliging them to act in their favour. The misfortunes of the two former campaigns seemed to have carried terror to every heart. The country of the Six Nations, the only body of Indians who preserved even the appearance of friendship to Great Britain, was abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; our forts at the Great Carrying place were demolished, and Wood's Creek was industriously stopped up, in consequence of which all communication with our Indian allies was wholly cut off; and what was still worse, our whole frontier lay perfectly uncovered to the irruptions of the French and their desolating savages, who destroyed with fire and sword all the fine settlements which we possessed on the Mohawk River, as well as on the grounds called the German Flats.

Animated by these successes, and flushed with the destruction of an English detachment under the command of colonel Parker, the French were impatient to distinguish the campaign by some important blow; and the marquis de Montcalm no sooner learned that lord Loudon, with the body of the English forces, had left New York, than he determined to take advantage of his absence, and to humour the ardour of his troops by laying siege to Fort William Henry. That fort had been built on the southern side of Lake George, in order to cover the frontier of the British settlements, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, and the place was defended by a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by colonel Monro. Nor were those its only security: an army of four thousand men, under the conduct of general Webb, was posted at no great distance. The French forces, collected from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Indians and Canadians, amounted in the whole to near ten thousand men. With these and a

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of artillery Montcalm advanced towards the English fort, while general Webb beheld his approaches with an indifference and security bordering on insatiation. It is credibly affirmed that he had private intelligence of all the marquis's designs and motions, yet either despising the strength of the French general, or discrediting the information, he gave no orders in time for collecting the militia, which, in conjunction with his own forces and those in garrison, must either have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the enterprise, or have rendered his attempt very doubtful and hazardous: whereas the enemy meeting with no disturbance from the quarter whence they dreaded it most, prosecuted the siege with vigour; and though they were resolutely opposed by the garrison, which fired with great spirit till they had burst almost all their cannon, and entirely spent their ammunition, they were at last obliged to surrender, as general Webb made no attempt to relieve them. It was agreed that they should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessaries of war; but whatever might be the intention of the marquis de Montcalm, it is certain that the savages in the French interest paid no regard to the capitulation. On the contrary, they fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, scalping, tomahawking, and acting every species of barbarity known among the savages of North America:—and what is yet more extraordinary, and what it is to be hoped posterity will not credit, two thousand Englishmen, with arms in their hands, remained tame spectators of these insults on humanity!—The greater part of the garrison however escaped, though in a miserable condition, to Fort Edward, after being pursued for seven miles by a disorderly savage rabble; and the rest flying for protection to the French general, were by him sent home safe.

In this disgraceful manner ended the third campaign of the late war in America; where, with an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, Great Britain not only failed in acquiring any advantage, but abandoned a valuable tract of country to an inferior enemy, and suffered her own people, as well as her allies, to be cruelly massacred by a herd of undisciplined barbarians. But the spirit of the nation, instead of being broken, seemed only to be roused by so many misfortunes. The officers were indefatigable during the winter in disciplining their troops, exercising them in the woods, and teaching them to fight after the Indian manner; and in the spring about fifty thousand men were assembled, of which number twenty-two thousand were regulars, in order to dispute with France the empire of the northern part of the continent of the New World.

As lord Loudon had returned to England on account of some dissatisfactions in regard to the conduct of the war, the chief command in America devolved upon general Abercrombie; but the objects of operation being various, the forces were divided into three separate bodies, under as many different com-

* After demolishing the fort, carrying off the artillery and provisions, and destroying the vessels on the lake, the enemy retired, without further prosecuting their success.

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landers. About twelve thousand were destined to undertake the siege of Louisbourg; near sixteen thousand, under Abercrombie himself, were reserved for the reduction of Crown Point; and eight thousand, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes were appointed to attack Fort Du Quebec. The reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape Breton, being an object of immediate concern, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major general Amherst, who commanded the land-forces, being joined by admiral Boscawen with a fleet and about two thousand troops from England, the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven ships, set sail from the harbour of Halifax on the 28th of May; and on the second day of June the greater part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, a few miles to the west of Louisbourg. The garrison of that place, commanded by the chevalier de Drucourt, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, and six hundred militia, including three-score Indians. The harbour was secured by three ships of the line and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the port, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The fortifications were in a bad condition, because the sea sand, which the French had been obliged to use, is by no means fit for works of masonry. Several parts of the curtains were entirely crumbled away, and only one casemate and a small magazine were bomb-proof. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts along the most accessible parts of the beach, where entrenchments were thrown up and batteries erected. Some intermediate spaces, however, could not be properly secured, and at one of those the English troops were disembarked.

The place chosen for this purpose, was the creek of Cormoran, and the troops were disposed for landing in three divisions. That on the left was commanded by brigadier general Wolfe, an officer every way accomplished, and who was destined for the real attack. The other two divisions, commanded by the brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, were intended for feigned descents, in order to divert the enemy's attention, and weaken their defence by dividing their efforts. When the fire from some sloops and frigates, which had been ordered to scour the beach with their shot, had continued about a quarter of an hour, general Wolfe's division moved towards the land. The enemy reserved their shot until the boats were near the shore, and then directed the whole fire of their cannon and musquetry upon them. The surf aided their fire. Many of the boats were overlet, and many broken in pieces. The men leapt into the water with the greatest ardour and alacrity; some were killed, and some drowned; but the rest, encouraged and supported by the example and conduct of their truly gallant commander, gained the shore, formed upon the beach, and drove the enemy from their entrenchments*. This post being gained, the central division of the English armament

* This account of general Wolfe's celebrated landing at Louisbourg is conformable to the most accurate English informations on the subject; but the abbé Raynal, who may be supposed to have had his intelligence from some French officers present on that occasion, places the matter in a different

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armament moved towards the left, and the right followed the centre; so that the landing was completed, though not without much time and trouble, in excellent order, and with little loss.

As soon as the artillery and stores could be brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested, and the French governor having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-posts, made every preparation for a vigorous defence. The first thing attempted by the besiegers was to secure a post called the Light house-battery. This service was performed by general Wolfe with his usual vigour and celerity; and on that eminence were erected several batteries, which played upon the ships and the fortifications on the other side of the harbour. By the 25th of June the island battery was silenced, but the ships continued to play upon the besiegers, and to obstruct their approaches till the 21st of the following month, when one of them blew up, and the fire being communicated to two others, they also were consumed to the water's edge. This was a loss not to be repaired; and though the fire from the town had been managed with great skill and activity, the approaches now drew near the covered way, and several practicable breaches were made. The houses were consumed to the ground in many places, and the works had suffered much in all; but as the enemy still delayed to surrender, the admiral, who during the whole siege had done every thing possible to second the efforts of the land forces, resolved to send a detachment of six hundred seamen in boats to take or burn the two remaining ships of the line, which still kept possession of the harbour. This resolution was not more wisely taken than gallantly and successfully executed by Laforey and Balfour, two young captains, who, in spite of a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry, boarded those two

serent light, though no less honourable to the English general. "The French," says he, "had fortified the landing-place with a good parapet, planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had posted two thousand excellent soldiers, and some Indians. In front they had made such a close hedge with branches of trees as would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. That kind of palisade which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a distance to be nothing more than a verdant plain:—"and he insinuates that if the English had been suffered to complete their landing, and to advance with confidence, that the attempt must have been defeated. "But the English," adds he, "had scarce begun to move towards the shore, when their enemies hastened to discover the snare they had laid for them. By the brisk and hasty fire that was aimed at their boats, and still more by the premature removal of the boughs that masked the French forces, the English guessed at the danger on which they were rushing. They immediately turned back, and resolved to effect their landing at a rock a little distant, which had always been deemed inaccessible. General Wolfe, though much occupied in re-embarking his troops, gave the signal to major Scot to repair thither. That officer immediately hastened to the spot with his men; and his own boat arriving first, and sinking at the very instant he was stepping out of it, he clambered up the rock alone, in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men, who had been dispatched to that place some time before. He found only ten, but with these he gained the summit of the rock. Ten Indians and sixty French men, who were ready to oppose him, killed two of his small party, and mortally wounded three. With the remaining five he fixed his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardless of the boisterous waves, and the fire of the cannon, came up to his assistance, and put him in full possession of that important post, the only one that could secure the landing of the army." Hist. Brit. vol. vii.

ships

ships sword in hand; destroyed the one, which was a-ground, and towed off the other in triumph. This blow was decisive; the garrison fearing an assault, surrendered themselves next day prisoners of war, and the whole island shared the fate of the capital. With Louisburg fell the island of St. John, and whatever inferior stations the French had for carrying on the cod-fishery towards the Gulf of St. Laurence.

The loss of Cape Breton was severely felt by France, especially as it had been attended with the destruction of so considerable a naval force; but the joy and satisfaction occasioned by that event, which had at first been excessive in England, was soon allayed by the disaster which befel the British forces in America, under the command of general Abercrombie. In consequence of his design of driving the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, he had embarked upon Lake George, with near sixteen thousand troops, and a numerous train of artillery, on the sixth of July; and after a prosperous navigation, arrived next day at the place where it had been proposed to make the landing. The troops were disembarked without opposition. The enemy's advanced guards fled at their approach, and they proceeded in four columns towards Ticonderoga. As the country through which their march lay is difficult and woody, and the guides who conducted the march in this unknown country were very unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken. While they proceeded in this alarming disorder, the French detachment, which had fled before them, was bewildered in the same manner, and in the same disorder fell in with the British forces. A skirmish ensued, in which the enemy were quickly routed, with the loss of near three hundred men; but that advantage was unfortunately bought with the death of the gallant lord Howe, a young nobleman of the most promising military talents, and who had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, affability, and engaging manners, no less than by his distinguished valour. This misfortune excepted, the English army proceeded successfully till it reached Ticonderoga; which is situated on a tongue of land between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. That important post, which is on three sides surrounded with water, and on the fourth secured by a morass, was strongly fortified and defended by near five thousand men. These were stationed under the cannon of the fort, behind entrenchments formed with the trunks of trees heaped one upon another, at the same time that large trees, extending to the distance of an hundred yards, were laid in front, with their branches outmost, some of which were cut and sharpened so as to answer the purpose of chevaux-de-frize. The general caused the works to be reconnoitred, and received to favourable a report of their weakness, that it appeared practicable to force them by mulqueetry alone. In consequence of this fallacious report, a fatal resolution was taken: it was determined not to wait the arrival of the artillery, which, on account of the badness of the ground, could not be easily brought up, but to attack the enemy without loss of time; and in this rash resolution the general was confirmed by a rumour, that a body of three thousand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi to make a diversion on the side of the

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Mohawk River, were on their march to join the French at Ticonderoga, and would shortly arrive to reinforce that garrison. A disposition was therefore made for the assault, and the whole army was put in motion. The troops advanced with the greatest alacrity; but the strength of the enemy's lines, which had been so little foreseen, was soon too severely felt. The English however sustained a terrible fire without flinching, and endeavoured to cut their way through every embarrassment with their swords; but they suffered so much in their approaches, and made so little impression upon the enemy's intrenchments, that the general seeing this unavailing, and obstinate efforts fail of success, after being upwards of four hours exposed to the destructive rage of the French artillery and musquetry, thought it necessary to order a retreat, to save the remains of his army. Near two thousand men, including a great number of officers, were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and this precipitant attack was followed by a retreat equally hasty, insomuch that the British forces gained their former camp on the southern side of Lake George the evening after the action.

In order to repair the disgrace of this bloody defeat, general Abercrombie detached colonel Bradstreet with a body of three thousand men, chiefly Provincials, against Fort Frontinac. The colonel with great prudence and valour surmounting every difficulty, brought his little army to Oswego, where he embarked on the Lake Ontario, and arrived at the object of his enterprize by the 23th of August. Fort Frontinac stands at the communication of Lake Ontario with the river St. Laurence, the entrance into which river it in some measure commands. For a post of such moment, however, it was poorly fortified, and feebly garrisoned: it surrendered at discretion on the appearance of colonel Bradstreet, who found there an immense quantity of merchandise and provisions, sixty pieces of cannon, and nine armed sloops, which were destroyed. The fortifications were demolished, contrary to the opinion of some officers, who thought that so advantageous a post ought to have been retained, and strongly garrisoned.

In all probability the success of colonel Bradstreet facilitated the expedition under general Forbes against Fort Du Quesne. This officer began his march at the head of eight thousand men from Philadelphia about the beginning of July, through a prodigious tract of country very little known, and almost impracticable, by reason of woods, mountains, and morasses. He made his way, however, by the most incredible exertions of industry, procured provisions, secured camps, and surmounted many other difficulties in his tedious progress, though continually harassed by parties of hostile Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, distant about fourscore miles from Fort Du Quesne, the general detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the object of his enterprize. The major's approach was unfortunately discovered by the enemy, who sent a body of troops against him sufficient to surround his whole detachment. A violent combat ensued, which was maintained by the English with the greatest courage for upwards of three hours; but being at length overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way. About three hundred men were killed or taken prisoners, among the last of whom was major Grant,

and nineteen other officers. This mortifying check did not prevent general Forbes from advancing with the main body; but the enemy dreading the prospect of a siege, deprived him of the pleasure of revenge, by abandoning the fort, and retiring down the Ohio to his settlements on the Mississippi. The British standard was erected on the spot, which had been the cause of so general and so destructive a war, on the 20th day of November, upwards of three years after the commencement of the contest; and the name of Pittsburg was given to the fort, in honour of the minister under whose auspices it had been taken.

The campaign of 1758, in which the British arms began to recover their lustre in North America, notwithstanding the unfortunate attack on Ticonderoga, was happily closed by a grand assembly, held at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia, where a formal treaty was entered into between Great Britain and the Indians inhabiting that vast tract of country which lies between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, assisted by Sir William Johnson, the soul of all our transactions with the savages, who officiated in the character of agent for Indian affairs on the part of Great Britain; four members of the council of Pennsylvania, and two of the assembly; two agents for the province of New Jersey, with a great number of planters and citizens of Philadelphia. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tutcaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys; of the Tutloes, Chugnuts, Delawares, and Unamies; of the Mininks, Mohicons, and Wappingers; the whole numbers, women and children included, amounting to about five hundred. The subject of the conferences, similar to others which we have had occasion to mention, consisted chiefly of complaints against encroachments made by the English, and disputes among the savages themselves concerning their boundaries. The precision with which the Indian deputies treated was truly wonderful. They required satisfaction for, and made mention of every life their country had lost, as well as of the smallest damage they had sustained. The British plenipotentiaries had prudence and temper enough to listen with patience to all their complaints, and promised redress of all their grievances; so that they departed seemingly satisfied, and with a hearty detestation of the French.

This treaty with the Indians prepared the way for the ensuing campaign, which was planned in the following manner. It was proposed to attack the French in all their strongholds at once; that general Wolfe, who had distinguished himself so eminently at the siege of Louisburg, should proceed up the river St. Lawrence with a body of eight thousand men, and a considerable fleet from England, in order to undertake the siege of Quebec; that general Amherst, who was now commander in chief of the British forces in America, should march with an army of twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, cross Lake Champlain, and proceeding by the way of Richlieu river to the banks of the St. Lawrence, join general Wolfe in his attempt upon the capital of Canada; that brigadier-general Prideaux with a third body, reinforced by a party of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and under the command of Sir William Johnson,

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should invest the important fortrefs of Niagara, which in a manner commands the interior parts of the northern division of the New World. It was further proposed, that the same troops, after the reduction of Niagara, should embark on the Lake Ontario; fall down the river St. Laurence; besiege and take Montreal, then join or co-operate with the army under Amherst: and besides these three grand divisions, colonel Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment for reducing inferior posts, and scouring the banks of the Lake Ontario.

Such were the dispositions of the British forces: let us now take a view of those of France. Vaudreuil, then governor general of Canada, with a body of five thousand men, lay in the neighbourhood of Montreal; Montcalm, whose reputation was now high in the military world, commanded a body of ten thousand regulars and Canadian militia, not inferior to the best European troops; and M. de Levi was at the head of a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and passes. The garrison of Niagara consisted of at least six hundred men; the city of Quebec, naturally strong from its situation, the bravery of its inhabitants, and the number of its garrison, had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it; besides, scarce any British sailor could pretend to be acquainted with the navigation of the river St. Laurence, which the French had industriously kept a secret, and represented as extremely difficult and dangerous. All these obstacles and inconveniencies were however surmounted.

The army under general Amherst was first in motion, but the season was far advanced before he could pass Lake George. He thence proceeded with little opposition from the enemy to Ticonderoga, so fatal to the British troops in the former campaign. The French seemed at first determined to defend the place; but perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege, and having besides orders to retreat from place to place towards the centre of operations, rather than run the hazard of being made prisoners of war, they abandoned the fortifications in the night, and retired to Crow Point. General Amherst no sooner found himself in possession of Ticonderoga, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York at the same time that it secured Lake George and a safe retreat to himself in case of necessity, than he ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for their defence. But this acquisition was not made without loss: the brave and accomplished colonel Townshend was killed by a cannon-shot, as he was reconnoitring the fort. His untimely fate was compared with that of lord Howe, who had fallen near the same place the year before, and whom he strongly resembled in the circumstances of birth, age, and character.

When the English general was employed in superintending the repairs of Ticonderoga, he received information from his scouting parties that the enemy had retreated beyond Crown Point. To that place he immediately repaired, and there he laid the foundation of a new fort for bridling the cruelties of the natives, as well as for securing the British settlements in that part of the country from the incurable ravages of the French. Here he received intelligence that the enemy had retired to

Isle aux Noix, at the other end of Lake Champlain; that their force consisted of three thousand five hundred effective men, under the command of M. de Bourlemaque, with a numerous train of artillery; that the lake was occupied by four large armed vessels, manned with the piquets of different regiments, commanded by M. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, M. de Regal, and other sea officers. In consequence of this information, general Amherst, who had before resolved to acquire the command of the lake, ordered a sloop to be built with all expedition, capable of carrying sixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, carrying six great cannon. With these and a brigantine, which were finished by the 11th of October, he destroyed two of the enemy's largest vessels, and took one; but the advanced season of the year obliged him to postpone his operations, and to return to Crown Point, where the troops were soon after disposed in winter-quarters.

Few commanders were ever in a more singular situation than that in which Amherst now saw himself. Though his success was considerable, he had found it impossible to attain the great object of the campaign, a junction with general Wolfe. During the whole summer he had not received the least intelligence of the operations of the army under that officer, except a few obscure and discouraging hints of his having landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where Montcalm intended to give him battle with the whole force of Canada. Happily he was not so ignorant of the fate of the expedition against Niagara, an account of the success of which he had received before he left Ticonderoga, and had detached brigadier general Gage to assume the command of the troops in place of general Prideaux, who was unfortunately killed in reconnoitring the fort, to which he had been suffered to advance without the least opposition.

In the meantime the conduct of the expedition devolved upon Sir William Johnson, who prosecuted with vigour the plan of his predecessor. Before general Gage could arrive, he had performed wonders. He pushed on the siege of Niagara with so much alacrity, that in a few days the English had brought their approaches within a hundred yards of the covered way. Alarmed at the danger of losing this palladium of their empire in North America, the French collected a large body of regular troops, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle. With these, and a party of savages, amounting in all to seventeen hundred men, they meant to attempt the relief of Niagara. When Johnson was apprized of their approach, he ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract and the fortrefs, by which the French were to take their route: he placed the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and while he thus took measures to receive the army intended for the relief of the place, he posted a strong body in such a manner as to secure his trenches from any attempt of the garrison during an engagement. In this disposition he waited the arrival of the enemy. About nine in the morning the French army appeared, and the battle was begun with a violent and horrid scream from the hostile savages, according to their barbarous custom. It was this scream, called the War-hoop, the most frightful sound

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that imagination can conceive, as we have already had occasion to notice, which is said to have struck a panick into the troops under general Braddock, and which had on other occasions carried terror to the hearts of European soldiers; but it had now lost its effect upon the British forces, and was heard with a contemptuous indifference. The enemy were so firmly received by the troops in front, and to warmly aided by the Indians on the flanks, that in less than an hour's time their whole army was ruined. The pursuit was hot and bloody, and continued for several miles. Besides those that fell, seventeen officers were made prisoners, among whom was the first and second in command.

This battle, which happened on the 24th day of July, was fought in sight of the fort; and it was no sooner terminated in favour of the British troops, than general Johnson summoned the garrison to surrender; transmitting at the same time a list of the prisoners, and exhorting the French commander to spare the farther effusion of blood, by delivering up the place while it was in his power to restrain the Indians. The capitulation was signed the same night, by which the garrison were made prisoners, but retained the honours of war, and were to be conveyed in the most expeditious manner to New York. All the women were conducted at their own request to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with distinguished humanity. This was the second important service performed by Sir William Johnson in a military capacity; and it ought to be recorded to his honour, that though not regularly bred a soldier, the most consummate general could not have made more excellent dispositions for the battle, or have conducted the siege from the beginning to the end with more cool and steady resolution, or a more complete knowledge of all the necessary manœuvres of war. The taking of Niagara effectually cut off the communication so long talked of, and so much dreaded, between Canada and Louisiana; and therefore by this blow, one of the principal political views of France, and that which had given occasion to the war, was defeated in its direct and immediate purpose.

The reduction of Quebec, however, was a still more important object; and, provided the troops under general Amherst had been able to form a junction with Wolfe, a proportional force would have been employed against it. As matters fell out, the land-forces did not exceed seven thousand men, regulars and provincials. These, which had been embarked at Louisburg under convoy of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, were safely landed towards the end of June, on the isle of Orleans, a few leagues below Quebec. That island, which is formed by two branches of the river St. Laurence, and is about twenty miles in length and seven in breadth, afforded every kind of refreshment to the soldiers and sailors, being both fertile and highly cultivated. General Wolfe, who was accompanied by the brigadiers Monkton, Townshend, and Murray, published soon after his landing there a manifesto, vindicating the conduct of the king his master, and offering protection to the inhabitants of Canada, with the free exercise of their religion, provided they would take no part in the dispute between the two hostile nations. He reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French
 against

against the English subjects in America, would excuse the most severe reprisals, but that Englishmen were too generous to follow such a barbarous example; and he concluded with displaying the strength and power as well as the generosity of Great Britain, in thus stretching out a hand of humanity, a hand on all occasions ready to assist them, even at a time when France by her weakness was compelled to abandon them to their fate.

This declaration, however, produced no immediate effect. The Canadians gave little credit to the promises of a people whom their priests had represented as the most cruel and perfidious upon earth. Labouring under the apprehensions which such a scandalous misrepresentation inspired, and which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin rather than be quiet, and confide in the English general's promise of protection: they even joined the scalping parties of Indians that lurked among the woods, and falling upon the British stragglers by surprise, butchered them with marks of the most unfeeling barbarity. Wolfe, whose name associated ill with his nature, shocked at such wanton and insidious cruelty, sent a letter to the French general, remonstrating against it, as contrary to the laws of war among civilized nations, and dishonourable to the French service; but as the savage practice was continued, he found it necessary to wink at some irregularities in the way of retaliation, in order to encourage the Indians, by indulging their ravenous appetite for blood and vengeance.

The situation of Quebec, the object of the English armament, has been already described. It was secured by a numerous garrison, plentifully supplied with provisions, and every way prepared for a siege. The marquis de Montcalm, at the head of an army superior to that of the invaders, was posted upon what was deemed the only accessible side of the town, all along the shore from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorenci. To undertake the siege of Quebec while thus guarded seemed an enterprise so rash, and so contrary to the established maxims of war, that Wolfe, though of a sanguine temper and an adventurous spirit, began to despair. He resolved, however, to leave nothing unattempted; but amidst the choice of difficulties which lay before him, to pitch upon those in which the valour of his troops might be employed with the greatest prospect of success, without inquiring too curiously into the event. In this resolution he was encouraged by the conviction that he would always have it in his power to retreat in case of necessity, while the British squadron commanded the navigation of the river. As soon therefore as he had made himself master of the point of Levi on the south shore, opposite to the city of Quebec, a service which was performed by four battalions under general Monkton, he there erected batteries of cannon and mortars, which fired continually upon the place. Admiral Saunders was stationed below, in the north channel of the isle of Orleans, opposite to the river Montmorenci; and admiral Holmes was stationed above the town, in order at once to divert the enemy's attention, and to prevent them from making any attempt against the batteries that played upon the fortifications.

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After having thus disposed the fleet, general Wolfe caused the troops to be transported over the north channel of the river St. Laurence to the north-east of Montmorenci, with a view of passing that river, and bringing the enemy to an engagement. Some heights which commanded the French entrenchments, a ford above, and another below the Falls, encouraged him to this attempt; but upon reconnoitring the ground, the opposite shore was found so steep and woody, that the design was judged impracticable. To bring the enemy to an action was his single object; for though both the upper and lower town of Quebec had suffered considerably by the batteries erected on point Levi, it seemed impossible to reduce the place, while the marquis de Montcalm remained in its neighbourhood at the head of an unbroke army superior to that of the besiegers. Every endeavour, however, to draw the French general from his entrenchments proved ineffectual. He knew the importance of his post, and resolved to maintain it; disposing his parties of savages, in which he was very strong, in such a manner as to render desperate any attempt to attack him by surprise. Meanwhile eight fire-ships were sent down the river from the town in order to destroy the Eritish fleet; which as it almost filled the whole channel, was exposed to great danger; but by the extraordinary skill and vigilance of admiral Saunders, and the boldness of the British sailors, who resolutely boarded the fire-ships, and towed them ashore, where they lay, and burnt to the water's edge, neither the men of war nor transports suffered the least harm.

Finding that all his endeavours to draw the enemy from their entrenchments had proved unsuccessful, and sensible that Montcalm desired nothing more than to be able to act on the defensive, until the season itself, fighting for the French, should force the English to retire, Wolfe came at last to the rash resolution of attacking him in his post, on the east side of the river Montmorenci. The place where the attack was to be made being chosen, the best dispositions for it were concerted both on the part of the admiral and the general; but though the whole was conducted with equal vigour and prudence, it was defeated by one of those accidents that frequently interpose to the disgrace of human wisdom, and make the blind goddess Fortune the arbitress of war. The English grenadiers, who led the attack, had orders to form themselves on the beach immediately after their landing. Instead, however, of following so prudent a direction, confused with the noise and hurry of landing, or transported with an ungovernable ardour, they rushed impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments, without waiting for the body which was to sustain them, and to co-operate with them in the attack. In the disorder occasioned by such precipitancy, they were met by a violent and steady fire from the French artillery and musketry. By that they were thrown into greater confusion, and obliged to shelter themselves behind a redoubt which the enemy had abandoned on their approach. In this uncomfortable situation they remained for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire as that which still continued from the French entrenchments, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts of many gallant officers,
who

who fearlessly exposed, and even lost their lives in the honourable discharge of their duty. Night drew on, and a violent tempest seemed gathering: the English general therefore perceived the necessity of a retreat, and gave orders to make it with as little disadvantage as possible. He accordingly called off the grenadiers; and having formed them behind Monkton's brigade, which was drawn up in excellent order upon the beach, the whole repassed the river without molestation, though not without considerable loss, five hundred men being left dead upon the field.

Immediately after this mortifying check, which made Wolfe sensible of the impracticability of any further attempts on the side of Montmorenci, he detached brigadier Murray with twelve hundred men in transports above the town, to cooperate with rear-admiral Holmes in destroying the French shipping, as well as to endeavour to draw Montcalm from his entrenchments by attacking his detachments, and even provoking him to battle. In pursuance of these instructions, Mr. Murray attempted twice to land on the north shore, but without success. His third attempt was more fortunate. He made a sudden descent on Chambaud, and burnt a valuable magazine filled with arms, cloathing, ammunition, and provisions. This was a service of considerable importance; and as the French ships were secured in such a manner as not to be approached either by the fleet or army, and Murray saw no other means of annoying the enemy, he returned to the British camp with the consolatory intelligence that Niagara was taken, Ticonderoga and Crown Point abandoned, and that general Amherst was employed in making preparations for attacking the enemy at Isle aux Noix.

This intelligence, however, though so agreeable in itself, afforded no prospect of any assistance. The season wasted apace; and the spirit of general Wolfe, which was too fervid to brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace, began to prey upon his tender and delicate frame. He was sensible that no military conduct can shine unless gilded with success; to be pitied he thought was but a milder censure: his own high notions of honour, the public hope, the good fortune of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, till shame and disappointment were converted into a disease that seemed to threaten his life. He was often heard to sigh; and in the transports of his chagrin, he even declared that he would never return without success, to be exposed to the reproaches and insults of a capricious populace, equally extravagant in praise and blame. In consequence of this resolution, as soon as his health was a little recovered, he called a council of his officers, in which it was resolved that the principal operations should be above the town, in order to draw the enemy, if possible, from their present situation, and bring them to an engagement. The camp at Montmorenci was accordingly broken up, and the troops were conveyed to the south east of the river, and encamped at Point Levi. This scheme succeeded in part; for although it did not induce the marquis de Montcalm to quit his post, it engaged him to divide his army, by detaching M. de Bougainville with fifteen hundred men, in order to watch the motions of the enemy; and during the interval, the three English brigadiers, Monkton, Townshend, and Murray formed, and pre-

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fented a plan for conveying the troops across the river in boats, and landing them in the night below the heights of Abraham, within a league of Cape Diamond; in hopes of being able before morning to conquer the steep ascent, and take possession of the high ground on the back of the city of Quebec, where the fortifications were weakest.

The very boldness of this plan recommended it to general Wolfe, at the same time that its seeming impracticability ensured it success. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving; the landing place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the ascent so difficult as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time, even without any opposition. The French general could not think that a descent would be made at such a place: it was effected, however, with equal judgment and vigour. General Wolfe ordered the ships under admiral Saunders to make a feint, as if they meant to attack the French in their entrenchments on the Beauport shore, below the town. This disposition being made, the general embarked his forces about one in the morning, and with admiral Holmes's division of the fleet went three leagues farther up the river than the intended landing-place, in order to amuse the enemy, and conceal his real design. He then put the troops into boats, and fell down silently with the tide, unobserved by the French sentinels posted along the shore. The first embarkation consisted of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monkton and Murray, though Wolfe himself accompanied them in person, and was among the first who leapt on shore. Through the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the tide, the pilots overshot the mark, and the troops were landed a little below the place intended for their debarkation. The boats immediately went back for the division under brigadier Townshend. In the meantime colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with wonderful courage and activity; and by dislodging an entrenched party of the enemy which defended a narrow path, enabled the rest of the forces to reach the summit, where they formed as soon as they arrived, and were all drawn up in order of battle under the general by break of day.

When Montcalm was first informed that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner command Quebec, he could not credit the report. The ascent of an army by such a precipice exceeded the idea of any enterprise that reading or experience had suggested to him: he believed it to be only a feint, in order to induce him to abandon his strong post; but when convinced of its reality, he no longer hesitated; when he found that a battle could not be prudently avoided, he resolved to hazard it, and immediately put his troops in motion. General Wolfe no sooner perceived the enemy crossing the river St. Charles than he began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions, and the Louisbourg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by brigadier Monkton, and the left by brigadier Murray. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry, secured the rear; and as M. de Montcalm advanced in such a manner as shew his intention was to out-flank the left of the English army, brigadier Townshend

Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed in such a manner as to present a double front to the enemy, or what is called *en potence*. He was afterwards reinforced by two battalions. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The disposition of the French army was no less masterly. The right wing was composed of half the colony-troops, two battalions of European soldiers, and a body of Indians: the center consisted of a column formed of two other battalions of regulars; and one battalion, with the remainder of the colony-troops, secured the left wing. The bushes and corn-fields in the enemy's front were filled with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave British officers, thus singled out for destruction. This was the more severely felt, as the English troops were ordered to keep up their fire, which they did with great patience and fortitude, till the French main body had advanced within forty yards of their line, when they poured in a terrible discharge, that took place in its full effect, and made great havoc among the enemy. It was supported with as much vivacity as it had been begun, and the enemy every where yielded to it; but in the moment when the fortune of the field began to declare itself, general Wolfe, who was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, unfortunately received a bullet in his breast, and fell in the arms of victory. Instead of being disconcerted, however, by that accident, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own peculiar character. While the grenadiers pressed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the center of the enemy. Then it was that the Highlanders, drawing their broad swords, completed the impression they had made, and falling upon the French with resolute impetuosity, drove them with great slaughter into Quebec, or towards the works which they had raised on the banks of the river St. Charles.

Nor did the other divisions of the British army behave with less gallantry. Colonel Howe having taken post with part of the light infantry behind a small copse, sallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy, during their spirited attack upon the other part of his division, and often drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townshend advanced in platoons against their front; so that the intention of the French in extending their right wing was entirely defeated. Townshend himself, who so remarkably contributed to this service, remained with Amherst's regiment, in order to overawe a body of savages posted opposite to the light infantry, when he was called to the chief command in consequence of a new disaster. Brigadier Monkton, who had succeeded general Wolfe, being dangerously wounded, while he distinguished himself with uncommon gallantry at the head of LaFolles's regiment, Townshend, who was next in rank, on receiving the melancholy news, hastened to the centre; and finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them again with all possible expedition. That piece of generalship was scarce executed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh troops, appeared in the rear of the English army. He had

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had begun his march from Cape Rouge, a considerable way up the river, as soon as he received intelligence that the British forces had gained the heights of Abraham; but fortunately the main body of the French army was by this time so much broken and dispersed, that Bougainville did not think it advisable to hazard a new attack.

The victory was indeed already complete. The marquis de Montcalm, the French general, and his second in command were both mortally wounded; about a thousand of the enemy, including a great number of officers, were made prisoners, and almost an equal number was killed in the battle or the pursuit. The wreck of their army, unable to keep the field, retired first to Point au Tremble, and afterwards to Trois Rivières and Montreal. The loss of the English in regard to numbers was very inconsiderable: both the killed and wounded did not exceed five hundred men. But the death of general Wolfe was a national misfortune, and accompanied with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail. He first received a shot in the wrist; but wrapt a handkerchief round it, and encouraged his men to advance, without the least discomposure. Soon after he received a shot in the groin, which he also concealed: even when the fatal bullet lodged in his breast, he suffered himself unwillingly to be carried behind the ranks. Still his anxiety for the fortune of the field continued, under all the agonies of approaching dissolution; and when told that the French army was totally routed, and fled on all sides, "Then," said he, "I am satisfied!" and immediately expired in a kind of transport of departing joy, which gave to his dying countenance an air of exultation. Wolfe, at the age of thirty five, united the ardour, the humanity, and enlarged views of the hero, to the presence of mind and military skill of the commander: he needed only years and experience to place him on a level with the greatest generals of ancient or modern times. Montcalm, the French general, was scarcely his inferior. Though less fortunate in the last scene of his life, he made the most perfect dispositions that human prudence could suggest, both before the action, and during the engagement.

A few days after the battle of Quebec, the city itself capitulated on seeing the English fleet and army, which had all along acted with admirable unanimity, preparing for a vigorous siege. The terms granted were honourable to the garrison, and advantageous to the inhabitants, who were to be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their civil rights, until a general peace should decide their future condition. These advantageous terms were granted chiefly in consideration of the advanced season of the year, which of itself must soon have obliged the British forces to retire, and ought to have encouraged the French to hold out against a handful of men, scarcely sufficient to invest the place, even when collected after the victory. The fortifications were found in tolerable order, but the houses were much damaged. A garrison of five thousand men was left in Quebec, under the command of brigadier Murray, with a competent store of ammunition and provisions for the winter. Brigadier Monkton was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wound,

and Townshend returned to England with the fleet, which set sail almost immediately, lest the setting in of the frosts should lock up the ships in the river St. Lawrence. Thus the capital of French America was reduced under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain, after a most severe campaign of near three months; and perhaps, if the whole circumstances are considered, there never was an enterprize of so much difficulty conducted with a more steady perseverance, or accomplished with more vigour and ability. A city strong in situation and fortifications was to be attacked; an army greatly superior in number to the besiegers was stationed under the walls of this city in an impregnable post; and that army was to be forced to battle against the inclinations of a wise and cautious general: yet all these difficulties, interposed as it were by nature herself, were surmounted by the genius of the commander in chief, the gallantry of the inferior officers, and the bravery of the British troops.

But while the arms of Great Britain were carrying terror before them in Canada, the French emissaries from the province of Louisiana had exercised their arts of insinuation with such success among the savages, that the Cherokees had infringed their treaty with the English towards the latter part of the campaign, and commenced hostilities with plundering, massacring, and scalping several inhabitants of our more southern colonies. Mr. Littleton, governor of South Carolina, having received intelligence of these outrages, assembled a body of eleven hundred men, and marched into the Cherokee country, with force and vigour and dispatch, that they sent a deputation of their chiefs to sue for peace. It was accordingly re-established in all appearance by a new treaty, agreed to on such terms as the English governor was pleased to dictate. The Cherokees obliged themselves to renounce the French interest, to give up the persons guilty of the most flagrant murders, and to put into the governor's hands twenty-two hostages as a security for the performance of these articles; but scarce was Mr. Littleton returned to Charles Town, when those perfidious barbarians, equally regardless of their faith, and of the safety of their countrymen, whose lives were pledged upon it, began their ravages anew, and blocked up Fort Loudon. General Amherst apprized of the danger of the English garrison, and of all the southern colonies, detached to their assistance colonel Montgomery, now earl of Eglinton, with a regiment of Highlanders, a battalion of royal Americans, a party of grenadiers, and a body of provincial troops. He made war upon the Indians after their own manner; and there is great reason to believe no other would have been effectual. He burnt Estatoe, the capital of the Lower Cherokees, consisting of two hundred houses, well stored with ammunition, provisions, and all the necessaries of life; and following his blow with surprizing rapidity, he destroyed all the towns and villages in the same district. He next proceeded, with little or no loss, to penetrate into the country of the Middle Cherokees; but as the English army, marching through a dangerous ground, favourable to the Indian manner of fighting, was suddenly attacked on all sides by the savage enemy with the greatest fury, and with the usual horrible screams and outcries. The troops were so well acquainted with this kind of warfare, that they stood

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the charge with firmness: they were neither intimidated by the covered fire, nor the war-hoop of the savages, who declined a close engagement. But colonel Montgomery, though victorious on this occasion, found it necessary to retire on account of his wounded, for whom he had no place of safety. This retreat was certainly necessary; and the enemy might afterwards have been chastised, had not Montgomery, on his arrival at Fort St. George, discovered, by his orders he was obliged to return to New York, and rejoin the grand army with the troops under his command. In consequence of his departure, Carolina and the neighbouring colonies were again exposed to the fury of the Indians, less weakened than exasperated by their late sufferings. Fort Loudon was obliged to surrender: all the officers but one were butchered; several of the private men were massacred, and the rest carried into an horrible captivity, contrary to the express articles of an honourable capitulation, as well as the dictates of humanity. But colonel Grant next season took severe vengeance upon the Cherokees, by destroying fifteen of their towns, and burning almost their whole harvest. The greater part of the inhabitants were driven to starve in the mountains; and the whole nation, filled with dismay, humbly sued for peace, which was accordingly concluded at Charles Town, to the no small satisfaction of our southern colonies.

The success of the British arms in the north was still more important, and no less decisive. The taking of Quebec it was supposed would have been followed by the entire reduction of Canada without any further struggle; but although the possession of that place was necessary to the conquest of New France, much still remained to be done before it could be subjected to the dominion of Great Britain. The French troops after their defeat had retired into the heart of the country, where they were soon increased to the number of ten thousand. With these M. de Levi proposed to attempt the recovery of the capital early in the spring. In this resolution he was encouraged by the negligence of the English admirals, who had made no provision against his attaining a superiority on the river. No vessels of any force had been left there, on a supposition that they could not be useful in winter. The French commander had even thoughts of attempting the place by a *coup de main* during the severity of the season; but on examination he found the out-posts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant and active, that he laid aside the design till the 17th of April. Then his provisions, ammunition, and heavy baggage fell down the St. Laurence from Montreal, under the convoy of six frigates from forty-four to twenty-six guns. By this squadron, which there was nothing to oppose, Levi acquired the undisputed command of the river, a circumstance of the utmost importance to the execution of the whole design; and within ten days the French army arrived at Point au Tremble, only a few miles from Quebec.

Meantime general Murray had omitted no step that could be taken by the most consummate officer for maintaining the important conquest committed to his care; but the garrison had suffered greatly from the excessive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions; so that when he received intelligence of the approach of the French army, one thousand soldiers

were

were dead of the scurvy, and twice that number unfit for service. Thus circumstanced, he embraced a resolution which has been censured by men of cool tempers, as discovering less generalship than military ardour, and a passionate thirst after glory: in order to avoid the tedious hardships of a siege in a place which to him seemed scarcely tenable, he determined to march out at the head of his garrison, and try the fortune of the field. In consequence of this resolution, to which he was encouraged by the tried valour of his troops, and a fine train of field artillery, he led out three thousand men to the heights of Abraham, where he formed them in order of battle on the 29th of April. On reconnoitring the enemy, he perceived that their van had taken possession of the rising ground in his front, but that the body of their army was still in motion. Thinking this the critical moment, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition, with a view to attack them before they could form. The French were soon driven from the heights, though not without a warm dispute; during which their main body formed in columns, and advanced with great celerity to support their broken van-guard. Their fire became now very hot, and stopped the progress of the British battalions, while the superiority of their numbers, after the centre was secured, gave them the advantage of out-flanking the English both on the right and left, and threatening to close upon their rear. Proper movements were made to protect the flanks; but the light infantry, who were sent upon this service, being furiously charged and thrown into disorder, could never again be brought into the line. The enemy, however, could never break the British right wing, which they twice attempted in vain to penetrate; but the left wing, after gaining vast advantages, was overpowered by numbers, and obliged to give way, the French fighting with unusual ardour. The disorder of the left wing communicated itself to the right; so that general Murray seeing his whole army in danger of being surrounded, after an obstinate dispute, which lasted an hour and three quarters, was obliged to quit the field with the loss of one thousand men, killed or wounded. He gained Quebec with little loss in the pursuit, but was obliged to leave behind the greater part of his artillery, which it was impossible to drag hastily off through the snow that still covered the ground.

The French lost upwards of two thousand men in this action, without deriving any real advantage from it. General Murray, instead of being dispirited by his defeat, seemed only to be roused to more strenuous efforts. The same vigour of mind which led him to encounter the enemy in the field with a feeble army, animated him in the defence of a weak fortification. Meanwhile the French, whose hopes of success depended solely in completing their enterprize before a British Squadron could enter the river, lost not a moment in improving their victory. They opened trenches before the town on the very evening of the battle; but it was the 11th of May before they could bring any batteries to bear on the fortifications. By that time general Murray, who was indefatigable in his preparations for the defence of the place, had raised some out-works, and planted an hundred and thirty-two pieces of cannon on the ramparts, dragged thither mostly by the soldiery; and though the French artillery played with great vivacity

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vivacity for the first day, the fire soon slackened, and their batteries were in a manner silenced by the superior discharges from the garrison. Quebec, however, notwithstanding this advantage, the abilities of the governor, and the bravery of the garrison, must in all probability have reverted to its former owners, had a French fleet from Europe got the start of an English squadron in sailing up the river. Fortunately things happened otherwise. Lord Colvil had sailed from Halifax on the 22d of April with a considerable fleet, but was retarded in his passage by fogs and contrary winds; and commodore Swanton, with a small reinforcement from England, arrived about the beginning of May at the isle of Bec, in the river St. Laurence, where with two ships he proposed to wait for the rest of his squadron which had been separated from him in the passage. One of these, the *Leostoff*, commanded by captain Dean, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the 9th of May, and communicated to the governor the joyful news that the squadron was in the Gulph. No sooner did Swanton receive information that Quebec was besieged, than he sailed up the river with all possible expedition, and anchored on the 15th a little above the town. Next morning, at the desire of the governor, an attack was made upon the French squadron, and executed with so much spirit, that in a moment all their vessels of whatever kind were dispersed, and the greater part destroyed or taken.

M. de Levi, who had the mortification to behold from the higher grounds this action, which at once extinguished all the hopes that he had formed in consequence of his late victory, raised the siege of Quebec with the utmost hurry and precipitation, leaving behind him all his artillery, and a great part of his ammunition and baggage. He concluded that the frigates, from the boldness of their manner, must belong to a powerful armament, and therefore determined to save himself by flight, though lord Colvil's squadron did not arrive till some days after. General Murray, who had intended to make a vigorous sally in the morning, and attempt to penetrate into the camp of the besiegers, no sooner learnt that they had abandoned their trenches, than he instantly marched out at the head of his garrison, in hopes of coming up with them, and taking full revenge for his late discomfiture; but they retreated with such precipitation, that he could only take some prisoners, and the remainder of their baggage, including tents, stores, artillery, scaling ladders, and other implements for a siege.

Levi retired first to *Jacques Quartiers*, and afterwards to *Montreal*, where *Vaudrueil*, the French governor of Canada, had fixt his head-quarters, and was resolved to make a last stand. For this purpose he called in all the out-posts, and collected around him the whole force of the colony. In the meantime, general Amherst was diligently employed in taking measures for the entire conquest of New France. He conveyed instructions to general Murray, directing him to advance by water towards *Montreal* with all the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebec. Colonel *Haviland* by his orders sailed from *Crown Point*, and took possession of *Ile aux Noix*, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded directly to *Montreal*. His own army, consisting;

fighting of about ten thousand men, regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New York on the 21st of June, and passed up the Mohawk River, and down that of the Oneidoes to Oswego, where he was joined by a thousand Indians of the Six Nations under Sir William Johnson. The whole army embarked on Lake Ontario; and after taking the fort of Isle Royale, which in a manner commands the source of the river St. Laurence, they arrived by a tedious and dangerous voyage at Montreal, on the same day that general Murray landed there from Quebec. The two generals met with no opposition in disembarking their troops; and by a singular concurrence of circumstances, colonel Haviland arrived next day from Isle aux Noix. The dispositions made by these three armies, which consisted of the flower of the British troops in America, made the Marquis de Vaudreuil sensible that all resistance would be vain: he therefore demanded a capitulation; which was granted on terms more favourable than the French had reason to expect in such circumstances. Montreal, Detroit, Michilimachinac, and every other place within the government of Canada was to be surrendered to his Britannic majesty; but the troops were to be transported to Old France, though under the express condition of not serving again during the war, and the colonists were to be protected in the free exercise of their religion.

The dispute with France on the continent of America was now finished. It only remained for Great Britain to determine what part of her conquests she would retain; and as vast acquisitions were soon after made in the West Indies, that became a matter of some difficulty. It was however agreed by all unprejudiced men, that as the security of our North American settlements had been the chief object of the war, it ought also to be the principal end pursued in negotiating the peace. It was therefore resolved to keep Canada; and as every thing could not be retained, to restore Martinico and Guadaloupe. In consequence of the cession of Canada, the two Floridas, and part of Louisiana, the British colonies were not only secured against all danger from European enemies, but the British empire in America was enlarged by the addition of some of the finest provinces in the New World, and a boundless tract of uncultivated country, at the same time that the number of British subjects was considerably increased; for although the French inhabitants of Canada were permitted to dispose of their effects, and remove within a certain term, the free exercise of their religion, which was confirmed to them, and the protection of a milder government, induced all the industrious part of the people to remain in the colony. The influence of that government was soon conspicuous in the prosperity of the conquered province; where almost every branch of trade has been doubled, and new sources of wealth opened. The fur-trade and the seal-fishery, formerly prosecuted with some degree of success, have not only experienced a surprising augmentation, but the exportation of wood and the culture of corn are become principal articles in the commerce of Canada.

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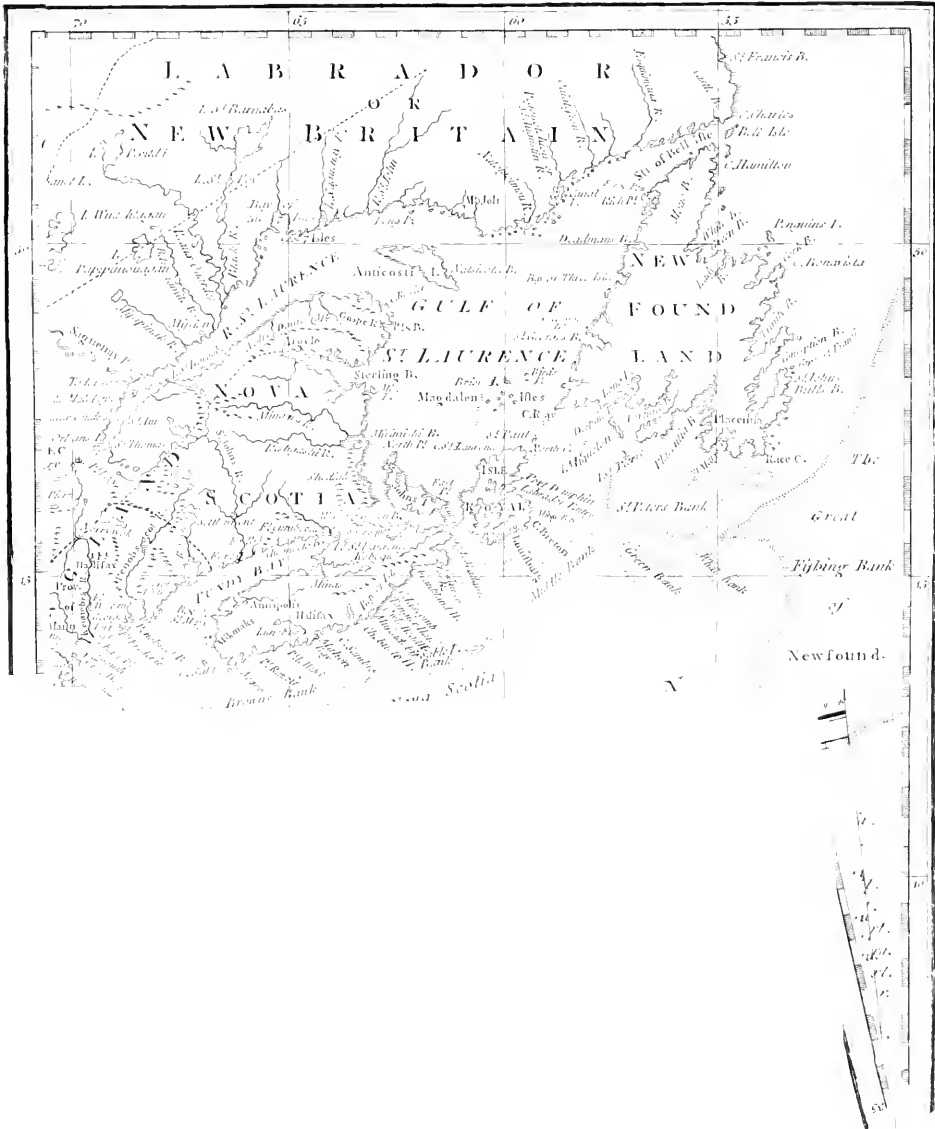
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HISTORY OF AMERICA.

C H A P. I.

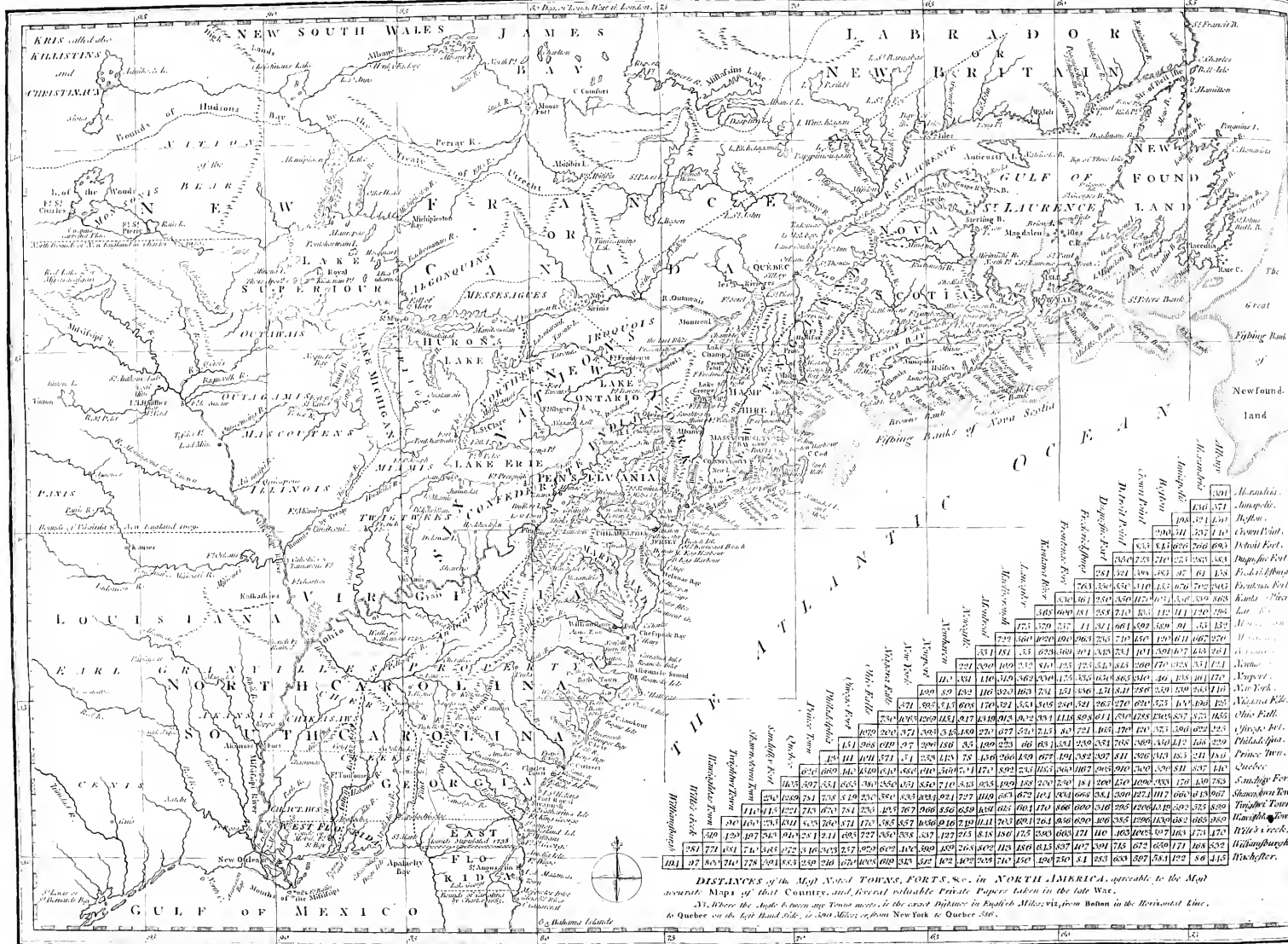
The Rise of the Dispute between GREAT BRITAIN and her Colonies, and its Progress till the Repeal of the STAMP ACT.

A Consciousness of the instability of human affairs, has made men of a timid but philosophical temper, contemplate great and unexpected elevation, either in the fortune of nations or individuals, with a degree of attention approaching to melancholy. The fortune of no nation was ever higher than that of the English at the conclusion of the late war. Besides their rich possessions in the East and West Indies, or those on the coast of Africa, all enlarged by a series of the most extraordinary success, and confirmed by a perpetual treaty; without including Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland or the other islands of North America, they were masters of all that vast continent, which stretches from the mouth of the river St. Laurence to that of the Mississippi, and from the Atlantic ocean to the South Sea, the most extensive empire that ever was formed on the face of the earth. Nor was this a barren or unprofitable territory. The greater part of it was either cultivated or highly susceptible of improvement; and it offered to the mother-country, in conjunction with her other conquests and settlements, the largest field that was ever opened to the commerce and industry of any people. But the time was suddenly to arrive, when that commerce was to be interrupted, that industry deprived of its vivifying principle, and part of that empire violently torn from the parent-state by her own colonies.

The causes of these evils, it must now be our business to trace. For this purpose it will be necessary to take a more particular view of the policy of Great Britain in regard to her colonies, than our subject has hitherto required.

C H A P. I.
A. D. 1763.

A General MAP of NORTH AMERICA from the latest OBSERVATIONS.



Latitude	Longitude	Distance from New York	Distance from Quebec	Distance from London
41° 00' N	71° 00' W	1000	1000	1000
40° 00' N	70° 00' W	900	900	900
39° 00' N	69° 00' W	800	800	800
38° 00' N	68° 00' W	700	700	700
37° 00' N	67° 00' W	600	600	600
36° 00' N	66° 00' W	500	500	500
35° 00' N	65° 00' W	400	400	400
34° 00' N	64° 00' W	300	300	300
33° 00' N	63° 00' W	200	200	200
32° 00' N	62° 00' W	100	100	100
31° 00' N	61° 00' W	0	0	0

DISTANCES of the **Most Noted Towns, FORTS, &c.** in **NORTH AMERICA**, according to the **Map** above: **Maps of that Country**, and **several valuable Private Papers** taken in the late **War**.
N.B. Where the **Right** is **between any Towns**, is the **short Distance** in **English Miles**; viz. from **Boston** in the **Westernmost Line**, to **Quebec** on the **left Hand Side**; is **300 Miles**; or from **New York** to **Quebec** **500**.

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

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Though the English colonies, like those of Spain and Portugal, were chiefly established, as we have already seen, without any assistance from the government of the mother country, they no sooner began to flourish, than she endeavoured to make them subservient to her interest and ambition. With this view, she pursued the plan of all the European nations who had founded settlements in the New World: she endeavoured to secure entirely to herself the advantages of their trade, by prohibiting, or confining, their intercourse with other countries. Whether this plan was truly political, considered even in regard to the mother-country, which has been questioned by a very eminent writer*, it is not our province here to examine: it is sufficient for us that it was esteemed so by the English parliament above a century ago, and that it has since continued to be the parliamentary system.

But though the policy of Great Britain in regard to her American colonies, has been dictated by the same commercial spirit as that of other nations, it has, like her government, been more friendly to the natural rights of mankind. In every thing, except their foreign trade, the liberty of the English colonists to manage their own affairs in their own way is complete: it is in every respect equal to that of their fellow citizens in the mother-country, and is secured in the same manner, as we have seen, by an assembly of the representatives of the people, who claim the sole right of imposing taxes for the support of the colony government. The authority of this assembly over-awes the executive power; and neither the meanest nor the most obnoxious colonist, as long as he observes the laws, has any thing to fear from the resentment either of the governor, or of any other civil or military officer in the province.†

This point being established, according to principles formerly investigated, and which cannot be controverted, let us proceed to examine particularly the restraints imposed by Great Britain on the trade of her colonies, and her attempts to raise a revenue independent of the advantages of an exclusive commerce.

Some nations, as we have at different times had occasion to observe, have given up the whole commerce of their colonies to an exclusive company ‡; from which the colonists were obliged to buy all such European goods as they wanted, and to which they were obliged to sell the whole of their own surplus produce. It was the interest of the company, therefore, not only to sell the former as dear,

* Dr. Smith, *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, book IV. chap. vii. This intelligent inquirer supposes, that the exclusive trade, by employing too great a share of the national stock, has been hurtful to general industry. It may be urged, however, by way of reply, that the colony-trade was at first too inconsiderable to produce this effect, and that the exclusive advantages were sufficient to create, in its progress, a capital equal to the growing demand. But it must at the same time be acknowledged, that the American trade, when at its height, called off the attention of Britain too much from the markets of Europe; deadened competition with the other European nations, by rendering it in some measure unnecessary; and made all trade and industry precarious, by resting it chiefly on the unstable foundation of a good understanding between the mother-country and her colonies.

† The Dutch, and till lately, the French and Danes.

and

and to buy the latter as cheap as possible; but to buy no more of the latter, even at this low price, than what they could dispose of at a very high price in Europe: it was their interest not only to degrade, in all cases, the value of the surplus produce of the colony, but in many cases to discourage and keep down the natural increase of its quantity; in order to insure a more ready and certain sale, as well as to command an equal, or perhaps a superior sum, for a less bulky commodity. Other nations, without establishing an exclusive company, have confined the whole commerce of their colonies to one or two ports of the mother-country*; from which no ship is allowed to sail but either in a fleet, and at a particular season, or if single, in consequence of a particular licence, which is generally purchased at no small premium.

This policy opens, indeed, the commerce of the colonies to all the natives of the mother-country, provided they trade from the proper port, at the proper season, and in the proper vessels; but as all the different merchants, who have joined their stocks in order to fit out these licensed vessels, must find it for their interest to act in concert, the trade which is carried on in this manner will necessarily be conducted nearly upon the same principles as that of an exclusive company †. The profits of those merchants will scarcely be less exorbitant and oppressive, the colonies will be ill supplied, and obliged both to buy dear and sell cheap.

Happily the policy of England, in regard to the trade with her colonies, as in every thing else, has been more liberal: it is free to all her subjects, who may carry it on from all the different ports of the mother-country, and who have occasion for no other licence, than the common dispatches of the custom house. Of course, the number and dispersed situation of the different traders, render it impossible for them to enter into any general combination, and their competition is sufficient to prevent them from grasping at very exorbitant profits. Accordingly the price of European commodities, though no doubt somewhat higher than if the trade were free to all nations, has never been extravagantly high in the British settlements. Under so indulgent a policy, the colonies are enabled both to sell their own produce, and to buy the manufactures of Europe at a reasonable rate.

Nor are the colonies of Great Britain confined even to the general market of the mother-country in the exportation of their own surplus produce, except with regard to certain commodities. These commodities having been frequently enumerated in the Act of Navigation ‡, or other statutes relative to the colonies, are on that account called *enumerated commodities*. The rest are termed *non-enum-*

* Spain and Portugal.

† See book II. chap. i. of this work, and Smith's Inquiry, book IV. chap. vii.

‡ This act, which gave rise to all those subsequent laws that restrain the plantation trade, and are supposed to ascertain the jurisdiction of the state and parliament of England over her colonies, was passed, as we have formerly had occasion to notice, during the time of the commonwealth, when the true principles of liberty are allowed to have been well understood, and when the very idea of tyranny was held in detestation.

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rated commodities, and may be exported directly to other countries, provided it be in British or Plantation ships, of which the owners and three-fourths of the mariners are British subjects.

Among the non enumerated commodities, which are still confined, as to the European market, to the countries that lie south of Cape Finisterre, are some of the most important productions of America and the West-Indies; grain of all sorts, lumber, salt provisions, fish, sugar, and rum. Grain is naturally the first and principal object of the culture of all new colonies, except those between the tropics; and by allowing our plantations a very extensive market for it, the government encourages them to extend this culture much beyond the consumption of a thinly inhabited country, and by that means to provide before hand an ample subsistence for a continually increasing population. Nor is the wisdom of the legislature less conspicuous in regard to other articles. The sale of lumber cannot be too much encouraged in a country almost covered with wood, and where the expence of clearing the ground is the principal obstacle to improvement: to raise the price of such a commodity, is offering a bounty to industry, and holding out at a distance the reward of agriculture; and to extend the fisheries of well affected colonies, by a free exportation, is to increase the shipping and naval power as well as the wealth of the British empire.

The *enumerated* commodities are of two sorts; namely, such as are either the peculiar produce of America, or as cannot, or at least are not produced in the mother-country; and such as are not the peculiar produce of America, but both may and are produced in the mother-country, though not in such quantities as to supply the greater part of her demand, which would otherwise oblige her to have recourse to foreign countries. Of the first kind are molasses, coffee, cacao-nuts, tobacco, pimento, ginger, whale bone, raw silk, cotton-wool, beaver and other furs, indigo, rustick, and other dying woods; and of the second kind are all naval stores, masts, yards, and bowsprits; tar, pitch, and turpentine; hemp and flax, pig and bar iron, copper ore, hides and skins, pot and pearl ashes.

The largest importation of commodities of the first kind, could not discourage the growth, or interfere with the sale of any part of the produce of the mother-country; and by confining them to the home-market, our merchants, it was expected, would not only be enabled to buy them cheaper in the plantations, and consequently to sell them with a better profit at home, but to establish between the plantations and foreign countries a carrying-trade, of which Great Britain was necessarily to be the centre or emporium, as the European country to which those commodities were first to be imported*. The importation of commodities of the second kind might be so managed too, it was supposed, as not to interfere with the sale of those of the same kind produced in the mother-country, but with that of those imported from foreign states; because, by means of proper duties, they might be rendered always somewhat dearer than the former, and yet a good deal cheaper than the latter †.

* Smith's Inquiry, Book IV. chap. vii.

† Id. ib.

Some of these prohibitions, which appear the most problematical, are even beneficial to the colonies. That, for example, which confines to Great Britain the exportation of masts, yards, and bowsprits, tar, pitch, and turpentine, has a natural tendency to lower the price of timber in the colonies, and consequently to increase the expence of clearing the lands, the principal obstacle to their improvement; but it was not imposed without a reason, and is so qualified as to have a direct contrary influence. About the beginning of the present century, the pitch and tar company of Sweden endeavoured to raise the price of their commodities to Great Britain, by prohibiting their exportation except in their own ships, at their own price, and in such quantities as they thought proper. In order to counteract this notable piece of mercantile policy, and to render England as independent as possible, not only of Sweden but of all the northern powers, the parliament gave a bounty upon the importation of naval stores from America, at the same time that it confined them to the home market. The effect of this bounty was, to raise the price of timber in America, more than the restriction could lower it; and consequently the joint effect of both regulations is rather an encouragement, than an obstruction to the clearing of land in America. In like manner, although the pig and bar iron of the colonies have been put among the *enumerated* commodities, yet as they are exempted from considerable duties, when imported into Great Britain, to which those of other countries are subject, one part of the regulation contributes more to encourage the erection of furnaces in America, than the other to impede it; and as there is no manufacture which occasions so great a consumption of wood as a furnace, none can contribute so much to the clearing of a country over-run with forests*.

The

* This source of wealth to the mother-country, and prosperity to the colonies, had long been obstructed by enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, in concert with those of the coppice woods, which are consumed in the furnaces, had procured impositions, amounting to an absolute prohibition, to be laid upon American iron; but at length, in 1750, the eyes of the government were opened, and it was permitted to be imported, duty free, into the port of London, though prohibited from being carried to any other port, or above ten miles within land. This whimsical restriction continued in force till the year 1757, when the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege that had been ungenerously confined to the capital. Though nothing could be more reasonable than this demand, it met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed to represent, that the hundred and nine forges worked in England and Wales, without including those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of industrious workmen; that the mines, which are inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed, that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works, then carried on in England, consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, produced in coppices that grew upon barren lands, which could not otherwise be turned to any good account; that those coppices furnished besides bark for the tanners, and wood for building; and that the American iron not being proper for converting into steel, for making edge-tools, or any of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation of iron from Sweden or Russia, but would interfere so much

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The most perfect freedom of trade is permitted between the British colonies on the continent of America and those in the West Indies, both in the enumerated and non-enumerated commodities; and these colonies were become so populous and thriving before the present disturbances, that each of them found in some of the others a great and extensive market for every part of its produce, and all of them taken together formed a vast internal mart for the produce of one another.

But after all these advantages, the liberality of England towards the trade of her colonies has chiefly been confined, either to what regards the sale of their produce in its rude state, or in what may be denominated the first stage of manufacture. While she encourages in America, for example, the manufactures of pig and bar-iron, by exempting them, as already noticed, from duties to which the like commodities are subject when imported from any other country, she imposes an absolute prohibition upon the erection of steel furnaces and slit mills in any of her American plantations: she will not suffer her colonists to work in those more refined manufactures even for their own use, but insists upon their purchasing from her merchants and manufacturers all goods of this kind, for which they have occasion. She prohibits the importation from one province to another by water, and even the carriage by land upon horseback, or in a cart, of hats, woollen goods, or wool of the produce of America; a regulation which, while observed, effectually prevents the establishment of any manufacture of such commodities for distant sale, and confines the industry of her colonists, in this way, to such household manufactures as a private family makes for its own use, or for that of some of its neighbours in the same province.

To prohibit a great people, however, from making all that they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the natural rights of mankind. But unjust as such prohibitions are, they have not hitherto been very hurtful to the colonies. Land is still so cheap, and labour so dear in British America, that the colonists can import from the mother-country almost all the more refined, or more advanced manufactures, cheaper than they could make them for themselves*. Though they had not therefore been prohi-

with that of Britain, as to put an entire stop, in a little time, to all the forges in the kingdom. These groundless apprehensions had no effect on the majority of the parliament, who saw clearly, that unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation must soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel by which it had so long been enriched; and that there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations were making in these works, by underselling them. It was therefore resolved, that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of the kingdom: and that wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. By a statute of Henry VIII. the proprietors of coppices were forbid to clear their lands: that prohibition the parliament took off, in order to remove as far as possible all cause of complaint, and left them at liberty to make use of their estates as they should think proper.

* Smith, ubi sup.

bited from establishing such manufactures, a regard to their own interest would probably, in their present state of improvement, had no misunderstanding happened, have prevented them from so doing. But in a more advanced state of society, those restraints might become truly oppressive; and, in that event, the wisdom and humanity of the British legislature leave us no room to doubt but they would be removed.

With regard to the importation of goods from Europe, England has likewise dealt more liberally with her colonies than any other nation. While she imposes no duties on the exportation of her own manufactures, she allows always a part, generally the half, frequently a larger portion, and sometimes the whole of the duty which is paid on the importation of foreign goods, to be drawn back upon their exportation to any foreign country, from a conviction that no independent foreign state would receive them burdened with British duties. Our American colonies, however, are by no means independent foreign states; and Great Britain having assumed to herself the right of supplying them with goods from Europe, might have forced them, according to the practice of other European kingdoms, to receive such goods, loaded with the same duties which they paid on entering the mother-country, and also her own manufactures burdened with duties, for the purpose of raising a revenue: but, on the contrary, till the year 1763, the same draw-backs were paid on the exportation of the greater part of foreign goods to our colonies, as to any independent foreign state. Then, indeed, this indulgence was a good deal abated, it being enacted, that no part of the duty called the *Old Subsidy* shall be drawn back for any goods of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe or the East Indies, which shall be exported from this kingdom to any British colony or plantation in America, wines, white callicoës, and muslins excepted*.

Before the framing of this law, many different sorts of foreign goods might have been bought cheaper in the colonies than in the mother-country, and some may still †. A law, however, which affected the colonists in the most tender part, which widened the grand source of their grievances, by obliging them to purchase, at a more advanced price, several manufactures which they were not permitted to fabricate for themselves, could not fail to occasion disgust, even though entirely conformable to the general policy of Great Britain with respect to her American settlements. But harder trials were reserved for their obedience.

The peace of Paris, which at the same time restored tranquility to Europe and to America, produced a remarkable change in the political system of Great Britain with respect to her colonies, as well as in the political sentiments of the colonists, in regard to the mother-country. The original settlers in New England, as we have had sufficient occasion to observe, were men of wild and fanatical principles. Enemies to civil power and religious liberty, they endeavoured to erect a kind of spiritual despotism, as soon as they arrived in the New World,

Feb. 10,
1763.

* 4 Geo. III. cap. xv.

† Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, book IV. chap. vii.
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and reluctantly acknowledged their dependence on the mother country. Their reluctance particularly appeared on the restoration of Charles II. when their enmity against kingly government co-operated with their ambition of independent jurisdiction. They had acquiesced in the supremacy of the republican parliament; which, as early as the year 1642, had indirectly asserted its *legislative authority* over them †; nor did they make any opposition to the Act of Navigation, passed ten years after, by the same parliament: but when Charles endeavoured, in 1679, to enforce the observation of that law, which had been suspended for a time, they remonstrated against it, as detrimental to their trade, and replied, that they apprehended “the laws of England did not reach America *!” The arbitrary proceedings of James II. however, and the growing power of the French in Canada, soon made them happy to claim the protection of those laws and that government. King William and the revolution parliament afforded them both; but, at the same time, drew tighter the dependence of the colonies on the mother-country. Necessity continued that dependence till the conclusion of the late war; when all apprehensions of a foreign enemy being removed, their old ideas of unlimited commerce and independent jurisdiction began to return.

The other colonies, it is true, were not founded by men of the same fanatical spirit as those of New England. The first settlers in Virginia were chiefly royalists, and respectable members of the church of England; those of Maryland were sober-minded catholics, and many of them persons of good education, as well as exemplary behaviour; and the quakers of Pennsylvania, as every where else, are the most peaceable, industrious, and inoffensive set of men in the whole world. But Pennsylvania is not entirely peopled by quakers, nor by Englishmen: Dutch, Germans, and other foreigners, compose more than two-thirds of the inhabitants. These foreigners speak their native tongues; and to the disgrace of British policy, are allowed to have schools for instructing their children in the same languages. In consequence of this pernicious practice, like the Dutch of New York, and the Swedes in the Jerseys, they will continue a distinct race after many generations: strangers alike to the language and the constitution of England, and without the affection of citizens, they will still be foreigners, in whatever regards the honour or glory of the British crown.

Almost an equal mixture of foreigners are found in the two Carolinas; and the great number of felons, prostitutes, and profligate persons of every kind, transported to Virginia and Maryland, during a long course of years, has corrupted both the manners and the blood of the original settlers, and introduced a daring spirit of licentiousness, that spurns all the common restraints of society, and all regulations of government. Such is the heterogeneous mixture of which our colonies are composed; of a set of men whose sole aim, and only point of uniformity, is interest, and who, with few exceptions, have neither pride nor plea-

† It was ordained, for the encouragement of the planters, that all goods should pass to and from New England duty-free, “until the House of Commons should take further order therein to the contrary.”

* See book IV. chap. iii. of this work, and the authorities there cited.

sure in the prosperity of Great Britain. The success of the late war in America gave them no joy, farther than as it secured them against the future attacks of an insidious enemy. Instead of partaking in the triumph of the parent-state, to which they in some measure contributed, they seemed to repine at her victories, as if they had foreseen against whom her arms would next be turned. A sense of their own danger only would have induced them to bear a share in the war with France; and no sooner did they find themselves in security, in consequence of the peace, and in possession of a vast continent, remote from the rest of the world, than they formed the idea of rendering themselves independent, by establishing arts and manufactures, and fabricating at home those articles of labour and ingenuity for which they had hitherto been indebted to the mother-country, and the sale of which had chiefly, if not solely, made them valuable to her*.

The British ministry could not be ignorant of the views of the colonies, and appear to have been partly influenced by them, in the system which they adopted. The nation was just emerged from an expensive war, during which every spring of government had been overstrained. Her success had indeed been great beyond all example: her victorious fleets had commanded the whole ocean, and her armies had conquered at both extremities of the earth: her prosperity excited universal envy and admiration, but that prosperity was more splendid than real. Great Britain was loaded with an enormous debt; and in order to pay the interest of that debt, and support the common expences of government, every luxury, and even every necessary of life had been taxed, till the minds of the people revolted at an attempt to increase the grievous catalogue †. The land-tax was a shilling in the pound higher, than in any former time of peace; and if we ever expected again to be able, either to maintain the expence of a new war, or a competition with other nations in foreign markets, it was necessary both to reduce the taxes and the public debt. For these purposes, new resources were requisite; but where to find such resources, was the question.

On a political survey of the British empire, taken in consequence of this alarming crisis, a resolution fatal to the tranquillity both of the colonies and the mother-country was embraced. It was resolved to raise an internal tax upon the former, in order to relieve the necessities of the latter: nor were arguments wanting to enforce such a measure. The Spanish war in 1739, it was observed, had been principally a colony war: its chief object, as we have had occasion to notice, being to prevent the search of the colony ships, which carried on a contraband trade with the Spanish main; and the late war, which had involved the nation in a new debt of ninety millions sterling, was altogether a colony war. It was therefore but just, that the colonies should bear some part of a burden, too great for the parent-state, and which had been chiefly incurred upon their account.

* Such a policy was very natural for the colonies, and is in no respect blamable considered either in a moral or political light, though certainly inconsistent with the interest of the mother-country, and in some degree with their political relation to Great Britain. That they were actually influenced by such a policy, will sufficiently appear in the sequel.

† The Cyder Act.

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Besides it was urged upon general principles, That in order to render any province advantageous to the empire to which it belongs, it ought to afford in time of peace a revenue to the public, sufficient not only for defraying the whole expence of its own peace establishment, but also for discharging its proportion towards the general government of the empire; as every province necessarily contributes, more or less, to increase the expence of that general government. If any particular province, therefore, does not contribute its share towards defraying this expence, an unequal burden must be thrown upon some other part of the empire. The extraordinary revenue too, which every province affords to the public, in time of war, ought to bear the same proportion to the extraordinary revenue of the whole empire, which its ordinary revenue does in time of peace. But neither the ordinary nor extraordinary revenue, which Great Britain derived from her colonies, it was evident, bore any thing near this proportion to the whole revenue of the British empire; and although the exclusive commerce, it had been supposed, by increasing the private wealth of the people of England, and thereby enabling them to pay greater taxes, might compensate in some measure for the deficiency of the public revenue of the colonies, it did not afford sufficient resources for the present exigency.

As Great Britain had long laid it down for an established maxim in her policy, to impose no duty at exportation, on any goods whose value has been increased by labour, it was impossible to tax the merchants and manufacturers, the men who are chiefly benefited by the exclusive trade, beyond the proportion of other orders in the state. They could only be taxed in the luxuries and necessaries of life which they consumed. Had government even resolved to alter its system, and oblige the colonies to purchase the manufactures of the mother-country loaded with taxes, such a measure could not have answered: it would only have roused sooner those dissensions which afterwards broke out, and have made the colonists pursue with more patriotic ardour that plan which they had adopted of manufacturing for themselves. Of this the ministry were sensible; and therefore resolved at once boldly to attempt an internal taxation, on the fundamental principle of all governments, that the different members which compose a state ought to contribute towards all its expences, in proportion to their respective abilities*. But
before

* The ability of the colonies to bear internal taxes, and the right of the mother-country to impose them, we shall afterwards have occasion to consider. In the meantime, it may not be improper to observe, that, at the same time that the scheme of internal taxation was formed, a resolution ought also to have been taken, both in common equity and sound policy, to remove all restraints from their internal trade and industry, in themselves more grievous and tyrannical, more destructive of the natural rights of mankind, and the privileges of Englishmen, than any subsidiary imposition. This relief would have reconciled the minds of the Americans to a tax imposed for the general support of government. When allowed the common privileges of British citizens, of turning their internal trade and industry to the best advantage, they would not have refused to bear a part in the common burdens of the empire; and when it had been seen proper to proportion their internal taxes to those of the mother-country, all restraints, except such as are common to British subjects of every denomination, ought to have been removed from their foreign commerce. The English merchants and manufacturers might indeed have complained of this freedom,

before any steps could be taken for that purpose, while the mother-country and the colonies were mutually held in suspense with respect to the dispositions of each other, the attention of both was called aside, in order to provide against a new danger.

Soon after the ratification of the peace of Paris, it was judged expedient to divide our acquisitions in North America into three separate and independent governments. The first and most northerly of these, somewhat more limited than that of French Canada, was called the government of Quebec; the other two, comprehending our more southern acquisitions, were distinguished, as we have already had occasion to observe, into the governments of East and West Florida. The territory of Labrador and the adjacent islands, from the river Sanguenay to Hudson's Straits, were very judiciously put under the direction of the governor of Newfoundland, as their value consists almost wholly in the fishery established on their coasts; and the islands of St. John and Cape Breton were annexed, on account of their vicinity to the government of Nova Scotia. In this distribution, great care was taken to reserve very extensive hunting grounds for the Indians; and while the crown retained the right of making purchases from them, it prohibited all those of a private nature, in order to quiet the minds of the savages in general, as well as to prevent those acts of violence or injustice, so apt to give alarm, and which too frequently accompany such purchases. Nor did the attention of government stop here. In order to encourage soldiers and seamen, who had served in the American war, to settle in the new provinces, and at the same time to reward their services, lots of land were proffered to the officers, corresponding to the rank which they had held in the army or navy; namely, five thousand acres to a field officer, three thousand to every captain, and two thousand to every subaltern; to every non-commissioned officer, two hundred; and to every private seaman and foldier, fifty acres. This was a very ample and well judged encouragement; and that nothing might be wanting for the security of the new settlers, for the stability of the conquests we had made, or for awing and protecting the Indian nations, a regular military establishment was formed for

freedom; but merchants and manufacturers ought not to be the legislators of nations, any more than the giddy and licentious mob, who are swayed by the impulse of the moment: both judge by immediate appearances, without being able to discern distant consequences; and of the two, the mob ought rather perhaps to be consulted, as they have always national honour in view, and the trader only a confined idea of national profit. When the Americans had found themselves free from restraint, always more grievous in idea than in reality, they would have perceived (when the mind only can perceive justly) in a state of freedom, that their true interest was, and would be for many years, to clear and cultivate their lands, and purchase their manufacture; and they would have purchased them from Great Britain. When any trade has been long conducted in a certain line, when credits have been established and connexions formed, it requires a great effort of government to give it a new direction. But, in the present instance, government would have been on the side of habitual intercourse and extensive credit, on the one hand, and of the same ancient intercourse and a ready market, on the other. Every allurement would have been offered, by a wise ministry, to attach the trade of the colonies to the mother-country; and the commerce between England and America, confined by no exclusive statute, would have continued to flow in its former channel.

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the assistance of the civil power, in our settlements in North America and the West Indies. That establishment consisted of ten thousand men, divided into twenty battalions, to be maintained for a time by Great Britain, and afterwards by the colonies, when a more settled season should come on; and little doubt was entertained, in the meanwhile, but this prudent distribution of our new territories, and the wise regulations established in regard to them, would enable us to draw from our American empire those advantages, on the prospect of which we had begun the war, and to secure which was the chief object attended to in negotiating the peace. But our hopes were particularly sanguine, that since French intrigues could no longer seduce, or French force support the Indians, that our settlements would thenceforth be secure against their barbarous inroads. Unhappily, however, we were disappointed in this flattering expectation. Our danger arose from that very quarter on which we thought ourselves perfectly safe. When we concluded that the Indians were entirely overawed, and almost subdued by our power, they suddenly fell upon the frontiers of our most valuable settlements, and upon all our distant forts, with such concert in the design, and savage fury in the execution, as we had not experienced in any former war with the vindictive and unfeeling, but undiscerning natives of the New World.

This matter will require some illustration. When the Indians saw the French power annihilated, as it were, in North America, they began to think that they ought to have made greater and earlier efforts in favour of that rival nation, which had always paid a more flattering attention to them than the English. This attention was rendered still more negligent by our extraordinary success during the late war: the usual presents were omitted; and settlements, contrary to the royal proclamation, were attempted beyond the limits of the several governments. These were sources of just dissatisfaction; and the Indians were farther alarmed, when they considered the situation of the places of strength, which we had acquired by conquest or by treaty in their country, without any other European power to controul us. We possessed a chain of forts upon the south of Lake Erie, which secured all the communications with the Ohio and the Mississippi; we were masters of the Detroit, which secures the communication between Canada and Louisiana; we had drawn a chain of forts around their best hunting grounds; and that circumstance was a matter of the more serious concern with them, as such grounds became every day more scarce, not only from the gradual extending of our settlements, but also from their own bad œconomy in this single resource of savage life. Besides they knew, that of the grounds which were still reserved to them, some were highly desirable for the purposes of an European settlement: they beheld in every little garrison the germ of a future colony, and contemplated with horror, through the medium of barbarous imagination, the period when the wilds of America should become a cultivated country, and its rude inhabitants a polished people; when the copious harvest shall wave, where the earth now groans beneath the venerable forest, and

no frontier be left for the savage hunter to escape from the toils of society, and taste the blood of his prey in the indolent security of nature.

In the midst of these apprehensions, natural to men unacquainted with the pleasures of polished life, the fruits of industry, or the benefit of civil regulations, a report is said to have been spread among the Indians, that a scheme was formed for their entire extirpation. A design so shocking to humanity, there is every reason to believe, was never conceived, much less countenanced by any person of rank or authority in the British colonies; and the idea of it was probably suggested by some ambitious chiefs among the savages themselves, in order to excite their countrymen to hostilities. These hostilities were begun by the Indians on the Ohio. The general plan of the war was, to make a sudden attack upon all our frontier settlements, during the time of harvest; to destroy all the men they should meet; to cut off all provisions from those who might escape in the common massacre; and thus, by a single blow, to terminate both their grievances and apprehensions.

A better plan could not have been concerted by the most enlightened statesman; but the precipitancy of some of the Indian warriors defeated, as usual, its execution in part, by giving too early an alarm to our people, who were by that means enabled to elude with their effects. Great numbers, however, were slain: the crops in many places were ruined, the houses burnt down, and all the inhumanities of an Indian war carried to the greatest excess.

In consequence of this irruption all the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland were immediately deserted, and thousands of thriving plantations, the labour of years, at once abandoned. All the itinerant merchants, who on the faith of the general peace, traded in the Indian country, were murdered, and their effects plundered to the value, it is said, of some hundred thousand pounds sterling. Every trading town in North America felt the shock. But what was of still greater moment, both in a civil and military light, all the forts which the French had built, in very advantageous situations, to the southward of Lake Erie, were taken; namely, Le Bœuf, Venango, and Presqu' Isle. These forts, in themselves very considerable, were rendered yet more important by commanding, in some measure, the heads of all the navigable rivers that run to the southward, at the same time that they preserved the communication between the places which we possess above the lakes, and our principal post of Fort Pitt.

In making themselves masters of those forts, though by no means in a proper posture of defence, the Indians were obliged to make use of stratagem. Whenever they attacked any of them, they persuaded the garrison that they had reduced all the others, at the same time that they exaggerated the number of savages that were approaching; and by a promise of safety, which they commonly violated, they persuaded the English troops to abandon their quarters. By similar artifices, they secured some other fortified places; particularly that of Michillimackinac, the remotest of all our posts. But even after this tide of success, there still remained three fortresses of considerable strength, and important by their situation,

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situation, which it was necessary for the savages to reduce, before they could expect any permanent advantage; Detroit, between the Lakes Huron and Erie; Niagara, between the Lakes Erie and Ontario; and Fort Pitt, which checked them on the Ohio.

Sensible that but a few links of their chain were broken, whilst these fortresses remained, the Indians directed against them the most vigorous efforts of their strength and policy; and though the theatre of the war was of an immense extent, and the savages, consisting of various nations, widely disjointed from each other by large tracts of impracticable country, they preserved an uncommon degree of concert in their operations. They at the same time invested Detroit and Fort Pitt, at the distance of near three hundred miles from each other. The latter, which was called Fort Du Quesne by the French, stands at the junction of the Ohio with the Monongahela. Though equally strong and important by its situation, it was by no means in a proper state of defence. The works, which had never been completed, had suffered greatly from an inundation of the Ohio. In this condition it was surrounded by the Indians, who seemed determined to reduce it, or to perish in the attempt. Though unacquainted with the method of attack by trenches, or the usual forms of regular approach; though destitute of cannon, and other engines necessary for a siege, these barbarians hoped to make themselves masters of the place by courage and perseverance. In consequence of this idea, and with a resolution unexampled in Americans, they took post under the banks of the rivers, close to the fort, and thence poured in an incessant storm of musquetry and burning arrows. Captain Ecuyer, who commanded the slender garrison, though every way ill provided against a siege, omitted no precaution for the defence of the place. His men seconded his efforts. There was no trifling with danger, when death was the least misfortune that could befall them.

General Amherst, who was at that time commander in chief of the British forces in North America, had sent off detachments, as early as possible, to strengthen the distant garrisons. The party which was dispatched to Detroit, arrived before the attack upon that place; and though the garrison failed in an attempt upon the Indian camp in its neighbourhood, it was still sufficiently strong to make the savages despair of being able to accomplish their design against the fortress. Nor was Fort Pitt forgot by the general. He knew that it must necessarily be a principal object in an Indian war. Its situation bespoke its danger; and as no express had arrived from it for some time, that danger appeared to be pressing. He therefore sent to its relief, without farther delay, a large quantity of military stores and provisions, protected by a powerful escort, under the command of colonel Bouquet.

When the colonel had advanced to the remotest verge of our settlements, he could learn nothing of the position or motions of the enemy. This was a very embarrassing circumstance in the conduct of an American campaign. The Indians, as is commonly the case, had better intelligence. No sooner were they informed of the march of the English, than they broke up the siege
of

of Fort Pitt, and took the rout which they knew the convoy was to pursue, in hopes of cutting it off, before it could reach the garrison. Happily they had to encounter an officer equally brave, discerning, and vigilant. During the alarming uncertainty in which he still remained, colonel Bouquet very prudently resolved to disencumber himself of all the ammunition and provisions, except what he judged to be absolutely necessary. Thus lightened, the English troops entered a rough and mountainous country. Before them lay a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, several miles in length, and commanded the whole way by high and craggy hills. This defile the colonel proposed to pass in the night, in order to elude, if possible, the vigilance of the Indians.

While the English troops were making the necessary arrangements for this purpose, after an harassing march of seventeen miles, their advanced guard was suddenly attacked by the enemy. The savages were beat off, and even pursued to a considerable distance; but they continued to renew the charge, by the help of fresh parties, till darkness put an end to the conflict. The night, as may well be imagined, was spent in anxiety and terror, and next morning the struggle was renewed. Those who have only experienced the severities and dangers of an European campaign, can scarcely form any idea of what is to be done and endured in an Indian war. To act among a civilized people, and in a cultivated country, where roads are made, magazines established, and hospitals provided; where there are fortified towns to retreat to, in case of necessity, or at worst a humane enemy to receive submissions, may be considered as a generous competition, as the exercise of a bold and adventurous spirit, rather than a rigid contest between sanguinary enemies, where mutual destruction is the object. But in a North American campaign every thing is dreadful; the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There no refreshment is to be found for the healthy, or relief for the sick. A vast inhospitable desert, full of savage enemies surrounds them: death lurks in every bush; and yet, in case of a defeat, simple death is an eligible condition. This forms a service truly critical, in which all the firmness of the mind, and all the address of the body is put to the severest trial.

Such was the service in which colonel Bouquet was engaged, and such his situation when darkness drew her curtain over the heavens, and also when morning unbarred the gates of light, and revealed to him the merciless enemy surrounding his camp, and endeavouring to strike terror into his troops by an ostentatious display of their numbers, and of their ferocity by the most horrid shouts and yells. These awful salutations were followed by an incessant fire, under cover of which the savages attempted to penetrate into the English camp. They were repulsed in every attack, in spite of their most vigorous efforts. But these checks, though greatly to the honour of the British troops, did not discourage the Indians from new attempts; and colonel Bouquet and his party, continually victorious, were continually in danger of being cut off. Distressed to the last degree by a total want of water, more intolerable than even the enemy's fire; tied to their convoy, of which they could not lose sight for a moment, without exposing not only that interesting object, but also their sick and wounded to fall a prey to the

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savages, who pressed them on every side, their condition was become truly critical and embarrassing. To move without abandoning their stores, was impracticable. Many of the horses were lost, and many of the drivers, stupified as well as distracted by their fears, had hid themselves in the bushes, and were incapable either of hearing or obeying orders. The troops, besieged rather than engaged, attacked incessantly, and were victorious without decision; able neither to advance nor to retreat, saw before them the melancholy prospect of crumbling away by degrees, and of perishing without honour, or even the pleasure of revenge, in the midst of those frightful desarts. A fate no less calamitous than that of Braddock was every moment presented to their eyes; but they were fortunately under the conduct of a more able officer.

Convinced that every thing depended upon bringing the savages to a close engagement, and on their standing their ground when attacked, colonel Bouquet endeavoured to increase their confidence as much as possible. That audaciousness which their success had inspired proved favourable to his design; and in order to carry it more effectually into execution, he contrived the following stratagem. The British troops were posted on an eminence; and for greater security, had formed a circle round their convoy the preceding night. This order they still retained; but directions were now given by the commander, in consequence of the plan he had embraced, that two companies which had occupied the most advanced posts, should fall within the circle. The troops on the right and left at the same time opened their files, and immediately filled up the vacant space, that they might seem to cover the retreat of their companions. Another company of light infantry, and one of grenadiers, were ordered to support the two first companies, which moved on the feigned retreat, and were intended to begin the real attack. The dispositions were well made, and the plan was executed without the least confusion.

The Indians gave entirely into the snare. The thin line of troops, which took possession of the ground that the two companies of light infantry had left, being brought in nearer to the center of the circle, the savages, mistaking these movements for a retreat, abandoned the woods which covered them from the fire of our people, and advancing with the most daring intrepidity, hurried headlong upon the brave, though fatigued detachment, as to a certain victory. But in the very moment when the enemy thought themselves masters of the camp, the two ambushed companies made a sudden turn, and falling out from a secluded part of the hill, fell furiously upon their right flank. The Indians however, though disappointed, and exposed to a severe fire, preserved their recollection; and encouraged by their numbers, and their knowledge of the country, resolutely kept the field, plying their muskets with great address. Now was the superiority of combined strength and disciplined valour conspicuous over barbarous force and savage ferocity: on the second charge, the Indians yielded to the irresistible shock of the British troops; who rushing upon them, killed many, and put the rest to flight. At this instant, the other two companies, which had been ordered to support the former, having placed themselves still in the

the front of the savages, gave them their full fire. This completed their defeat. The four companies, now united, did not allow the enemy time to look behind them, but pursued them till they were totally dispersed.

This victory, which rescued the detachment from the most imminent danger, not only secured the field, but cleared the adjacent woods of the savages. Still however the march was so difficult, the troops had suffered so much, and so many horses were lost, that before colonel Bouquet attempted to proceed, he found it necessary to destroy almost the whole convoy of provisions. Lightened anew by this sacrifice, the party advanced about two miles farther, and encamped in a place called Bushy Run. Here they expected to enjoy some repose, after the incredible fatigues they had undergone, and the severe chastisement which they had given the enemy; but hardly had they fixed their tents, when the savages were in ambuscade around them, and saluted them with an unexpected fire. Nothing could surely be more mortifying than this circumstance. Happily, however, the Indians did not persevere in their fresh attack. Being beat off with loss, and yet smarting from their late wounds, they afterwards kept at a distance, and the British detachment arrived at Fort Pitt without farther molestation.

Though thus checked, by the timely reinforcements which were thrown into the Detroit and Fort Pitt, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, the Indians were not discouraged from further attempts. Niagara was an object no less worthy of their regard, and they endeavoured to gain possession of it, by every exertion of their skill in attacking fortified places. They chiefly directed their attention towards the convoys, one of which they cut off. They hoped to starve what they could not otherwise reduce: but even in this they failed; and as Sir William Johnson was so successful in his negotiations with the Iroquois, or Six confederated Nations, as to induce them all, except the Senecas, to remain in a state of neutrality, the other Indian tribes found themselves under the necessity of suing for peace, one after another. It was granted them; but on terms highly advantageous to Great Britain.

The fortunate termination of this war, which not only restored tranquillity to our American empire, but seemed to establish it on a more solid foundation than formerly, revived in the minds of the colonists the idea of independency: and certain impolitic measures at home conspired to hurry into execution a system, which might otherwise have remained for years in contemplation; and at length, perhaps, have proved no more than an amusing theory.

A change had taken place in the British ministry. The earl of Bute, against whom the public odium had risen to an incredible height, had resigned; and the honourable George Grenville, who had long presided at the Board of Trade, was placed at the head of the treasury. He brought his contracted mercantile ideas along with him. By means of commercial regulations alone, and these chiefly directed against smuggling, he hoped to supply the exigencies of the state. Agreeable to this idea, the sovereignty of the Isle of Man was purchased by the crown, and armed vessels were stationed all around the coasts of Britain; so that

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no ship could pass either out from or into any port without a strict examination. This policy, more detrimental to trade than emolumentary to the revenue, was extended even to America and the West Indies, where it was productive of the most pernicious consequences.

A lucrative trade, as we have frequently had occasion to mention, had long been carried on between our islands in the West Indies and the Spanish main. In order to enjoy the advantages of this trade, which was entirely in favour of England, and which Spain had taken every method to obstruct, the inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbadoes had often run the greatest hazards; and the English men of war in those latitudes had frequently protected them from the Guarda Costas, at the risk of a national quarrel. But now these men of war, having received a general order to prevent smuggling of every kind, or in the ministerial phrase, to "crush the monster," made prize even of the Spanish vessels, when they came within a certain latitude, with their gold, silver, cochineal, and other valuable commodities, which they meant to exchange for British manufactures; and, as if the Guarda Costas had no longer been sufficient, a like severity was used towards such English ships as attempted to visit the Spanish settlements. The distress occasioned by this absurd regulation, so contrary to the spirit of British policy, was soon felt over all our West India islands. A total stagnation of trade was the consequence, and gold and silver entirely disappeared*.

Nor did our North American colonies feel less severely the effects of the same regulation. They had early carried on a beneficial trade with the French islands in the West Indies. Thither they conveyed wood for building, corn, cattle, and provisions of all kinds; and brought back, in return, indigo, cotton, sugar, and molasses. Part of these they consumed themselves, and part they sent to the mother-country, in exchange for her various manufactures; and though there is reason to believe that they sometimes received French manufactures immediately for their produce, the trade was attended with so many solid advantages to our northern colonies, especially after France was deprived of Canada, that it ought never to have been obstructed, though it should perhaps have been put under certain restrictions, as contributing in too great a degree to the prosperity of a rival power, as well as to enhance the necessaries of life in our West India islands, beyond what is consistent with the general interest of the empire.

These considerations were partly overlooked by the British ministry, on the one hand, and by the inhabitants of North America, on the other. The latter would admit of no restraint upon a trade, which they affirmed was not only essential to the clearing of their lands, and the prosperity of their fishery, but also to enable them to purchase the manufactures of the mother-country. The minister, like all wrongheaded men, was obstinate in his purpose: in his rage to augment the revenue of the customs, he lost sight of every other circumstance. The naval

* The precious metals have ever since been scarce in our West India islands; for although an act was passed in 1763, declaring Jamaica and Dominica free ports, the Spanish trade has never been fully recovered.

officers employed to execute the orders of government, partly from ignorance, partly from rapacity, were guilty of many acts of violence and injustice. Our North American colonies were neither in a disposition tamely to suffer such injuries, nor in a situation that made submission necessary. They were undisputed masters of an immense continent, without a single enemy to molest them; their population was great, and increasing with amazing rapidity; they were possessed of vast internal resources, and needed only perhaps an entire freedom of trade to be the greatest people upon earth. They were ambitious of possessing that freedom, and had already formed the scheme of their enfranchisement. Their conduct was consistent with their temper and condition: they immediately came to a resolution to import no manufactures from Great Britain, except such as it was impossible for them to do without.

This resolution has been represented, by certain politicians, as the most moderate that could have been adopted in such circumstances: and so it appears at first view; but on a more close examination, it will be found to involve almost every thing that the colonies have since claimed and the mother country denied. If they did not import their manufactures from Great Britain, they must either themselves fabricate them, or receive them from some other European power: and in both these instances, as we have already seen, they were restrained by acts of the British legislature, whose validity they had never called in question; they therefore claimed independency. Whether the minister perceived this or not may be questioned; but certain it is, that he perceived the inefficacy of his commercial regulations to answer the purposes of government. He did not, however, abandon his mercantile system. An open trade was permitted between our American settlements, and those of other nations; but the most important branches of it were loaded with such duties as were thought equal to a prohibition. Those duties were ordered to be paid into the British exchequer, and in specie too, at the same time that a bill was passed for regulating the quantity of paper-money in the colonies.

It is impossible to express the discontent which these two acts produced, both in the colonies and the mother-country. The ministry were now, it was said, proceeding from violent acts of despotism, to those of confirmed tyranny and deliberate oppression. Could there be a more arbitrary or absurd ordinance, than to require the Americans to pay in specie, of which they were entirely destitute, and which they had now no means left of acquiring, taxes in themselves too grievous to be borne?—In vain was it urged, that too great a quantity of circulating paper has a tendency to banish the precious metals, which always disappears where they are not necessary; that they would return on its being circumscribed, and that fair trade and useful industry, instead of being hurt by such a regulation, would be promoted, and idle speculation and romantic projects only discouraged; that the taxes complained of were no greater than what sound policy requires, in order to give a preference to the commodities of the English West India islands above those of other nations; and that they would all be returned, together with an additional sum in specie, for the payment of the

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the British troops in America. These troops were a new cause of terror, and the conquests which had occasioned their establishment, were execrated. The jealous republicans of New England, already beheld in idea their own money employed to pay a band of rapacious mercenaries, hired to keep them in slavish subjection to the mother-country. They were filled with indignation at the thought; and instead of attending to several acts passed for the encouragement of their trade *, which were at least a balance for those of a contrary tendency, they not only determined to abide by their former resolution of non-importation, but to encourage to the utmost of their power all kinds of manufactures within themselves, without paying any regard to the laws of Great Britain in that respect.

To this second resolution, which soon became general, the colonists were partly incited by a vote of the House of Commons, passed at the same time with the act imposing those duties which gave so much offence; “*that, towards further defraying the necessary expences of protecting the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties upon them.*” Nothing could be more imprudent than this vote; which seems to have been dictated by the same timid policy that, under the name of lenity, has been so disgraceful to the arms, and prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, in the present dispute with her colonies. It was meant as a prelude to the famous STAMP ACT, and was carried with little or no opposition. Had the act then been proposed at the same time, it would have passed with equal ease, and the opposition in the colonies would, in all probability, have been very inconsiderable.

But that measure was postponed till next session of parliament, in order that the colonies might have time, as was pretended, “*to offer a compensation for the revenue which a stamp duty might yield; and the minister actually shewed his willingness, when the colony-agents waited upon him to offer their thanks for this mark of his consideration, “to receive proposals for any other tax that might be equivalent in its produce to the one under contemplation.”* There is reason however to believe, that the true purpose of the vote was to gather the sense of the colonies with regard to an internal taxation: and that was as unfavourable as the boldest leader of faction, either in England or America, could have wished it. Had the parliament firmly exerted that legislative authority over the colonies, which had never seriously been called in question since the revolution, by giving to the proposed bill at once the force of a law, the colonists would not have felt in its actual operation those evils suggested by an enthusiastic fancy, discoloured by false report; nor would ambitious men have had leisure to propagate, by working on the fears and the discontents of the people, those infectious principles of natural liberty and original equality, so flattering to human nature, but inconsistent with all government, and which all popular leaders have thought it necessary to employ, till they were invested, like Washington, with

* Namely, “*a Bill for granting Leave for a limited Time for carrying Rice from the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia to other Parts of America, on paying British Duties; a Bill for granting a Bounty upon the Importation of Hemp and Flax from her American Colonies into Great Britain; and a Bill for encouraging the Whale-fishery in the American Seas.*”

the supreme command, or like Cromwell, found themselves sufficiently powerful to tell their equals they were slaves.

In consequence of this procrastination, and those licentious principles which it allowed to spring up, the colonists not only took the solemn resolution, already mentioned, to manufacture for themselves, without deigning to take any notice of the restrictive laws already in force, but sent over petitions to be presented to the king, lords and commons, positively, and directly calling in question the authority and jurisdiction of the British parliament over them. The minority in both houses caught the language, which was re-echoed by their adherents without doors; and when the bill for laying a stamp-duty on the colonies was read, a warm debate ensued, in which not only the expediency of that or any other internal tax was called in question, but also the right of the British legislature to tax the colonies without their concurrence.

The question of right we shall afterwards have occasion to discuss, when it came formally before the great council of the nation, and the propriety of the particular tax will naturally fall under our examination, in speaking of the repeal of the stamp-act: it will therefore be sufficient here to consider a question intimately connected with both, the ability of the colonies to bear internal taxes; from which the expediency of imposing them, will in some measure appear. The common advantages which every empire derives from the provinces subject to its dominion, it was observed by the friends of administration, consists in the military force which they furnish for its defence, and in the revenue that they yield for the support of its civil government. But the English colonies have never yet contributed any thing towards the defence of the mother-country, or towards the support of its civil government: on the contrary, they themselves have been hitherto defended almost entirely at the expence of the parent-state. The expence of their own civil government has always been very moderate*: it has generally been confined to what was necessary for paying competent salaries to the governor, to the judges, and to some other officers of police, and for maintaining a few of the most useful public works. Their ecclesiastical government is conducted upon a plan equally frugal: tithes are unknown among them; and their clergy, by no means numerous, are maintained either by moderate stipends, or by the voluntary contributions of the people. The most important part of the expence of government, that of protection, has constantly indeed fallen upon the mother country: and if she is to receive no compensation for past favours, it is at least but reasonable, that the colonies should henceforth raise such a proportion of revenue, as will for the future free her from this burden; especially as the colonists, who are subject neither to the tythe nor poor's rate,

* The expence of the civil establishment of Massachusetts Bay, before the commencement of the present disturbances, used to be but about eighteen thousand pounds a year; that of New Hampshire and Rhode island, three thousand five hundred each; that of Connecticut four thousand; that of New York and Pennsylvania, four thousand five hundred each; that of New Jersey, one thousand two hundred; that of Virginia and South Carolina, eight thousand each:—in a word, all the different civil establishments in North America, did not then much exceed seventy thousand pounds sterling annually.

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must be infinitely more able to bear revenue-taxes, than the inhabitants of Great Britain, who groan beneath those two grievous and oppressive loads.

It was answered by the gentlemen in opposition, That, however appearances might be in their favour, most of the provinces in North America were excessively poor; that they were upwards of four millions in debt to the merchants of Great Britain, who being creditors to such an amount, were in reality the proprietors of a great part of what the Americans seemed to possess; that the suppression of manufactures in that country, and obliging the colonists to take every sort which they use from Great Britain, comprises all kinds of taxes in one, and makes them in reality the supporters of a great part of our public burdens. But if actual taxes were even necessary, there was no possibility of paying them; the interior commerce of the colonies being entirely carried on by a paper currency, and the gold and silver which occasionally come among them, all sent to Great Britain: we could not draw from them what they had not; we had already got all their specie: they had neither gold nor silver left; and without gold and silver taxes could not be paid.

The scarcity of gold and silver money in America, it was, or might have been replied *, is not the effect of the poverty of that country, or of the inability of the people there to purchase those metals. In a country where the wages of labour are considerably higher, and the price of provisions much lower than in England, the greater part of the people must have the means of purchasing a greater quantity, if it were either necessary or convenient for them so to do: the scarcity of those metals must therefore be the effect of choice, not of necessity. It is convenient for the Americans, who could always employ with profit in the improvement of their lands a greater stock than they can get, to save as much as possible the expence of so costly an instrument of commerce as gold and silver, and rather to employ that part of their surplus produce which would be requisite for purchasing those metals, in purchasing the instruments of trade, the materials of cloathing, several articles of household furniture, and the iron-work necessary for building, and for extending their settlements and plantations; in purchasing not dead stock, but active and productive stock.

As it suits the conveniency of the planters to save the expence of employing gold and silver money in their domestic transactions, it also suits the conveniency of the colony governments to supply them with paper-money; a medium which, though attended with some very considerable disadvantages, enables them to save that expence. The redundancy of paper-money has a farther tendency to banish the precious metals, which are never seen where they are not necessary: wherever a cheaper instrument of commerce can be found, in the colonies, as they disappear. In those branches of business, however, which cannot be transacted without gold and silver money, it appears that the Americans can always find the necessary quantity; and if they frequently do not find it, their failure is generally the effect, not of their necessary poverty, but of their bold and projecting spirit, of their

* The author has not confined himself merely to the arguments offered in either house of Parliament: he has also included those employed by the best political writers on both sides, as well as such as occurred to himself.

unnecessary

unnecessary and extravagant passion for enterprize. It is not because they are poor, that their payments are slow, irregular, and uncertain; but because they are too eager to become excessively rich.

The same reasoning is equally applicable to the revenue intended to be raised in America. Though all that part of the produce of the colony taxes, which should exceed what was necessary for defraying the expence of their own civil and military establishments, were to be remitted to Great Britain in gold and silver, the colonies have sufficient means to purchase the requisite quantity of those metals. They would in this case be obliged, indeed, to exchange a part of their surplus produce, with which they now purchase active and productive stock, for dead stock. In transacting their domestic business, they would be obliged to employ a costly instead of a cheap instrument of commerce; and the expence of purchasing this costly instrument might damp somewhat the vivacity and ardour of their immoderate spirit of enterprize in the improvement of land. It might not however be necessary, if it should be found utterly inconvenient, to remit any part of the American revenue in gold and silver: it might be remitted in bills drawn upon, and accepted by particular merchants or companies in Great Britain, to whom a part of the surplus produce of America had been consigned, and who would pay into the treasury the American revenue in money, after having themselves received the value of it in goods. Thus the whole business of the revenue might be transacted without exporting a single ounce of gold or silver from America.

Recommended by these, or similar reasonings, the bill for imposing a stamp-duty on the colonies, and intended as a prelude to a general internal taxation, made its way through both houses of parliament; and, according to form, received the royal assent. Intelligence of this measure no sooner reached America, where the news of the vote of the House of Commons, relative to its propriety, had already excited universal alarm, than the deepest melancholy took possession of every countenance; and that melancholy was, in some places, sublimed into fury. This was particularly the case at Boston in New England, where unfortunately the disagreeable tidings first arrived. The example of passiveness, or even moderation in one province, might have had some effect to induce the rest to submit; but neither moderation nor submission were to be expected from the wild fanatics of Massachusetts Bay. Their dissatisfaction discovered itself in a manner entirely suited to their character: in a mixture of affected sorrow and insolent contempt of sovereign authority. The ships in the harbour hung out their colours half-mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled, the act itself was printed, with a death's head to it, in the place where it is usual to fix the king's arms, and cried publicly about the streets, by the name of the "FOLLY OF ENGLAND, and the RUIN OF AMERICA." Essays soon followed, not only against the expediency, but the equity of the tax, in several news-papers, one of which wore, by way of head-piece, the following significant emblem, truly expressive of the purpose of the leading men in the colonies; a snake cut in pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the several provinces,

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provinces, from New England to South Carolina inclusively, affixed to each piece, and above them the words "JOIN OR DIE!"

Nor was the dissatisfaction of the colonies, to give it no worse name, confined to these symbolical and literary insults on the authority of the mother-country. The Stamp-Act, printed in his majesty's name, no sooner reached America, than it was treated by the populace with all that contempt and indignation, which could be expressed by order of the civil power against a scandalous libel. It was publicly burnt in several places, along with the effigies of those who were supposed to have had any hand in promoting it. The masters of ships who had stamps on board, were obliged, in order to save their vessels from fire, and their persons from the gibbet, to surrender their execrated cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, to be treated in the same ignominious manner with the act itself, unless some man of war happened to be at hand to protect them. Even then the danger was not over. Those gentlemen who went from England, as distributors of the stamps, fared still worse. Some of them were obliged, on pain of death, to take an oath, that they would never more be concerned in such employment; others, for obstinately persisting, as it was termed, to enslave the colonies, had their houses burnt to the ground, and their most valuable effects plundered or destroyed. Governors and chief justices, who had been named for this purpose, without their own sollicitation or knowledge, were treated in the same manner: nay, ship-masters bringing stamped mercantile or custom-house papers, merely in their own defence, from such of the colonies as had thought proper to submit to the act, were forced to resign them, to be stuck up in derision in taverns and coffee-houses, and afterwards publicly committed to the flames.

Many of the better sort of people gradually mingled with the populace in these tumults; and one of them was not afraid to set the authority of Great Britain openly at defiance, by advertising in the public papers, that the persons whose business it was to enforce the execution of the Stamp Act, might save themselves the trouble of calling upon him for that purpose, as he was determined to pay no taxes except such as were levied by his representatives. Even the provincial assemblies not only declined giving the governors any advice concerning their behaviour in this critical emergency, but refused to strengthen the hands of the executive power so as to prevent future commotions; to condemn the rioters to any corporal punishment, or to decree any compensation to the injured parties. These assemblies, encouraged by associations of the free-holders, went yet farther: instead of barely conniving at the tumultuous proceedings of the people, in asserting their independency by acts of violence and injustice, they proceeded to avow it themselves in the most express terms; and considering the great diversity of governments, as well as of opinions both civil and religious, a wonderful harmony appeared in the sentiments of the assemblies of the several provinces.

The merchants of those colonies that ventured openly to oppose the Stamp Act, also entered into the most solemn engagements with each other, to order no

more goods from Great Britain, let the consequences be what they would, nor even to dispose of any British goods sent them by commission, unless shipped before the first of January 1766. In the meantime they imported from Ireland, and no doubt from foreign states, such goods as they could not do without. Nor did they omit any means to free themselves even from this dependence. A Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, on the plan of the London society, was instituted at New York, and markets opened for the sale of home-made goods. By these it soon appeared, that the manufacturers whom the colonists had, for some time past, been inviting from Europe, by tempting encouragements, had not been idle; and that the scheme of independency*, in what regards internal industry, was far advanced, and must soon have shewn itself, at least by a diminution in the demand for our manufactures, though no internal tax had been proposed, and by a contempt of our restraints on their internal commerce. Linens, woollens, the coarser but most useful kinds of iron-ware, malt spirits, paper-hangings, and a variety of other articles, were produced before the society with great approbation; and when brought to market, they were bought up with equal greediness, though much inferior to those of the mother-country. A resolution was at the same time entered into by the northern colonies, to eat no lamb, that their new woollen manufactures might not fall short of materials, by the destruction of the young of their flocks. In a word, a spirit of industry and frugality universally took place of that of idleness and profusion. Even the women, whose weakness was most to be feared, were forward in setting an example to the men, by renouncing whatever Britain had formerly furnished them with, either for elegance or conveniency.

Such was the opposition made against the Stamp Act, and the steps taken in consequence of it, by the eight most ancient English colonies in North America: namely, New England, New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. The other colonies quietly submitted to the authority of the British parliament, as did all the West India islands, except those of St. Christopher and Nevis, where a riot ensued on the first arrival of the stamped paper.

While these transactions were going forward in the colonies, a change had been made in the British ministry. The marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Grenville, who had found it necessary to resign; and the duke of Grafton and general Conway were appointed secretaries of state. The minister was an advocate for the legislative authority of Great Britain over her colonies, in all cases whatsoever, but he disapproved of the Stamp Act; though only perhaps because it was the measure of his predecessor, and because he hoped to render himself popular by getting it repealed. It must be owned, however, that he acted with no less prudence than moderation with respect to the proceedings in America. The firmness as well as temper,

* Though the author of this work has no doubt of the authenticity of *Montcalm's Letters*, in which the views of the colonists towards independent sovereignty itself are fully established, he has founded none of his reasonings upon them, that he may not be said to build upon a false, or even on a suspicious authority.

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which appeared in his dispatches to the different governors, do him honour : though inclined to lenity, and even averse from the measure which had made rigour necessary, he did not sacrifice the dignity of the nation by irresolution or weakness. In consequence of this mild conduct, a door was still left open for reconciliation, when the matter should come finally before the supreme legislature of the empire, as the colonists were not urged to commit such acts as could not be forgiven.

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That important crisis, for which all parties were prepared, at length arrived. Never was any affair debated in a British parliament, in which the nation thought itself more deeply interested, or on which all Europe hung with more impatient anxiety, than the right of taxing the colonies, and the measures necessary to be pursued relative to their late proceedings. Numberless pamphlets were written on both sides of the question; and, in general, both parties were guilty of the same fault, though in the most opposite extremes. The advocates for the colonies, as on every succeeding occasion, carried the idea of liberty to the highest pitch of enthusiasm², while their antagonists seemed to think that a person forfeited every privilege of an Englishman by going to live in America. They both proved a great deal too much. The former, by considering the colonies rather as independent states, in a sort of equal alliance with the mother-country, than as provinces under her dominion, or plantations reared by her fostering care, and immediately belonging to her, furnished the strongest reasons why they should be made more sensible of

² "In general," says Dr. Price, "to be free is to be guided by one's own will; and to be guided by the will of another is the characteristic of servitude." Hence he concludes, "that no one community can have any power over the property or legislation of another community, which is not incorporated with it by a just and adequate representation;" because "a country that is subject to the legislature of another country, in which it has no voice, and over which it has no controul, cannot be said to be governed by its own will, and therefore is in a state of slavery." Such is the substance of Dr. Price's famous "OBSERVATIONS ON CIVIL LIBERTY," which are destructive of all civil authority; of all subordination among men or estates. Who can doubt that every servant would wish to be a master, or at least to have no controul upon his actions, except that of the magistrate, (for then only can he be said to be guided by his own will, even in indifferent matters) and that every state would wish to be independent and sovereign?—But men are born with such unequal powers and capacities, that, even in a state of nature, some very early acquire an ascendancy over others; and men of inferior abilities very readily acknowledge the authority, and submit to the controul of those who are able to yield them protection, and to afford them, in a state of submission, such advantages as they were unable to have procured for themselves, in a state of perfect freedom. In like manner, certain states, in different ages of the world, have voluntarily put themselves under the government of other states, that they might enjoy the benefit of protection, and other advantages connected with it; an authority over many has been acquired by conquest; and a controul over some has arisen from, or been created by colonization. But however such dominion may have been obtained, it has always been understood, that when any one state had submitted to the authority of another, by permitting the controul of its laws, and more especially, when it had received protection from the sovereign or imperial state, that it had no right of breaking free from that sovereignty or empire. Nor has a state in such a condition any right to representation, even though it should obtain in the sovereign or parent-state: it is bound to submit itself to the wisdom and equity of the state whose laws it has acknowledged, or boldly to rebel against such state, and claim natural independency by the sword.

their

their dependence, by a timely check being given to that daring spirit of licentiousness, which had insolently set at defiance the imperial authority of Great Britain. On the other hand, the advocates for the supremacy of the legislature, by exaggerating the power, opulence, and population of the colonies, sufficiently proved the necessity of treating them with tenderness; for if such calculations were allowed to be well founded, it must be impossible to retain the colonies long in subjection by any other means.

The reasonings within doors were nearly of the same complexion as those without. The speech from the throne pointed out the American affairs to parliament, as the principal object of its deliberations: the addresses of both houses shewed that they considered them in the same important light; and the petitions received from the principal trading and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, complaining of the great decay of commerce, contributed still farther to rouse the attention, and call forth the faculties of the members, on this grand occasion. They consisted of three parties: those who were resolved to support the Stamp Act at all events, as a regular and necessary exertion of authority; those who contended for its repeal, as inexpedient, among whom were the ministry, but who insisted that the legislature of Great Britain has an undoubted right to tax her colonies; and those, among whom were Mr. Camden and Mr. Pitt, who absolutely denied the right of taxation, and who, though a smaller body, stood high in the esteem of the public. In the course of the debates, which were long and warm beyond example, the subject naturally divided itself into two questions, or objects of inquiry, on the result of which the whole depended; namely, "the right of taxation, and the expediency of the late tax."

The noblemen and gentlemen, who opposed the right of taxation, produced many learned arguments to prove, that taxation and representation are inseparable, according to the principles of the British constitution, the fundamental maxim of which is, that "no man shall be taxed but by himself or his representative;" that the charters of the colonies, (which are derived from prerogative, and are in fact only so many grants from the crown) are not the only rights the colonists have to be represented before they are taxed; that as British subjects, they take up their rights and liberties from an higher origin, from Magna Charta, the same origin whence they flow to all Englishmen; that the charters of the colonies, like all other crown grants, are to be interpreted for the benefit, not to the prejudice of the subject; that had the first colonists renounced all connection with the parent-state, they might have renounced their original right, but as they migrated under the authority of the crown, and with the national sanction, they consequently carried along with them all the privileges of Englishmen: that they were not, however, bound by the penal laws of this country, from the severity of which they had fled, to climates more remote from the heavy hand of power; and that being once removed from the domestic legislation of the mother country, they are no more dependent upon it in the general system, than the inhabitants of many separate principalities in Europe, during the feudal policy, were on the jurisdiction of their superior, or lord.

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lord paramount. But these arguments, it was observed at the same time, were not meant to affect any external duties laid upon the ports of the colonies, or any restrictions which, by the Act of Navigation, or other acts, are laid upon their trade; those it was allowed, the mother country, according to the practice of all European nations, had a right to impose, but not internal taxes, to be levied on the body of the people, before the people were represented.

Arguments of no less weight were employed by the advocates for the supremacy of the legislature. It was necessary, they observed, to clear away from a question of constitutional law, such as the present, all that mass of dissertation and learning displayed by speculative men on the subject of government; that no conclusion relative to the colonies of Great Britain, could be drawn from reasonings concerning those of antiquity*, except what were in favour of the right of taxation; that the colonies of the Greeks and Tyrians were mere emigrations, in order to disburden the parent state of its superfluous subjects, and who were allowed to perish, or struggle into existence, as they were able, being understood to have no political connexion with her; that the colonies, or plantations of the Romans, established in the conquered provinces, though partly of a military nature, had more resemblance to ours†; but, like ours, though they had the power of enacting laws for their own government, were at all times subject to the correction, jurisdiction, and legislative authority of the mother-country; that, on the other hand, nothing could be more unlike our colonies, than principalities in a feudal dependency, or those myriads that poured from the northern hive over the rest of Europe. The first were not colonies, therefore no arguments could be deduced from them relative to the present question; the latter, a set of plunderers, renounced all laws, all connection with or protection from their respective mother-countries: they chose leaders, and marched out under their command, to ravage the Roman empire, and establish new kingdoms on its ruins; whereas our colonists, actuated by very different motives, emigrated under the sanction of the crown and parliament.

Here they met their antagonists on their own ground, and proceeded to observe, that the British colonies were gradually modelled into their present forms of government, respectively by charters, grants, and statutes, but were never separated from the mother-country, or so far emancipated as to become their own legislators; that they were originally (as we have had frequent occasion to notice) under the authority of the privy-council, and had agents residing here responsible for their proceedings; and that the commonwealth parliament, as soon as it was settled, passed a resolution or act, in order to declare and establish the legislative authority of England over her colonies. But though there were no express law, or reason founded on any necessary inference from such law, yet the usage alone would be sufficient to support that authority. Have not the colonies, ever

* These reasonings, on the other side, were omitted to avoid the languor of repetition.

† The Greek word *αποικια* signifies a separation of dwelling, a departure from home, a going out of the house; whereas the Latin word *Colonia*, imports simply a *plantation*, the original name given to our colonies.

since their first establishment, submitted to the jurisdiction of the mother-country?—In all questions of property, the colonies have appealed to the privy-council; and such causes have been determined, not by the law of the colonies, but by the law of England. The colonies have also been frequently obliged to recur to the jurisdiction here, to settle the disputes between their own governments. Connecticut and New Hampshire have been in blood about their differences, and the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland in arms against each other: hence is evident the necessity of one superior and absolute jurisdiction, to which all inferior jurisdictions may have recourse. Nothing could be more fatal to the peace of the colonies, than for the parliament to relinquish its jurisdiction over them, and to leave them entirely to their own will; for in such case, there would be an entire dissolution of all government. Considering how the colonies are composed, it is easy to foresee, that there would be no end of their feuds and factions, when once there should be no controul over them, nor any superior tribunal to decide their mutual differences; and government being dissolved, nothing remains but that the several colonies must either change their constitutions, and take some new form, or fall under some foreign power.

It was further observed, that the constitutions of the colonies are various, having been produced, as all governments were originally, by accident and circumstances; that the forms of government were adapted to the size of the several colonies, and have been extended from time to time, as the number of their inhabitants and their commercial connexions outgrew the first model; that, in some colonies there was only at first a governor assisted by a council of five or six members; then more were added; next courts of justice were erected; and afterwards, assemblies were established. Some things were done by instructions from the secretaries of state; others by the order of the king and council, and not a few by commission under the great seal. In consequence of these successive establishments, and the dependence of the colony governments on the supreme legislature at home, the lenity of each government in America has been very great towards the subject; but if all these governments, which are now independent of each other, should also become independent of the mother-country, the inhabitants would soon find, to their sad experience, how little they were aware of the consequences: they would, in that event, feel the hand of power much heavier upon them in their own governments, than they had yet felt, or even feared from the parent-state.

As the constitutions of the several colonies are so variously constructed as to preclude the hope of their ever being moulded into one uniform government, so every thing proclaims the necessity of their submitting without reserve to the jurisdiction of the mother-country, or of being totally dismembered from her. The provincial assemblies cannot be supposed to be proper judges of what is necessary for the defence and support of the whole empire. The care of that defence and support is not intrusted to them: it is not their business, and they have no regular means of information concerning it. The assembly of a province, like the vestry of a parish, may judge very properly concerning the affairs of its

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own particular district, but can have no proper means of judging concerning those of the whole political body: it cannot even judge properly concerning the proportion which its own province bears to the whole empire, or concerning the relative degree of its wealth and importance, compared with the other provinces; because those other provinces are not under the inspection and superintendency of the assembly of a particular province. What is necessary for the defence and support of the whole empire, and in what proportion each part ought to contribute, it was therefore affirmed, can be judged of only by that assembly which inspects and superintends the affairs of the whole empire; that no one ever thought to the contrary, till the trumpet of sedition was lately blown; that acts of parliament have been made, not only without a doubt of their legality, but with universal applause, the great object of which has been ultimately to confine the trade of the colonies, so as to make it centre in the bosom of that country whence they derive their origin; that the Navigation Acts shut up their commerce with foreign countries; that their ports have been made subject to customs and regulations, which circumscribed their commerce, and that restrictions have been put, and duties imposed affecting the inmost parts of their trade and industry; yet all these have been submitted to peaceably, nor did any one ever object till now, or even insinuate, that our colonies are not to be taxed, regulated, and bound by the resolutions of the British parliament.

Formerly indeed, as at present, a few individual merchants were displeas'd at restrictions which did not permit them to make the greatest advantage possible of their commerce, in their own private and peculiar branches. But though these merchants might think themselves injured, in having their profits on certain articles circumscribed, as being contrary to the general national system, as prejudicial to the interest of the whole empire, yet in the issue the colonies were benefited by such laws; because these restrictive laws, founded on the general policy not only of Britain but of Europe, with respect to trade and plantations, flung a great weight of naval force into the hands of the parent state, which was to protect the colonies, in themselves unequal to their own defence, and enabled her to perform the office of a guardian with honour and dignity, with equal advantage to herself and to them. In proportion as the mother country advanced in superiority over the rest of the maritime powers of Europe, the colonies, who had contributed to it, became relatively and subordinately great, according to the natural and just relation in which they reciprocally stand, that of dependence on one side and protection on the other.

The distinction between internal and external taxes, it was urged, is alike false and frivolous. It is granted, that restrictions upon trade, and duties upon the ports are legal, at the same time that the right of the parliament of Great Britain to lay internal taxes upon the colonies is denied. What real difference can there be in this distinction?—A tax laid on the commodity of a country in any place, is like a pebble falling into and making a circle in a lake, till one circle produces and gives motion to another, and the whole circumference is agitated from the centre; for nothing can be more clear, than that a tax of ten or

twenty per cent. laid upon tobacco in the ports of Virginia, or even in those of Britain, as long as it is confined to the market of the mother-country, is a duty laid upon the inland plantations of Virginia an hundred miles from the sea, or wherever the tobacco grows.

As to the argument of representation, there can be no doubt but the inhabitants of the colonies are as much represented in parliament as the greatest part of the people of this island, among seven millions of whom six have no votes in electing members of parliament: every objection therefore, on the part of the colonies, against the right of taxation, that may be supposed to arise on the ground of non representation, is equally applicable to the inhabitants of the mother-country. A member of parliament chosen for any particular borough, represents not only the constituents and inhabitants of that particular place; he represents the inhabitants of every borough in Great Britain: he represents all the commons in the British empire, the inhabitants of all its colonies and acquisitions, and is in duty and conscience bound to take care of their interests. A more equitable representation however, (in which the colonies ought to be immediately included) it is allowed both might and may take place; but, in the meantime, the obligation between the colonies and the mother-country is natural and reciprocal, consisting of defence on the one side, and obedience on the other. Common sense indicates, that they must be entirely under the authority of the parent-state, otherwise not belong to it at all: for if any of the countries of an empire, neither acknowledge the supremacy of the legislature, nor contribute towards the support of the whole empire, they cannot be considered as provinces; and therefore ought to be thrown aside as incumbrances, whenever the empire can no longer support the expence of such splendid trappings.

That part of the question relative to the constitution is no less simple and self-evident. If a matter of right has been generally exercised, and as generally held to be law, as in the present instance, it becomes the constitution. The right of England to tax her colonies has not been questioned at least since the Revolution; an event to which several of those colonies owe their present charters, and consequently their present constitution, and to which all our American colonies owe the liberty, security, and property, which they have ever since enjoyed. But not satisfied with these blessings, under the equitable controul of the parent-state, they have dared to spurn her authority; and by their late audacious proceedings, particularly in appointing deputies from their several assemblies to confer together, have absolutely forfeited their charters, unless Great Britain shall behold their offences with the indulgent eye of a mother.

Such were the principal arguments made use of in the celebrated debates relative to the legislative authority of Great Britain over her colonies; which, on the question being put, was confirmed and ascertained without a division. In consequence of this resolution, a bill was brought in and passed, "for the better securing the dependence of his majesty's dominions in America on the crown of Great Britain." The bill itself declares, "That the colonies have been, are, and of right ought to be subordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial crown.

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crown and parliament of Great Britain; and that the king and parliament of Great Britain had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force to bind the colonies and his majesty's subjects in them, *IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER.*" It also further specifies, "That whereas several of the houses of representatives in his majesty's colonies in America have of late, against the law, claimed to themselves, or to the general assemblies of the same, the sole and exclusive right of imposing duties and taxes on his majesty's subjects in the said colonies, and have passed certain votes, resolutions, and orders, derogatory to the authority of parliament, and inconsistent with the dependency of the said colonies upon the crown of Great Britain, all such resolutions, votes, orders, and proceedings are declared to be utterly null and void to all intents and purposes."

At the same time with this bill, surprising as such a measure may appear, was brought in another for the total repeal of the Stamp Act. The ministry satisfied with having ascertained and secured, upon paper, the legislative authority of Great Britain over her colonies, seemed resolved to relinquish it in reality; or at least they were determined to render themselves popular, by annulling that obnoxious statute. In this resolution they were encouraged, and supported by the popular party among the minority; who, as appeared in the issue, wanted only to betray them, by leading them into such a measure as would deprive them of the confidence of the court. In vain was it urged by the true friends of the king and constitution, that a concession of this nature, on the part of the supreme legislature, while such an outrageous resistance continued in the colonies, carried with it so palpable an appearance of weakness and timidity in government, as must for the future lessen the authority of Great Britain, and make it appear even contemptible. The honour and dignity of the nation was thought sufficiently provided for by the bill declaring the dependency of the colonies. General reasonings were no more successful. In vain was it advanced, that the power of taxation is one of the most essential branches of all authority; that it cannot be equitably or impartially exercised, if it is not extended to all the members of the state, in proportion to their respective abilities: but if a part is suffered to be exempt from a due share in those burdens, which the public exigencies require to be imposed upon the whole, a partiality so directly repugnant to the trust reposed by the people in every legislature, must be absolutely destructive of that confidence on which all government ought to be founded.

The great distance of our colonies, it was answered, and the difficulty of making ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the minute circumstances of every colony, render us liable to great mistakes, and consequently to the hazard of great oppression, whenever we attempt to levy internal taxes in America; that our true policy is to acquiesce in the great commercial advantages we derive from our colonies, rather than to attempt to raise a revenue in them; which by disabling the people to make returns to our merchants, will put them under the necessity of setting up manufactures of their own. That, it was replied, they had already done: therefore, unless we could engage them to share with us in the
 common

common burdens of the empire, we would soon find, to our melancholy experience, that we had entailed upon ourselves the wasteful expence of protecting them, without any adequate advantage; as our exclusive trade must daily decrease, in consequence of the new order of things that had taken place in North America.

These arguments had no weight with the ministry. The repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act *, it was said, would restore every thing to its former footing. The Stamp Act was accordingly repealed, to the great joy of the mercantile and manufacturing part of the kingdom; and a bill of indemnity was passed, in favour of those who had opposed its operation.

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The Progress of the Dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies continued, from the Repeal of the Stamp Act, in 1766, to the passing of the BOSTON PORT BILL 1774.

NO ministry perhaps ever conducted a popular measure with so little advantage, or even reputation to themselves, as those under the marquis of Rockingham the repeal of the Stamp Act. The people, struck with the glaring inconsistency of a law for ascertaining the right of imposing internal taxes upon the colonies, and one for removing the only internal tax that had been imposed, without any other being substituted in its stead, could not conceive both to be the work of the same men: they ascribed the latter, and with some appearance of reason, to the bold and animated speech of Mr. Pitt, in the House of Commons, and one no less forcible by lord Camden, in the House of Peers †. The court, though not entirely of the same opinion, considered the ministry as a set of weak men, labouring under the influence of popular clamour, or seduced by the thirst of popular applause, and therefore un-

* The objections against the act itself were few and inconsiderable, consisting chiefly in the objection it might be supposed to produce in business, and the occasions it would afford of oppression, through the ignorance of the Americans of the numerous cases in which they were liable to penalties. The first of these objections is of some force, but is equally strong against a stamp duty every where, and the obstruction it pleads is amply compensated by that order which it introduces into the transactions of men:—and this furnishes an answer to the second objection; for if the ignorance of the Americans of the various cases in which they were liable to the penalties denounced in the Stamp-Act had at first subjected them to a few fines, the superior regularity introduced into business would have prevented law-suits, so frequent in the colonies, as well as have rendered property more secure. In a word, a moderate stamp-duty is perhaps the least felt of any general tax that can be devised; and that imposed upon the colonies was by no means exorbitant. It was not the tax, but taxation that was the grievance.

† What contributed particularly to favour this opinion was, that these two celebrated speeches were not so much levelled against the Stamp-Act, as against the right of the parliament to tax the colonies, which had just been established by the Declaratory Bill.

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worthy of its confidence: it accordingly threw them aside, in the hour of their disappointment; and their places were filled by those who had misled them, and on whom the beams of public as well as royal favour shone. Lord Camden was raised to the head of the law, in the room of the earl of Northington; the duke of Grafton to the head of the treasury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; and the new made earl of Chatham, supposed to be the ostensible minister, and political guardian to the duke of Grafton, was appointed lord privy-seal. At the same time, the earl of Shelburne was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the duke of Richmond. General Conway retained his place, as the other secretary.

Both the old and new ministry were much disappointed in the effect of their lenient measures upon the refractory colonists. That factious and turbulent spirit which had taken possession of their minds, was by no means mollified by the repeal of the Stamp-Act. They had obtained a triumph, and were resolved to enjoy it. Not content with private outrages, too often repeated, and marks of disrespect to government, no less frequently shewn in New England and the neighbouring provinces, the assembly of New York, in direct opposition to an act passed by the Rockingham administration for providing the troops with necessaries in their quarters, took the liberty of regulating the provisions of the army according to a mode of their own, without any regard to that prescribed by parliament. This affair, being brought before the House of Commons next session, occasioned warm debates, and rigorous measures were by some proposed. Happily, however, the general opinion was, rather to bring the colonists to temper, and a sense of their duty by acts of moderation, which should at the same time sufficiently support the dignity of the legislature, than by severe measures to inflame still farther that spirit of discontent which was already too prevalent among them. According to these principles a bill was passed, by which the governor, council, and assembly of New York, were prohibited from passing or assenting to any act of assembly, for any purpose whatever, till they had complied with all the terms of the act of parliament.

This restriction, though confined to one colony, was intended as a lesson for the whole; and that they might no longer consider the repeal of the Stamp-Act as a relinquishing of the legislative authority of Great Britain over them, a bill was also passed, during the same session, for laying certain duties on tea, paper, painters colours, and glass, imported into the British colonies and plantations in America. Such a measure, though by no means inconsistent with the political principles either of the late or present ministry, as they had maintained the power of imposing *port-duties*, at the same time that they denied the right of *internal taxation*, afforded nevertheless to the Grenville administration and their associates, in its consequences, great cause of recrimination. It demonstrated to the world the views of the Americans, and the fallacy of some late pretensions to patriotism. No better disposed to pay these duties than the stamp-duties, which had been so industriously represented, both at home and abroad, as unjust and oppressive, the colonists took the most vigorous and effectual steps

for defeating the purpose of the new laws ; though planned by men whom they had lately adored as their deliverers, and whom every tongue had applauded as the champions of liberty and the constitution.

Boston, the capital of Massachusetts Bay, was in this, as well as the former instance, the place where the opposition to the authority of the British legislature first discovered itself. At a general meeting of the inhabitants, summoned on the occasion, several resolutions were entered into for the encouragement of manufactures, the promoting of industry and œconomy, and the lessening and restraining the use of foreign superfluities. These resolutions, every one of which was highly prejudicial to the commerce of the mother country, contained a long list of enumerated articles, which it was determined either not to use at all, or in the smallest quantities possible. At the same time a subscription was opened, and a committee appointed, for the encouragement of their own growing manufactures, and the establishment of new ones. Among these, it was resolved particularly to promote the making of paper and glass, as being liable to the payment of the new port duties : it was also resolved to restrain the expence of funerals ; to reduce dress to a degree of primitive simplicity ; and in general, not to purchase from the mother country any commodity that could be procured in any of the colonies.

These resolutions were either adopted, or similar ones entered into by all the other colonies on the continent ; and a circular letter was sent soon after, by the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, to all the other assemblies in North America. The purport of that letter was, to shew the pernicious tendency of the late act of parliament ; to represent it as unconstitutional ; and to propose a common bond of union between the colonies, in order to prevent the effect of the statute, as well as to promote harmony in their applications to government for a repeal of it. Nor were their natural rights as men, or their constitutional ones as Englishmen forgot ; all of which, it was pretended, were infringed by the imposition of the new port-duties.

Unfortunately during this ill humour of the people of Massachusetts Bay, they were dissatisfied with Mr. Bernard, their governor. He had been thwarted in every measure for some years past by the assembly ; and both parties seemed more attentive to the gratification of private and personal animosity, than zealous for the public good. Proud no doubt of an occasion of triumph, the governor ordered to be read to the assembly, according to its intention, a letter from the earl of Shelburne, one of the principal secretaries of state, containing very severe animadversions on that body. The rage of the members instantly vented itself in the most indecent expressions, first against the ministry, and afterwards against the governor. The charges made in it must have been founded, it was said, on misrepresentations of facts in his dispatches to the secretary. A committee was accordingly appointed to wait on him, in order to desire a copy of lord Shelburne's letter, as well as of those which he had written himself relative to the assembly, and to which the charges in that must refer. These copies being refused, the assembly wrote a letter to the secretary of state, in which great pains

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were taken to vindicate their own conduct at the expence of the governor, and to ascribe to his misrepresentations the disadvantageous opinion entertained of them in the cabinet. They also wrote letters to the Lords of the treasury, and most of the great officers of state; in which, along with great professions of loyalty, they not only remonstrated strongly against the operation of the late act of parliament, but insinuated that the imposition of the port-duties was contrary to the constitution, and totally subversive of their rights and liberties.

Seeing no hope of being able to mollify the refractory spirit, so predominant in the assembly of his province, governor Bernard adjourned it. The speech which he delivered on the occasion contained many severe strictures on the conduct of the members, particularly in regard to lord Shelburne's letter; and he complained greatly of some turbulent and ambitious men, who under false pretences of patriotism, had acquired too great an influence, as well in the assembly as among the people — who sacrificed the welfare of their country to the gratification of their lawless passions, and to the support of an importance which could have no existence but in times of trouble and confusion.

During these distractions in America, and in consequence of them, a new office was created at home; a secretary of state was appropriated to the department of the colonies only. Much was expected from this arrangement; and lord Hillsborough, who appeared first in that office, wrote a circular letter to the governors of all the provinces, to which had been directed the circular letter from the assembly at Boston. In this letter, his majesty's disapprobation of that measure was expressed in the strongest terms: it was declared, that he considered it as of the most dangerous and factious tendency; calculated to inflame the minds of the people; to promote an unwarrantable combination; to excite an open opposition to, and denial of the authority of parliament, and to subvert the true principles of the constitution; that his majesty therefore expected from the known assiduity of the respective assemblies, that they would defeat this flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace, and treat it with the contempt it deserved, by consigning it to neglect.

At the same time another letter to governor Bernard was written, in which the exceptions to the circular letter are repeated. It is there said to have been a measure adopted in a thin house at the end of a session; and in which the assembly departed from that prudence and respect for the constitution, which seemed to have influenced a majority of its members in a full house, at the beginning of the session: whence his majesty could not but consider it as a very unfair proceeding, and to have been carried by surprise through the house of representatives. A requisition was therefore made, in his majesty's name, That the new assembly would rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter, and declare their disapprobation of so rash and hasty a proceeding. Never was a more desirable opportunity afforded to any body of men for correcting the intemperance of popular zeal; and in order to mollify the temper, and dispose the minds of the obstinate bigots of Massachusetts Bay to compliance, it was added, That, as his majesty had the fullest reliance on their affections, (a declaration which it is not impossible

impossible might be considered as a reproach) he had the better ground to hope, that the attempts made by a desperate faction to disturb the public tranquillity would be discountenanced, and the measure recommended embraced, without any difficulty.

These parts of the letter were laid, by the governor, before the new assembly, with a message in which he earnestly requested their obedience to the royal pleasure; but observed at the same time, that in case of a contrary conduct, he had received his majesty's instructions how to act, and must do his duty. This produced a message, in return from the assembly, desiring a copy of the instructions to which he alluded, as well as of some letters and papers which he had laid before the council. A copy of the remainder of lord Hillsborough's letter, in which the instructions were contained, was accordingly sent to the assembly. By these the governor was directed, in case of their refusal to comply with his majesty's reasonable expectation, to dissolve them immediately, and transmit a copy of their proceedings on that occasion, to be laid before the parliament.

No answer having been given to the royal request, after the assembly had been in possession of all these papers for above a week, the governor sent a message to urge them to it. In answer, they applied for a recess, that they might have an opportunity to consult their constituents on the occasion. This being denied them, the question was put for rescinding the resolution of the last house; and passed in the negative, by a majority of seventy-five out of an hundred and nine members. A letter was next resolved on to lord Hillsborough, and an answer to the messages from the governor. In both these pieces great pains are taken to justify the conduct of the last assembly, as well as of the present, and the charges of surprisè and of a thin house, (which were probably suggested to them as apologies for their undutiful conduct) are absolutely denied. They attempted to justify the circular letter, on the inherent right of the subjects to petition the king, either jointly or severally for the redress of grievances; and in the letter to the secretary of state, they made various comments, with great freedom, on the nature of the royal requisition, alledging that it was unconstitutional, and without a precedent, to command a free assembly on pain of its existence, to rescind any resolution, much less that of a former house. They complained greatly of the base and wicked misrepresentations that must have been made to his majesty, to induce him to consider a measure perfectly legal and constitutional, and which only tended to lay the grievances of his subjects before the throne, as of an "inflammatory nature, tending to create unwarrantable combinations, and to excite an opposition to the authority of parliament;" the terms in which it is described in lord Hillsborough letter; and they concluded with professions of the greatest loyalty, and the strongest remonstrances against the late port-duties. They were also preparing a petition to the king for the removal of their governor, against whom they laid a number of charges; but before the last hand could be put to it, the assembly was dissolved.

The circular letters which the American secretary had written to the other colonies, were attended with as little efficacy as that which had been sent to Boston.

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The different assemblies wrote answers to that of Massachusetts Bay, expressing the highest approbation of their conduct, and a firm resolution to coincide in their measures. Some of them also returned addresses to the secretary of state, in which they not only justified the steps taken by the assembly at Boston, but animadverted with great freedom on several passages, as well as on the requisitions contained in his letter. At the same time most of them entered into resolutions, not to import or purchase any English goods, except what were already ordered for the ensuing fall, and such articles of necessity as they could not do without, until the late laws should be repealed.

Before the dissolution of the assembly a great tumult had happened at Boston, in consequence of a seizure made by the board of customs, of a sloop belonging to one of the principal merchants of that town. This sloop, it appears, was discharged of a cargo of wine, and in part reloaded with a quantity of oil, under pretence of converting her into a store, but without any proper attention being paid to the custom-house regulations. On the seizure, the revenue officers made a signal to the Romney man of war; and her boats being manned and armed, conveyed the sloop under the protection of that ship. The populace, who had assembled in crowds on the occasion, being unable to recover the vessel, vented their rage on the commissioners of the customs; pelted them with stones, broke one of their swords, and treated them in every respect with the greatest outrage and indignity. Not satisfied with insulting and abusing their persons, they attacked their houses; broke their windows, destroyed their furniture, and hauled the collector's barge to the common, where it was burnt to ashes.

As soon as this tumult began to subside, the officers of the customs judged it necessary for the security of their lives, in case of any new ferment, to retire on board the man of war; whence they removed to Castle William, a fortification, as we have already had occasion to notice, on a small island at the mouth of the harbour. There they resumed the functions of their office. Meantime frequent town-meetings were held, and a remonstrance was presented to the governor, in which the rights that they claimed were asserted in direct opposition to the British legislature. An extraordinary requisition was also made; namely, that the governor would "issue an order for the departure of his majesty's ship, the Romney, out of the harbour." In a word, the temper and conduct of the people became every day more licentious, till it exceeded all the lines of duty and allegiance, even as traced on the extensive scale of liberty. Nor is the cause of such licentiousness inexplicable.

That republican spirit, so often mentioned, to which the colony of Massachusetts Bay owed its foundation, and those fanatical and levelling principles in which the greater part of the inhabitants had been nursed, being now awakened by measures which the body of the people regarded as totally subversive of their rights, and irritated by the arts of factious and designing men, who had much influence among them, they were alike incapable of prescribing due limits to their passions, and of preserving a proper decency in the manner in which they expressed them. Their public writers as well as speakers were highly extravagant in their epithets; and

and a certain stile and mode of composition was introduced, which seems peculiar to themselves, and which has never been equalled in absurdity since the days of Oliver Cromwell, when serious and comic subjects were confounded, and reason at war with sense. In some of these publications, while they appeared to forget, on one hand, their dependence as colonies, and to assume the tone of dissent and original states, they eagerly claimed, on the other, all the benefits of the British constitution, and the native rights of Englishmen, without reflecting that it was their dependence upon England alone, which could entitle them to any share of those rights and benefits. A ludicrous phraseology became fashionable in all matters relative to government, or even to the supreme legislature; an attempt was made to degrade, by some light expression, every thing respectable in the jurisdiction of the mother-country; but in what concerned themselves, when their provincial *assemblies* came to be mentioned, the language was changed: they were no longer known by that humble name; they were on every occasion honoured with the title of **PARLIAMENTS**.

A report that their petition to the king had not been delivered by the secretary of state, contributed greatly to augment the ferment among the people of Massachusetts Bay. It was said that the petition had been rejected at London, under pretence that the colony agent was not properly authorised to deliver it, as he had been appointed by the assembly without the consent of the governor. The dissolution of the general assembly increased the disorder, which was still farther heightened by the seizure of the sloop, and a circumstance connected with it: it was the property of one of the representatives for the town of Boston!

While things were in this unhappy situation, two regiments were ordered from Ireland to support the civil government in Massachusetts Bay; and several detachments, from different parts of North America, rendezvoused at Halifax for the same purpose. No account of a descent or inroad, meditated by the most dangerous and cruel enemy, could excite a greater alarm, than this intelligence did at Boston. It was treated in suitable language, and similar steps were taken in regard to it. On the first rumour of such a measure, a meeting of the inhabitants was summoned at Faneuil Hall, where they chose one of their late popular representatives as moderator. A committee was then appointed to wait on the governor, in order to know what grounds he had for certain intimations, which he had lately given, that some regiments of his majesty's forces were expected in that town; and at the same time to present a petition, desiring that he would issue precepts to convene a general assembly with the greatest speed. To both an immediate answer was required, nor was the answer delayed. The governor replied, that his information concerning the arrival of the troops was of a private nature, and that he could do nothing relative to the calling of an assembly, until he received further instruction from his majesty, under whose consideration the matter then was.

A committee which had been appointed to consider of the present state of the affairs of Massachusetts Bay, gave in a long declaration and recital of their rights, and the supposed infractions of them, which had been lately attempted. They passed

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passed at the same time several hally resolutions; particularly in regard to the legality of raising or keeping a standing army among them without their own consent. The arguments against such a measure, they founded on the well known act of king William III. which declares it contrary to law, "to keep an army in the *kingdom*, in time of peace, without the consent of *parliament*." This report, and the resolutions accompanying it, were unanimously agreed to by the assembly, and a general resolution was passed, also founded on a clause in the same act of king William, which recommends the frequent holding of *parliaments*, in consequence of which a Convention was summoned to meet at Boston. Agreeable to this resolution James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, the four members who had represented the town in the late assembly, were now appointed as a committee to act for it in the convention; and the select-men were ordered to write to all the other towns in the province, requesting them to appoint committees for the same purpose. But the most extraordinary act of this town-meeting was a requisition to the inhabitants, That whereas there was a prevailing apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching war with France, they would provide themselves with arms, ammunition, and the necessary accoutrements, so as to be properly prepared against sudden danger. A day of public prayer and fasting was then appointed, under the sanction of the same atrocious falsehood, and the meeting was dissolved.

The circular letter which the select-men sent to the other towns in the province, was written in the same spirit as the acts and resolutions which it inclosed, and on which it was founded. In this time of general frenzy, however, when ninety six towns appointed commissioners to attend the convention, the town of Hatfield refused to concur in the measure; and the spirited and judicious answer which the inhabitants returned to the select-men at Boston, will be a lasting monument of the prudence and good sense that influenced their conduct. "We are not sensible," observe they, "that the state of America is so alarming, or the state of this province so materially different from what it was a few months since, as to render the measure which you propose either salutary or necessary. The act of parliament for raising a revenue, so much complained of, has been in being and carrying into execution for a considerable time past, and proper steps have been taken by several governments on this continent to obtain redress of that grievance. Humble petitions by them ordered to be presented to his majesty, we trust have already, or will soon reach the royal ear—be graciously received, and favourably answered; and we apprehend, that nothing that can or will be done by your proposed convention, either can or will aid the petition from the house of representatives of this province. We further propose to your consideration, whether the circular letter which gave such umbrage, containing these expressions, or others of the like import, that "the king and parliament, by the late revenue act, had infringed the rights of the colonies, imposed an inequitable tax, and that things yet worse might be expected from the independence and unlimited appointments of crown-officers therein mentioned," was so perfectly innocent, and entirely consistent with that duty and loyalty professed by the house of repre-

representatives last year, in their petition to his majesty; and whether the last house might not have complied with his majesty's requisition, with a full saving of all their rights and privileges, and thereby have prevented our being destitute of a general court at this day.

"We cannot comprehend," added they, "what pretence there can be for the purposed convention, unless the probability of a considerable number of regular troops being sent into this province, and an apprehension of their being quartered partly in your town, partly at the castle:" that it was a matter of doubt and uncertainty, whether any were coming or not, or for what purpose the king was sending them; "whether for your defence," observe they ingeniously, "in case of a French war, as you tell us there is in the minds of many a prevailing apprehension of one approaching (and which, if we do not misunderstand your letter, induced you to pass the votes transmitted to us) or whether they are destined for the defence of the new acquired territories, is altogether uncertain: that they are to be a standing army in time of peace, you give us no evidence; and if your apprehensions in regard to a French war are well grounded, it is not even supposable that they are intended as such. If your town meant sincerely, we cannot therefore see the need of interposing in military matters, in an unprecedented way, by requesting the inhabitants to be provided with arms, (a matter till now supposed to belong to another department) especially as they must know, that such a number of troops would be a much better defence, in case of war, than you had heretofore been favoured with. To suppose what you surmise they may be intended for, is to mistrust the king's paternal care and goodness; but if by any sudden tumults or insurrections of some inconsiderate people, the king has been induced to think them a necessary check upon you, we hope you will, by your loyalty and quiet behaviour, soon convince his majesty and the world, they are no longer necessary for that purpose, and that thereupon they will be withdrawn. Suffer us then to conclude, that, in our opinion, the measures which the town of Boston is pursuing, and proposing to us and the people of this province to unite in, are unconstitutional, illegal, and wholly unjustifiable."

That declaration had no effect upon the Convention, the first proceeding of which was a message to the governor, disclaiming all pretence to any authoritative or government acts; and declaring, that they were chosen by the several towns, and came freely and voluntarily, at the earnest desire of the people, to consult and advise such measures as might promote peace and good order, in the present alarming situation. They next repeated their manifold grievances; complained that they were grossly misrepresented in Great Britain; and pressed the governor in the most urgent terms to call a general assembly, as the only means to guard against those alarming dangers that threatened the total destruction of the colony. The governor, on the other hand, admonished them, as a friend to the province, and a well wisher to the individuals of it, to break up their assembly instantly, and separate without doing any business. He was willing to believe, he said, that the gentlemen who issued the summons for this meeting, were not aware of the nature of the high offence they were committing; and that those who had obeyed them, had not considered the penalties that would be incurred, if

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they continued longer to sit. "At present," added he, "ignorance of the law may excuse what is past, but a step farther will take away that plea. A meeting of the deputies of the towns, is an assembly of the representatives of the people to all intents and purposes, and calling it a *Committee of Convention* will not alter the nature of the thing." He concluded with declaring, That if they did not regard this admonition, he must, as governor, assert the prerogative of the crown in a more public manner; that they might assure themselves, for he spoke from instruction, the king was determined to maintain his entire sovereignty over that province, and whosoever should persist in usurping any of the rights of it, would repent of his rashness.

This answer produced another message, wherein the Convention justified their meeting, as being only an assemblage of private persons, and desired an explanation relative to the criminality with which their proceedings were charged. The governor refused to receive that or any other message from them, as it would be admitting them to be a legal assembly, which he could by no means allow. The Convention now appointed a committee, who drew up a report in terms of great moderation, which was approved of by the whole body. In this they assign the causes of their meeting, disclaim all pretence to any authority whatsoever, and advise and recommend to the people to pay the greatest deference to government, and to wait with patience for the result of his majesty's wisdom and clemency for a redress of their grievances: at the same time they declare for themselves, That they will, in their several stations, yield every possible assistance to the civil magistrate, for the preservation of peace and order, and the suppression of riots and tumults. Having afterwards prepared a representation of their conduct, and a detail of many of the late transactions to be transmitted to their agent in London, the Convention broke up.

Sept. 29.

The same day that this irregular assembly was dissolved, and what perhaps was the cause of its moderation and short continuance, the fleet from Halifax arrived in the harbour; consisting of several frigates and sloops of war, and a considerable number of transports, with two regiments of soldiers, and a party of artillery on board. Some difficulties at first arose about quartering these troops, the council refusing to admit them into the town, as the barracks of Castle William were sufficient to receive them. That difficulty was however got over, by accepting quarters that were only to be considered as barracks; on which footing, the council agreed to allow them barrack provisions. General Gage arrived at Boston soon after, as did the two regiments from Ireland. A tolerable degree of harmony subsisted for a time between the inhabitants and the troops; and an appearance of tranquility was restored, by this symptom of vigour in the British government, not only to the province of Massachusetts Bay, but to all his majesty's dominions in North America.

That tranquility, however, was of short duration. Meanwhile several changes took place in the British ministry, and various measures were proposed with respect to the colonies. Lord North was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, in consequence of the death of the honourable Charles Townshend;

and the earl of Chatham, finding that the first lord of the Treasury, though reputed his political pupil, was no longer willing to be implicitly guided by him, resigned his place of lord keeper of the privy-seal. The earl of Shelburne also resigned his office of secretary of state, and was succeeded by lord Weymouth, from the northern department. Soon after these, and other changes, the American affairs came formally before the parliament; and as an attention to the subject had been particularly recommended from the throne, it was considered to be the principal business of the session.

Resolutions and an address to his majesty on the subject of these affairs, were accordingly passed by both houses. In those resolutions, the late acts of the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, which tended to call in question, or import a denial of the authority of the supreme legislature to make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, were declared to be illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory to the rights of the crown and parliament of Great Britain. The circular letters written by the same assembly to those of the other provinces, requiring them to join in petitions, and stating the late laws to be infringements on the rights of the people in the colonies, were also declared to be proceedings of a most unwarrantable and dangerous nature, calculated to inflame the minds of the inhabitants, and tending to create undue combinations, contrary to the laws, and subversive of the constitution of Great Britain.

The town of Boston was declared to have been for some time past in a state of great disorder and confusion, disturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, during which the officers of the revenue had been obstructed by violence in the execution of the laws, and their lives endangered; that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary civil magistrates, had exerted their authority for the suppressing of such tumults and riots; that, in these circumstances of the province of Massachusetts Bay, and of the town of Boston, the preservation of the public peace, and the due execution of the laws, became impracticable, without the aid of a military force to support and protect the civil magistrate, and the officers of his majesty's revenue; that the declarations, resolutions, and proceedings in the town-meetings at Boston were illegal and unconstitutional, and calculated to excite sedition and insurrection; that the appointment of a Convention, to consist of the deputies from the several towns and districts in the province, and the writing of a letter by the select men to each of the said towns and districts, for the election of such deputies, were proceedings subversive of government, and evidently manifesting a design on the inhabitants of Boston, to set up a new and unconstitutional authority independent of the crown. The elections by the several towns and districts of deputies to sit in the Convention, and its meeting, were also declared to be daring insults offered to his majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government.

In the address, the greatest satisfaction was expressed at the measures which had been pursued to support the constitution, and to induce in the colony of Massachusetts Bay a due obedience to the authority of the mother-country. The most inviolable resolution was declared, to concur effectually in such further measures

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as might be judged necessary to maintain the civil magistrate in a proper execution of the laws; and it was given as a matter of opinion, That nothing would so effectually preserve royal authority in that province, as bringing the authors of the late unhappy disorders to exemplary punishment. In consequence of this opinion, it was earnestly requested, that governor Bernard might be directed to transmit the fullest information that could be procured of all treasons, or misprision of treason committed within his government, since the 30th of December 1767, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the perpetration of such offences, that his majesty might issue a commission for inquiring into, hearing, and determining upon the guilt of the offenders within this realm, pursuant to the provisions of a statute made in the 30th year of king Henry VIII. in case his majesty, upon governor Bernard's report, should see sufficient ground for such a proceeding.

But though this address, and the resolutions that accompanied it, were carried through both houses of parliament by a great majority, no measures were ever opposed with more firmness, and few debates have been more ably managed, than those on both sides of the question. The Rockingham and Grenville parties, supposed to be irreconcilable in regard to American affairs, united on this occasion. They urged, that admitting the repeal of the Stamp Act to have been an improper measure, as experience seemed to prove, yet from the moment of that repeal the policy of the mother-country was altered, though her rights were not abridged, as an attempt to tax the colonies no longer stood on its ancient foundation of wisdom and practicability; that it was now the mode with those who had been the cause of all the present disorders in America, to represent the people there, as nearly in a state of rebellion; and thus artfully to make the cause of the ministry the national cause, and to persuade us, that because the colonists (aggravated by a series of blunders and mismanagements, and emboldened by the weakness and inconsistency of government) have shewn their impatience in the commission of several irregular and very indefensible acts, that they want to throw off the authority of the mother country: that it was indeed true, that popular prejudices were very dangerously meddled with, and therefore all wise governments made very great allowances for them, and when there was a necessity for counteracting them, did it always with the greatest art and caution; that the temper of our American colonists, in this respect, was well known from the former trial, which had at least experiment and importance to plead; but what arguments could be urged in favour of the present attempt, or what hope entertained that it would meet with less opposition?—A number of duties were laid on, which derive their consequence only from their odiousness, and the mischiefs they have produced, and an army of custom-house officers, still more odious, was sent to collect them; that this odiousness chiefly arose from an opinion, that the taxes were created for the officers, as indeed they could scarcely serve any other purpose; and that the imprudence of the measure had made another army necessary to enforce it. But how could it be expected that any such measure could be executed without force?—Had not those who were the framers of the bill, or at least under whose auspices these duties were laid on, been themselves

selves the zealous supporters *, and at the head of that opinion which totally denies the right in the legislature to tax America? Had not their names been held up in the colonies as objects of the highest veneration, and their arguments made the foundation of whatever was there understood to be constitutional in writing or speaking?—What wonder then, that the Americans, with such great authorities to support them in opinions so flattering to their importance, should fly, in that warmth of passion naturally inspired by disappointed pride, into the greatest extravagancies, on a direct and immediate violation of what they were taught to consider as their most undoubted and invaluable rights! Can we be surpris'd, in a word, that such unaccountable contradictions between language and conduct, should produce the unhappy consequences which we now experience?

That part of the address which propos'd the bringing of delinquents from the province of Massachusetts Bay, to be tried at a tribunal in this kingdom, for crimes suppos'd to be committed there, met with still greater opposition than the resolves, and underwent many severe animadversions. Such a proceeding was said to be directly contrary to the spirit of our constitution. A man charg'd with a crime is, by the laws of England, usually tried in the county in which he is suppos'd to have committed the offence; in order that the circumstances of his crime may be more clearly examined, and that the knowledge which the jurors there receive of his general character, and of the credibility of the witnesses, may assist them in pronouncing, with a greater degree of certainty, upon his innocence or guilt. As the constitution has secur'd this mode of trial, from a conviction of its utility, to every subject in England, under what colour of justice can he be deprived of it by going to America?—Is his life, his fortune, his character, less estimable in the eye of the law there than here? or are we to mete out different portions of justice to British subjects, which are to lessen in degree, in proportion to their distance from the capital of the empire?—If a colonist has violated the laws, by a crime committed in America, let him be tried there for the offence; and if found guilty, punished, as the law in such case directs: but let him not be torn away to the distance of above three thousand miles across the ocean, from his family, his friends, his business, his connexions; from every assistance, countenance, comfort, and counsel, necessary to support a man under such unhappy circumstances, to be tried by a jury who are not in reality his peers—who are probably prejudic'd against him, and may perhaps think themselves interest'd in his conviction.

It was reply'd by the friends of administration, that the repeal of the stamp-act, in its consequences, had disappoint'd the expectations of the sincere well-wishers of America; that instead of producing the hop'd for effects of gratitude and a due submission to government, in return for the tender consideration shewn to the suppos'd distresses of the colonists, it had operat'd in such a manner on

* The earl of Chatham, lord Camden, and others of the party, who were equally active in procuring the repeal of the stamp-act, and in opposing the right of taxation; but who afterwards acquiesc'd at least in the port-duties.

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their licentiousness, as to make it necessary to establish some positive mark of their dependence on the mother-country; that the late duties so much complained of, were for one of the very reasons now objected to them, the smallness of their produce, chosen as sufficient to answer that purpose; they were the least oppressive that could be thought of, and the least grievous; they were not internal taxes, and their whole produce was to be applied to the support of the civil establishment of the colonies; that the republican principles, and licentious disposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, being operated upon by some factious and designing men among them, had broke out into acts of the most daring insolence, and the most outrageous violence, which sufficiently demonstrated the original necessity of making them sensible of their dependence upon the British legislature; that by the language held forth, and the writings published among them, they seemed rather to consider themselves as members of an independent state, than as the people of a colony and province belonging to this empire.

From the ill-judged system of policy, it was observed, upon which the government of that province had been originally established, the council is appointed by the assembly, and the grand juries are elected by the townships: hence those factious men, already mentioned, having got a great lead in the assembly, and being themselves the rulers of the popular phrenzy, guided and directed according to their pleasure the whole civil government, so that all justice and order were at an end where ever their interests or passions were concerned; that in such circumstances the populace, freed from all legal restraints, and those who should have been the supporters of government and the conservators of the public peace, setting the first example of contempt to the one themselves, and giving every private encouragement to the breach of the other, had at length proceeded to the commission of such atrocious acts, as though not now deemed downright rebellion, would in other times have been considered and punished as such, by an exertion of the supreme authority of the state, or a regular judgment of law; and which, however extenuated, were offences of a very high nature: that it was therefore full time for government to interfere, and effectually to curb disorders, which if suffered to proceed any farther, could no longer be mentioned by that name; that the example set by the people of Boston, and the rash and daring measure adopted by their assembly, of sending circular letters to the other colonies, had already produced a great effect; and, unless seasonably checked, was likely to have set the whole continent of North America in a flame; that some ships of war and troops were accordingly sent to Boston, where without bloodshed, or coming to any violent extremity, they had been able to restore order and quiet not only to that town, but to the whole province of Massachusetts Bay.

It was farther observed, that nothing but the most spirited and vigorous resolutions, supported by a succession of measures, equally firm and vigorous, could bring the colonies to a proper sense of their duty and their dependence upon the supreme legislature; that the spirit which prevailed in Boston was so subversive of all order and civil government, and the conduct of the magistrates had left

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so little room for any hope of their properly fulfilling their duty, during the continuance of the present ferment, that it became absolutely necessary to revive and put in execution that law of Henry VIII. by which the king is impowered to appoint a commission in England, for the trial here of any of his subjects guilty of treason in any part of the world; that unless this measure was adopted, the most flagrant acts of treason and rebellion might be committed in that town and province with impunity, as the civil power there was neither disposed, nor able to take cognizance of them; that the persons who were guilty of those crimes, and who had already occasioned so much trouble and confusion, were no objects of compassion, therefore every objection which arose from any disagreeable circumstances that might attend this mode of bringing them to justice fell to the ground, as these ought only to be considered as a small part of the punishment due to their crimes; that it was ungenerous to suppose government would make an improper use of this law, by the harrassing of innocent persons, and that there was no reason to call in question the integrity or the impartiality of our juries.

Before any new measures were taken with respect to America, or any material change had happened in the affairs of that continent, a new change took place in the British ministry. Lord Camden resigned the seals, and the duke of Grafton his office of first lord of the treasury. Various other persons of eminence threw up their places; and the whole administration seemed falling to pieces, when the promotion of one man gave it a stability: which it had not known in the present reign, nor perhaps in any reign since the days of Elizabeth. Lord North was appointed first commissioner of the Treasury, in the room of the duke of Grafton; whose incapacity as a minister was thought to be as evident, as his accomplishments as a nobleman are universally confessed. From that moment, a more consistent plan, in regard to America, was pursued, and greater order was introduced into every department of government. The new minister immediately moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the late act, imposing certain port duties in America, as related to the duty on paper, painters-colours, and glass. These he observed, with that perfect knowledge of trade and finances which has distinguished his administration, being British manufactures, it was absurd to tax them; but that tea being an article of commerce, it was proper the tax on it should be continued, especially as the consumers in the colonies would still have it cheaper than the people of England, the American port duty being nine-pence per pound less than the British. This was sound reasoning; and though a total repeal was warmly contended for, his lordship persisted in his motion, and carried the partial repeal. It would perhaps have been more consistent, however, with the dignity as well as the wisdom of a great minister, to have relinquished the duty on tea, along with the rest, as it was scarcely sufficient to answer the expence of collecting it, and to have relied upon some future occasion for asserting the authority of the mother country over her colonies in a matter of more importance, since
the

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the right of taxation was rendered indisputable by a positive act of the supreme legislature*.

The state of affairs in America was soon after brought formally under the consideration of parliament, in consequence of an account which had been received of an alarming riot in Boston between the soldiers and the inhabitants †; and a motion was made by the minority for an address to the throne, setting forth the necessity of an inquiry, how the ministers here, no less than the officers there, have managed so unfortunately as to kindle the present flame of disunion between the mother-country and her colonies. In fulfilling this duty, it was observed, the matter of fact must not only be considered, but the right of things: not only the turbulence of the Americans, but the cause of that turbulence; and not only the power of the crown, but the equity with which that power had been exercised. The motion was rejected by a great majority, as were several resolutions to the same purport: and the disposition of the colonies to disclaim all dependence on the mother-country; the necessity of supporting its authority and the dignity of government; the right of the crown to station troops in any part of the British empire, together with the necessity of employing them to support the laws, where the people were in little less than a state of rebellion, were urged by administration as unanswerable arguments of the propriety of establishing a military force in America.

* Other arguments have been urged against continuing the duty upon tea, arising from an experience of its fatal consequences; but as these could not be foreseen at this time, and were the result of a new measure, adopted from too partial a regard to the interests of the East India company, the author of this work has paid no attention to them.

† Various accounts of this unhappy fray have been published, some of which flatly contradict each other; but the truth appears to have been nearly as follows. The arrival of his majesty's troops in Boston being extremely disagreeable to the inhabitants, every method was used to seduce them from their duty; and as soon as their number was diminished, by the departure of two regiments for Halifax, a resolution was formed to expel them. The soldiers had some intimation of this intention; and also that the inhabitants carried weapons concealed under their cloaths, and meant to destroy them, as they were, "now but a handful!" the significant language used by one of their magistrates from the seat of justice. Insults and injuries took place daily, after this suspicion, between the town's people and the troops, till the hatred of the former knew no bounds. At length, the fifth and sixth of March seem to have been agreed on for a general trial of strength. With that view several parties of the militia came from the country armed, in order to join their friends; but on this, as on most occasions of a similar nature, the impatience of the populace brought matters to extremity before the scheme was ripe for execution. On Monday, March 5, 1770, two soldiers were attacked and beat about eight o'clock in the evening. The alarm-bell was rung in order to collect the inhabitants, and the beacon was intended to be lighted, to bring in aid from the distant country. Captain Preston, who commanded for the day, immediately repaired to the main guard; and in his way thither he saw the people in great commotion, and heard them use the most cruel and horrid threats against the troops. The tumult thickened; a general attack was made upon the military with clubs and bludgeons, after mutual injuries had passed between individuals; some of the soldiers, provoked by blows, fired upon the mob; three men were killed upon the spot, and four dangerously wounded. Through the interposition of Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, farther mischief was prevented; but he was under the necessity of ordering the troops, for the future, to confine themselves to Castle William.

The

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The necessity of such a force indeed became every day more evident. The discontent and disorders occasioned by the port duties, continued to accompany the remaining one upon tea, in a greater or less degree, through all the old colonies on the continent. The same spirit pervaded the whole. Even those colonies which depended most on the mother-country for the consumption of their productions, entered into similar associations with the others; and nothing was to be heard but resolutions for the encouragement of their own manufactures, the consumption of home products, the discouragement of foreign articles, and the retrenchment of all superfluities. Still, however, these were only symptoms of discontent, which had little effect on the trade between Great Britain and her colonies: for although that trade had somewhat stagnated on the late non-importation agreement, it revived again, and even flourished; and though the article of tea was, by the resolutions of several colonies strictly prohibited, it continued to be introduced both from England and other countries*, and the duties were paid, though with some small appearance of exterior guard and caution. But in the meantime, the governors of most of the colonies, and the people, were in a continual state of warfare. Assemblies were repeatedly called, and as suddenly dissolved; and while sitting, they were wholly employed in reiterating grievances and framing remonstrances.

This ill humour broke out in a violent outrage at Providence in Rhode island, where his majesty's armed schooner the *Gaspee*, having been stationed to prevent the smuggling for which that place was so notorious, the vigilance of the officer who commanded the vessel, so enraged the people, that they boarded her at midnight, to the number of two hundred armed men; and after wounding the captain, and forcing him and his people to go on shore, they concluded their daring purpose by burning the schooner. Though a reward of five hundred pounds, together with a pardon, if claimed by an accomplice, was offered by royal proclamation, for discovering and apprehending any of the persons concerned in that atrocious act, no effectual discovery could be made.

June 10,
 1772.

A singular incident contributed, soon after, to revive with double force, the opposition between the executive part of government and the people, in the province of Massachusetts Bay. A number of confidential letters, which had been written during the course of the unhappy disputes with the mother country, by the then governor and deputy-governor of that colony, to persons in power and office in England, were accidentally discovered, and published. These letters contained a very unfavourable representation of the state of affairs, of the temper and disposition of the people, and the views of their leaders in that province: they tended to shew, not only the necessity of the most coercive measures, but that a very considerable change in the constitution and system of government was necessary to secure the obedience of the colony. The indignation and animosity which such a representation excited on one side, and the confusion occa-

* This importation from other countries was the chief reason why the duty was continued, and why it was laid in America rather than in England.

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tioned by the discovery on the other, may be easier imagined than described *. After several violent resolutions in the house of representatives, the letters were presented to the council, under the strictest injunction from the representatives, that the persons who were to shew them, should not on any account suffer them, even for a moment, out of their hands. This affront to the governor was adopted by the council; and upon his requiring to examine the letters that were attributed to him, in order that he might be enabled to acknowledge them if genuine, or to reprobate them, if spurious, that board, under pretence of the restriction imposed by the representatives, refused to deliver them into his hands, but sent a committee to open them before him, that he might examine the hand writing. To this indignity he was obliged to submit, as well as to the mortification of acknowledging the signature.

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Such a new source of discord was little wanted in that colony; and another conspired to blow the whole into a flame, which has since threatened to annihilate the sovereignty of England in America. The article of tea, as we have already had occasion to observe, continued to be imported into the colonies, notwithstanding the strong resolutions of the people to the contrary; but by the advantages which foreigners had in the sale of the low priced teas, as well as the general odium attending the British teas, which were considered as lures to slavery, by bearing a parliamentary duty, the East India company was found to suffer much by the disputes with America. Thus circumstanced, the minister, as some consolation for the strong measures which were then carrying on against that company by government, brought in a bill, by which the court of directors were enabled to transport their teas duty-free, to all places whatsoever. In consequence of this permission, the company departed, in some measure, from its established mode of disposing of its teas by public sales to the merchants and dealers, and adopted the new system of becoming its own exporter and factor. Several ships were accordingly freighted with teas, by the company, for the different colonies, where it also appointed agents for the disposal of that commodity.

This scheme, which was little relished by the trading part of the nation at home, was universally considered in the colonies as calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue-laws, and thereby open a door to an unlimited taxation: for it was easily seen, that if the teas were once landed, and in the custody of the consignees, no associations or other measures would be sufficient to prevent their sale and consumption; and no body could be so vain as to imagine, that when taxation was established in one instance, it would not soon be extended to others. Besides, all the tea dealers in the colonies, both legal and

* The letters were in part confidential and private; but the people of the colony insisted, that they were evidently intended to influence the conduct of government, and must therefore be shewn to such persons as had an interest in preserving their privileges. On the death of a gentleman in England, in whose possession these letters happened to be, they fell into the hands of the agent for the colony of Massachusetts Bay, who immediately transmitted them to the assembly of that province, which was then sitting at Boston.

contraband, who were extremely powerful, as tea is an article of general consumption in America, saw their trade at once taken out of their hands. They supposed it would all be swallowed up by the company's factors, on whom they must become in a great measure dependent, if indeed they could hope to trade at all. Other circumstances contributed to increase the general discontent. The East India company, by some late regulations, was brought entirely under the direction of government: the consignees were of course such as favoured administration; and, for that reason, the most unpopular men in America. This was particularly the case at Boston, where they were of the family and nearest connections of those gentlemen, whose letters had occasioned such heats and animosities among the people. These zealous asserters of liberty and independency, thought they already saw a monopoly established in favour of the most obnoxious persons among them, and that too for the purpose of confirming an odious tax. The same spirit seemed to run like wild fire through the other colonies; and without any apparent previous concert, it was every where determined, at all events, to prevent the landing of the teas.

In the meanwhile the East India company was become so exceedingly odious to the people, that a mere opposition to her interests, abstracted from all other considerations, would have embarrassed any measure undertaken in her favour. She was quitting her usual line of conduct, the colonists said, and wantonly becoming the instrument of giving efficacy to a law which they detested; and thereby, as they affirmed, involving them in the present dangerous dilemma either of submitting to the establishment of a precedent which they deemed fatal to their liberties, or of bringing matters to a crisis which they dreaded, by adopting the only means that seemed left to prevent its execution.

As the time approached, when the arrival of the tea ships for the execution of the new plan was expected, the people assembled at different places in great bodies, and began to take such measures as seemed most effectual, in order to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea consignees, who had been appointed by the East India company, were obliged in most places (and in some at the risk of their property, if not at the peril of their lives) to relinquish their appointments, and to enter into public engagements, not to act in that capacity. Committees were appointed by the people, in different towns and provinces, which they armed with such powers as they supposed themselves enabled to bestow. They were authorised to inspect merchants books; to propose tests; to punish those whom they considered as contumacious, by the dangerous proscription of declaring them enemies to their country; and of assembling the people, when they should think necessary. In a word, their powers were as indefinite, as the authority under which they acted.

In the tumultuous assemblies which were frequently held upon this occasion, numberless resolutions were passed, extremely derogatory to the authority of the supreme legislature. Inflammatory hand-bills and other seditious papers were continually published; nor were the conductors of news papers, or the writers of various pamphlets, more guarded in their expressions, or temperate in their

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manner. Even at Philadelphia, which had been so long celebrated for the excellency of its government and police, as well as the moderate manners of its inhabitants, printed papers were dispersed warning the pilots on the Delaware, not to conduct any of those tea-ships into their harbour, as they were only sent out for the purpose of poisoning and enslaving all the Americans. At the same time intimations were given, that it was expected they would apply their knowledge of the river, under the sanction of their profession, in such a manner as would effectually secure their country against so imminent a danger. At New York, in a similar publication, the tea-ships were said to be laden with fetters, which had been forged in Great Britain for America; and every vengeance was denounced against all persons, who should in any manner contribute to the introduction of those chains.

All the colonies, as if by common consent, seemed to have united in this point; but the town of Boston, which had so long been distinguished by the republican and fanatical spirit of its inhabitants, and which had of late been so justly obnoxious to government, was the scene of the first outrage. Three ships laden with tea having arrived in that port, the captains were terrified into a concession, that, if they were permitted by the consignees, the board of customs, and the garrison of Castle William, they would return with their cargoes to England. These promises could not be fulfilled: the consignees refused to discharge the captains from the obligations, under which they were chartered for the delivery of their cargoes; the custom-house refused them a clearance for their return; and the governor to grant them a passport for clearing the castle. In this state of things, it was easily seen by the people of the town, that the ships lying so near, the teas would be landed by degrees, notwithstanding any guard they could keep, or any measures taken to prevent it; and it was as well known, that if they were landed, nothing could prevent their being disposed of; and thereby the purpose of raising a revenue, and of establishing the monopoly fulfilled. In order to prevent these consequences so much dreaded, a number of armed men, under the disguise of Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships; and in a few hours, discharged into the sea their whole cargo of teas, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews.

Dec. 18.

It is remarkable that, on this occasion the civil and military power, the governor, the garrison of Fort William, and the armed ships in the harbour, were totally inactive.—Some smaller quantities of tea met afterwards with a similar fate, at Boston and a few other places; but in general the factors for the sale of that commodity having been obliged to relinquish their employment, and no other persons daring to receive the cargoes that were consigned to them, the masters of the tea-vessels were induced by these circumstances, as well as a sense of danger, and a knowledge of the determined resolution of the people, to comply with the terms that were prescribed them of returning directly to England, without entangling themselves by any entry at the custom-houses. At New York, indeed, some tea was landed under the cannon of a man of war; but the governor

was obliged to consent to its being locked up from use, in order to appease the populace.

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March 7.

An account of these disturbances arrived in England during the sitting of parliament, and was formally communicated to both houses in a message from the throne, informing them, That in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before the great council of the nation; tully assuring, as well in their zeal for the maintenance of his majesty's authority, as in their attachment to the common interest and welfare of all his dominions, that they will not only enable him effectually to take such measures as may be most likely to put an immediate stop to those disorders, but will also take into their most serious consideration, what further regulations and permanent provisions may be necessary to be established, for better securing the execution of the laws, and the just dependence of the colonies on the crown and parliament of Great Britain.

This message was accompanied with a great number of papers relative to the late transactions in America, consisting of copies and extracts or letters from the governors of the several provinces; from the commander of the forces; from the admiral in Boston harbour; from the consignees of the tea at Boston, to one of the ringleaders of the faction in that town, with votes and resolves of the town of Boston previous to the landing of the tea, and narratives of the transactions which succeeded that event; a petition from the consignees to the council of Massachusetts Bay, praying that their persons and property might be taken under the protection of government, with the refusal of the council to interfere in any manner in the business; a proclamation issued by the governor, to forbid seditious meetings of the inhabitants; and the mock proceedings of the Massachusetts council condemning the act of destroying the tea, and advising legal prosecutions against the perpetrators, none of whom was known, or within the reach of discovery. They also contained details from the different governors of all transactions relative to the teas, which took place in their respective governments, from the first intelligence of their being shipped in England, to the date of the letters; threats and prophetic warnings, which were continually sent to the gentlemen to whom the teas were consigned; and copies of certain printed papers, with a great number of fugitive inflammatory pieces; hand-bills, alarms, violent resolves of town meetings, illegal proceedings of committees, and extraordinary minutes of council.

These papers, but particularly such as related to the transactions at Boston, were accompanied with a comment, in which the conduct of the governor was described and applauded, and that of the prevailing faction represented in the most atrocious light. It was said, that he had taken every measure which prudence could suggest, or good policy justify, for the security of the East India company's property, the safety of the consignees, and the preservation of order

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and quiet in the town; that every civil precaution to avert the mischiefs that followed had been used in vain; that his majesty's council, the militia, and the company of cadets, had been all separately applied to for their assistance in the preservation of the public peace, but without effect: they all refused, or declined doing their duty; that the sheriff had read the proclamation to the faction at their town-meeting, commanding them to break up that illegal assembly, but the proclamation was treated with the greatest contempt, and the sheriff insulted in the grossest manner; that the governor had it undoubtedly in his power, by calling in the assistance of the naval force which was in the harbour, to have prevented the destruction of the tea; but as the leading men in Boston had always made great complaints of the interposition of the army or navy, and charged to their account all disturbances of every sort, that he, with great prudence and moderation, determined from the beginning to decline a measure which would have been to irritating to the minds of the people, and might well have hoped by this confidence in their conduct, and trust reposed in the civil power, to have calmed their turbulence, and preserved the public tranquillity.

“ Thus, added the minister, the people of Boston were fairly tried; they were left to their own conduct, and to the guidance of their own magistrates, and the result has given the lie to their former professions: they are now without an excuse; every civil regulation has been let at naught; all the powers of government, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, have been found insufficient to prevent the most violent outrages, alike destructive of public order and private property; the loyal and peaceable inhabitants of a mercantile town, as they peculiarly affected to represent themselves, have given to the world a notable proof of their justice, moderation, and affection for the mother country, in wantonly committing to the waves a valuable commodity, belonging to a commercial company whose loyalty cannot be called in question, without so much as the pretence of necessity, even supposing their opposition to the payment of the duties could justify such a plea, as they had nothing to do but to adhere to their own resolutions of non-consumption, effectually to evade the revenue laws.” It was therefore concluded upon the whole, that, from an impartial review of the papers now before the parliament, it would manifestly appear, that nothing could be done by either civil, military, or naval officers, to effectuate the re-establishment of tranquillity and order in the province of Massachusetts Bay, without additional parliamentary powers to give efficacy to their proceedings; that no person employed by government could in any act, however common or legal, fulfil the duties of his office or station, without its being immediately exclaimed against by the licentious rabble, as an infringement of their liberties; that it was the settled opinion of some of the wisest men, both in England and America, and the best acquainted with the affairs of the colonies, that in their present state of government, no measures whatsoever could be pursued that would effectually remedy these glaring evils, which were every day growing to a more daring and dangerous height; that parliament, and parliament only, was capable of re-establishing tranquillity among those turbulent people, and of bringing
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order out of confusion; and consequently, that it was incumbent on every member to weigh and consider, with an attention suitable to the importance of the subject, the purport of the papers before the house, and laying all prejudices totally aside, to form his opinion impartially in regard to the measures most eligible to be pursued for supporting the supreme legislative authority, the dignity of parliament, and the true interest of the British empire.

These arguments produced the desired effect. The spirit roused against the Americans became remarkably strong, both within and without the house; from a conviction of the impossibility of the future existence of any trade with the colonies, if the flagrant outrage on commerce, committed at Boston, should go unpunished. While the nation was in this temper, a motion was made for an address to the throne, in order "to return thanks for his majesty's message, and the gracious communication of the American papers, with an assurance that the commons would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for objects so essential to the general welfare as maintaining the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependence of the colonies on the crown and parliament of Great Britain." This motion produced a warm debate, or rather discussion on American affairs; and a retrospective inquiry was proposed, "not only into the behaviour of the Americans, who had resisted government, but into that system of violence which had provoked, and of weakness which had encouraged their resistance." Such a retrospect into the management of ministers, the minority asserted, was essentially connected with an inquiry into the state of America; and that without such retrospect, our colonies might be lost, in spite of all the votes and resolutions of parliament. The friends of administration, on the other hand, strongly objected to all retrospect, as a deviation from the main subject. The business before the house, they observed, was important and pressing; that in the examination of this great subject great points would be canvassed: it might even perhaps become a question, whether the colonies ought not to be given up. But if this question should be decided in the negative, then it would be necessary to examine in what manner their subordination shall be preserved, and authority enforced. These points required the most serious investigation, in which the retrospect recommended would be unnecessary, and perhaps dangerous, as having a tendency to inflame and to encourage those whom it was the business of parliament by every means to reduce under obedience.

The minister having carried this address, and avoided the intended examination, opened his plan for the restoration of peace, order, justice, and commerce in the province of Massachusetts Bay. He began with observing, that the opposition to the authority of parliament had always originated in that colony, and that colony had always been intigated to such conduct by the town of Boston; that, for the purpose of a thorough reformation, it of course became necessary to begin with that town, which by a late unparalleled outrage, had led the way to the destruction of commerce in all parts of America; that if a severe and exemplary punishment was not inflicted on this heinous offence, Great Britain would be wanting in the protection she owed to her most peaceable and meritorious subjects; that

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had such an insult been offered to British property in a foreign port, the nation would have been called upon to demand satisfaction for it; and should she be more tame in receiving it from those who owed her allegiance?—Surely not; he would therefore propose, that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea that had been destroyed in its port. The injury was indeed committed by persons unknown and in disguise, but the town magistracy had taken no notice of it: they had never made any search after the offenders; and consequently, by a manifest neglect of duty, became accomplices in the guilt.

The fining of communities for their neglect in punishing offences, he very justly observed, was authorized by several examples*; but it would not be sufficient to punish the town of Boston, become obnoxious by a series of seditious practices of every kind, by obliging her to make a pecuniary satisfaction for the late injury, which by not endeavouring to prevent or punish, she has in fact encouraged: security must be given that trade may be safely carried on in future, property protected, laws obeyed, and duties regularly paid; otherwise the punishment of a single illegal act could work no reformation. For this purpose it would be proper to take away from Boston the privilege of a port, until his majesty should be satisfied in these particulars, and publicly declare in council, on a proper certificate of the good behaviour of the town, that he was so satisfied; and in the meantime, that the custom-house officers, who were not now safe at Boston, or safe only while they neglected their duty, should be removed to Salem, where they might exercise their functions. By such a measure Boston would suffer, but she deserved to suffer, and the duration of her punishment was entirely in her own power; for whenever she should satisfy the East India company for the tea that had been audaciously destroyed by her own violence, and give full assurances of obedience in future to the laws of trade and revenue, there was no doubt but his majesty, in whom it was proper that such a power should be vested, would again open the port, and exercise that mercy which was agreeable to his royal disposition.

The minister next proceeded to recommend unanimity and firmness. He was no enemy to lenient measures; but this was a crisis which demanded vigour. Resolutions of censure and warning would avail nothing: now was the time to stand out; to defy the colonies with firmness, and without fear. “A conviction,” said he, must be produced to America, that we are in earnest, and will proceed with vigour. This conviction can never be obtained should they find us doubting and hesitating. Some friends to British authority may indeed suffer by such an exertion of power; but it with this temporary inconvenience we compare the loss of the country, or of its due obedience, we shall be at no loss how to determine. The Americans, it is said, in such

* In the reign of Charles II. the city of London was fined, when Dr. Lamb was killed by unknown persons; the city of Edinburgh was fined, and otherwise punished, for the murder of captain Porteous; and part of the revenue of the town of Glasgow was sequestered, until satisfaction had been made for pulling down Mr. Cambel's house.

case, will not pay their debts. This they threatened before the repeal of the Stamp-Act: the act was repealed; what was the consequence?—They did *not* pay. Such a threat, if regarded, must disable parliament equally in all its proceedings. The present act will not require a great military power to enforce it: four or five regiments will be sufficient; but if more should be necessary, such force must be used with coolness and moderation to secure the due operation of the statute. The other colonies will not take fire at a proper punishment inflicted on those who have disobeyed the laws. They will leave them to suffer their merited chastisements; but if they should combine with them, the consequences of their rebellion belong not to us, but to them. It is enough for us that our measures are just and equitable: let us therefore proceed with firmness, justice, and resolution; a course which, if steadily pursued, will certainly produce that due obedience to the laws of this country, and that security to the trade of this people, which I so ardently wish for.”

In consequence of these arguments, leave was given to bring in a bill “for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of the customs in the town of Boston in the province of Massachusetts Bay in North America, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the said town of Boston, or within the harbour thereof.” During the progress of the bill a motion was made for an amendment, for the purpose of laying a fine on the town of Boston, equivalent to the damage sustained by the East India company; and if they refused to pay such fine or satisfaction, then and not before, the penalties of the act should be allowed to take place. The proposition however was rejected; and this bill, pregnant with so many important consequences, was pushed on with such vigour and dispatch, that it did not remain long in the House of Commons, where it passed without a division, as well as in the House of Lords. The antipathy against the Americans was now become so strong, as to overbear the most resolute and determined champions in the opposition. Many of those, who had been the most warm advocates for the colonies, went so far as to condemn their late behaviour, and even to applaud the present measure, as not only just but lenient.

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Several gentlemen, however, who had voted for the bill to shut up the port of Boston, were nevertheless of opinion, that something of a conciliatory nature ought to accompany that high exertion of authority; that parliament, while it resented the outrages of the incendiaries of Massachusetts Bay, should manifest a disposition to appease the sober part of the colonies; that if they had satisfaction in the matter of taxation, they would become instruments in keeping the inferior and more turbulent sort in order; and that this sacrifice to peace might be made at a very small expence, as the only grievous duty, and that which had bred so many disorders, was of very little value to Great Britain. A motion was accordingly made for a repeal of the port duty on tea, as being considered by the Americans as a badge of slavery, rather than a contribution to government. The arguments in support of this proposition were nearly the same as formerly, except what regards the policy of such a measure. It was urged that such an act of conde-

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scension would shew, that though government meant by penal acts to punish disorders in the colonies, it at the same time regarded their privileges and their quiet, and would not only render rigour more effectual, but unnecessary. The friends of administration replied, that the tea-duty was by no means so inconsiderable as represented, and that a repeal of it at this time, instead of answering any good purpose, would shew such a degree of wavering and inconsistency, as would entirely defeat the beneficial effects that might be expected from the vigorous plan which had been adopted, after too long remissness; that parliament ought to shew that it will relax in none of its just rights, but enforce them in a practical way; and that the parent-state ought to demonstrate, that she is provided with sufficient means of making herself obeyed, whenever she is resisted.

On these grounds a negative was put on the motion; and it soon appeared, that the Boston Port Bill formed but one part of the coercive plan proposed by the ministry, in regard to that refractory colony of which it is the capital. Others of a deeper and more extensive operation were behind, and made their appearance in due order. A bill was now brought in for "the better regulating the government in the province of Massachusetts Bay." The purpose of this bill, as the preamble declares, was "to alter so much of the charter granted by king William to the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay as relates to the electing of the council, which shall for the future be composed of such of the inhabitants, or proprietors of lands within the province, as shall be appointed by his majesty, with the advice of the privy-council, agreeable to the practice now used in respect to the appointment of counsellors in such of his majesty's other colonies in America, (namely, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and several others) the governors whereof are appointed by commission under the great seal of Great Britain:"—in a word, to change it from a *charter* to a *royal* government, in this and most other respects. The minister, who brought in the bill, alledged in its support, that the disorders in the province of Massachusetts Bay not only distracted that colony within itself, but set an ill example to all the other colonies. An executive power was wanting in the government: the chief power was in the hands of the people, and the people were riotous; there was a total defect in the constitutional power throughout. If the democratic part shew a contempt of the laws, how is the governor to enforce them? Magistrates he cannot appoint: he cannot give an order without seven of the council assenting; and let the military be ever so numerous and active, they cannot move in support of the civil magistracy, when no civil magistrate will call upon them for support. "It is in vain," said he, "that we make laws and regulations here, while there are none found to execute them in America: it is therefore become absolutely necessary to alter the whole frame of the Massachusetts government, so far as relates to the executive and judicial powers."

The opposition to this bill was more active and united, than that upon the Boston Port-Bill. The minority maintained, that this carried the principle of injustice much farther; that to take away the civil constitution of a whole people secured by charter, the validity of which was not so much as questioned at law,
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upon mere loose allegations of delinquencies and defects, was a proceeding of a most arbitrary and dangerous nature; that the proceedings against the American and English corporations, during the reigns of Charles and James II. were deservedly accounted the most tyrannical acts of those arbitrary princes, but that this attempt was worse: then the charge was regularly made, the colonies and corporations called to answer, and the rules of justice observed at least in appearance; but in the present instance, the very colour of justice was indecently neglected, as an unnecessary sanction to violence; that the pretences for abrogating this charter, in order to give strength to government, were altogether frivolous; and the ministry were asked, whether the colonies which are already regulated nearly in the manner proposed by the bill, were more submissive to the right of taxation than that of Massachusetts Bay?—If not, what can be expected from the bill so material to the authority of the legislature, as to risk all the credit of parliamentary justice by such a strong and irregular proceeding?—Similar arguments were used against the bill in the house of lords; but the spirit of reducing America to obedience was so universal, that it was carried through both houses by a great majority.

This majority encouraged the minister to propose soon after another bill, without which, it was said, the two former would be inefficacious. It was entitled, “a bill for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England:” and it provides, That in case any person is indicted in that province for murder or any other capital offence, if it shall appear to the governor that the fact was committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing tumults and riots, and that a fair trial cannot be had in the province, he shall send the person so indicted to some other colony, or to Great Britain to be tried; the charges on both sides to be borne out of the customs.

The minister supported this bill on the same principle with a view to which it had been framed, that of state-necessity. It was in vain, he observed, to appoint a magistracy that would act, if none could be found to put their orders in execution. These orders would most probably be resisted by force; and that force would necessitate force also to execute the laws. In such case, blood would probably be spilt: but who would risk this event, though in the execution of his clearest duty, if the rioters themselves, or their abettors, were to sit as his judges?—“How can any man,” said he, “defend himself on the plea of executing your laws, before those persons who deny your right to make any laws to bind them? The very idea of such a defence involves an absurdity; yet unless that plea is admitted, he must necessarily be found guilty: he has no other chance for his life.” Such an act as that before the house, his lordship urged was not without precedent at home. “Where smuggling has been found to be notoriously countenanced in one county, the trial for offences of that kind has been directed to be held in another. The rebels of Scotland, in the year 1746, were tried in England: all particular privileges give way to public safety; even the Habeas

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Corpus Act, that great palladium of English liberty, has been suspended in times of national danger. The present acts do not, however, establish a military government, but a civil one, by which the former constitution is greatly improved: they gave to the province of Massachusetts Pay a council, magistrates, and judges, whereas in effect it had none before; they do not screen guilt, they only protect innocence." This, he added, was the last act he had to propose, in order to perfect his plan of authority; that the rest must depend upon the vigilance of his majesty's servants in the execution of their duty, which he hoped would not be wanting; that the usual relief of four regiments for America, had been all ordered to Boston; that general Gage, in whose abilities he placed great confidence, was sent as governor and commander in chief; that while proper precautions were taken for the support of the magistracy, the same spirit was shewn for the punishment of offenders, and that prosecutions had been ordered against those who were ringleaders in sedition; that every thing should be done firmly, yet legally and prudently, as he had the advantage of being assisted by the ablest lawyers; and that he made no doubt, but by the steady execution of the measures now taken, obedience and the blessings of peace would be restored.

The minority, who opposed this bill with the same vehemence as the former, denied its very foundation; namely, that it would contribute to the procuring of an impartial trial; for if a party-spirit against the authority of Great Britain would condemn an active officer there as a murderer, the same party-spirit for preserving the authority of Great Britain, might acquit the murderer here, as a vigilant performer of his duty. This abuse was not perhaps quite so probable, as the people here were not agitated to the same degree; but that there is no absolute security against party-spirit in judicial proceedings, where men's minds are inflamed by public contests, as at present both in New and Old England; and that before the people of Massachusetts Bay are judged unworthy of the exercise of those rights with which the constitution has vested them, some abuse ought to be proved. "Has any proof," said they, "been given or attempted of such an abuse?—The case of captain Preston is recent. That officer and some soldiers under his command, were indicted at Boston for a murder—for killing persons in the suppression of a riot: this is the very case the act supposes; how did the affair turn out?—He was honourably acquitted; therefore the bill is not only unsupported, but contradicted by fact:" and they further insisted, that the ministry having no sort of reason for impeaching the tribunals of America, their real intention was to set up a military government, and to provide a virtual indemnity for all the murders and other capital offences which might be committed under the sanction of that barbarous authority. Notwithstanding these reprobations, more the effect of passion than of reason, the bill was supported by a great majority, and made its way rapidly through both houses.

But the minister, not satisfied with taking the most vigorous measures for enforcing the obedience of our old and refractory colonies, extended his attention also towards the new and submissive ones. As there was still a possibility that Great Britain, after her utmost efforts, might be deprived of her ancient posses-

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sons on the continent of America by a lawless fiction, it was necessary that every means should be taken to increate the consequence of her late acquisitions, and to secure the allegiance of the inhabitants, as well as their perpetual dependence on the crown. With this view a bill, which has much engaged the public notice, "for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec," was brought into the House of Lords, quickly passed, and transmitted to the Commons, where it occasioned long and warm debates. The particular objects of the bill were, to augment the importance of the province of Quebec, by extending its limits southward to the banks of the Ohio, westward to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the boundary of the Hudson's Bay company; to form a legislative council for all the affairs of the province, except taxation, and in which his majesty's Canadian Roman catholic subjects were to be entitled to a place; to establish the French laws, and a trial without jury in civil cases, and the English laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal cases; and to secure to the Roman catholic clergy, the regulars or monks excepted, the legal enjoyment of their estates, and of their tithes, from all who are of the Roman religion.

In favour of these regulations it was urged, That the French, who composed by far the greater part of the inhabitants of that province, having been used to live under an absolute government, were not anxious about the forms of a free one, which they little valued or understood; that they even abhorred the idea of a popular representation, from observing the mischiefs which it had introduced into the neighbouring colonies: that besides these considerations, it would be unreasonable to have a representative body, out of which all the natives should be excluded, and perhaps dangerous to trust such an instrument in the hands of a people but newly taken into the British empire: they were not yet ripe for English government; that their landed property had been granted, and their settlements made on the ideas of French law; that a trial by jury, in regard to such property, was strange and disgusting to them; that in regard to religion, it had been stipulated by the treaty of Paris to allow them perfect freedom in that point, as far as the laws of England permit: and it was farther observed, that the penal laws of England with respect to religion, do not extend beyond this kingdom, though the king's supremacy does, and therefore provision was made in the bill to oblige the Canadians to be subject to it, and an oath prescribed as a test against such papal claims as might endanger the allegiance of those people; that it was against all equity to persecute and punish the Canadians on account of their religion, and that a people cannot be said to have their own religion who have not their own priesthood. As to what regarded the payment of tithes, it was at best only letting down the French clergy where they were found at the conquest, to the respect they were indeed worthy, as no person professing the protestant religion was to be subject to such payment; which, being a great encouragement to conversion, would contribute daily to diminish their consequence. Nor was a protest, different from its real, and even laudable purpose, to be made by the journals of the province. Those established by the French, it was said, had been

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found to be too narrow, as several French families were scattered beyond them on all sides, and even an entire colony at the Illinois, comprehended in no British government.

The minority, a small but determined band, replied that a form of arbitrary government, established by act of parliament, for any part of the British dominions, was a thing new in the history of this kingdom; that it was of the most dangerous example, and wholly unnecessary: for either the government of Quebec, such as it then was, might be suffered to remain, merely as a temporary arrangement, tolerated from the necessity which first gave rise to it, or an assembly might be formed on the principles of the British constitution, in which the natives might have such a share as should be thought convenient; and that such an assembly was not impracticable appeared from the example of Granada. Why admit the Roman catholics of Canada into a legislative council, and deny the propriety of their sitting in a legislative assembly?—Nothing, it was replied, could induce the ministry to embrace that distinction, but the hatred which they had to such assemblies, and to all the rights of the people at large. The abolition of juries in civil causes was severely animadverted upon, and on the subject of religion the conflict was peculiarly warm. The capitulation, it was said, provided for no more than a mere toleration of the Roman catholic religion, whereas this is an establishment of it; that the people of Canada had hitherto been happy under that toleration, and looked for nothing farther; but by this establishment, the protestant religion enjoys at best no more than a toleration: The popish clergy have a legal parliamentary right to a maintenance; the protestant clergy are left at the king's mercy: why are not both put at least on an equal footing?—It was farther asked, why the proclamation limits were enlarged, as if it was thought that this arbitrary government could not have too extensive an object. If there were, which was questioned, any spots beyond those limits on which Canadians were settled, let them be provided for; but do not annex to Canada immense territories, of the finest land in North America, which run on the back of all our old colonies. Such a measure could not fail, it was said, to increase their discontents, and to fill them with apprehensions, that an arbitrary military government, and a people alien in origin, laws, and religion—that the very people whom they had helped to conquer, were chosen to execute that design, of which they already saw but too many proofs, the cruel design of utterly extinguishing their liberties, and bringing them into a state of the most abject vassalage.

Notwithstanding these animated speeches, the bill passed; and the most sanguine expectations were entertained by the ministry, that, after the vigorous measures adopted by the parliament, submission would be general and immediate throughout all North America, and complete obedience and tranquility secured in the British colonies for the future. The king caught the same hope, as appeared by the speech from the throne at the end of the session. Having mentioned the disorders in the province of Massachusetts Bay, he added, that “the temper and firmness with which they had conducted themselves in that important business, and

and the general concurrence with which the resolution of maintaining the authority of the laws in every part of his dominions, had been adopted and supported, could not fail of giving the greatest weight to the measures which had been the result of their deliberations." But human foresight at best is very limited: it soon appeared that neither the king nor his ministers, though perhaps the most enlightened men in the kingdom, were sufficiently acquainted either with the temper or the power of the Americans.

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CHAP. III.

The Effects of the BOSTON PORT BILL and other Penal Laws upon the Minds of the Americans, with an Account of their Proceedings, and those of the British Parliament and British Forces, from the Appointment of General Gage to the Government of Massachusetts Bay, till the BARRING of BUNKER'S-HILL.

THE penal statutes relative to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which were intended to operate both as a chastisement for past, and a preventative against future misdemeanors in that province, were unhappily productive of events very different from those, for which the sanguine promoters of those bills had hoped, and which administration had held out to the national assembly. Other purposes, besides punishment and prevention, were even confidently expected from them: it was presumed, that the shutting up of the port of Boston would give a secret pleasure to the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, on account of the benefits which would necessarily accrue to them from the diversion of its commerce; that this would prove a fruitful source of animosity and disunion within the province, and consequently of a general and hearty return to obedience under the government of the mother-country. It was also expected, that the punishment of that refractory province, in a manner so severe, yet at the same time cool and equitable, would not only operate as an example of terror to the other colonies, but that they from the selfishness and jealousy natural to mankind, would quietly resign it to its fate, and enjoy with satisfaction any advantages which they might reap from its misfortunes. In a word, it was hoped that those bills, besides their direct operation, would eventually prove the means of dissolving that bond of union, which seemed of late too much to prevail among our colonies in North America.

The event however, in every instance, was the very reverse of this expectation. The neighbouring towns disdained to profit in any degree by the misfortunes of their friends in Boston. The people of the province, where the spirit of revolt had made greater progress, and where even the scheme of independency was farther advanced than had ever been imagined, instead of being distracted or shaken by the coercive measures that were adopted for bringing them back to a sense of their duty, united only the more firmly together, in order to brave the

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form; and the other colonies, in place of abandoning, clung closer to their disobedient, and now seemingly devoted sister, in proportion as the danger increased.

This attachment, as well as the unanimity of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, in their resolution to resist the authority of the mother country, was chiefly occasioned by the bill relative to the constitution of that province; which, how necessary soever in itself for the quiet government of the colony, was very improperly associated with the bill for shutting up the port of Boston. Till this law was complied with, there could be no occasion for the other: this was a trial of the allegiance of the colony; and if, instead of obedience, it had produced rebellion, it would then have been manifestly absurd to enact civil regulations for such a colony, before the sword had ascertained the power or enforcing them, even allowing the right of imposing them to be perfectly clear and undisputed. In the present instance, if the absurdity was less palpable, the imprudence was yet greater. Boston, the capital of Massachusetts Bay, had been guilty of an outrage, little short of rebellion: it was to be punished for that outrage in a manner not altogether inconsistent with the laws of England, or unprecedented in the annals of parliament: still however that punishment was severe, and in some degree cruel and arbitrary. Whether Boston should ever more have a port depended upon the will of the king: the will of the wisest and best of kings is apt to be influenced by their ministers; and the inclinations of even upright ministers are subject to such a variety of influences, passions, caprices, interests, and misinformations, that no matter of right should ever be left at their discretion: but it was at their discretion, whether Boston should ever more enjoy the advantages of trade; and Boston, a town containing thirty thousand inhabitants, owed its very existence to trade. By trade the meanest citizen could earn a comfortable livelihood, and without it the richest could scarcely subsist. Since it had been thought proper, however, to enact such a law, and to rest its duration on the will of the prince, it ought to have been the minister's business to smoothe the way to its operation; to conciliate, as far as possible, the affections of the rest of the province, at the same time that he punished the capital. On the contrary, by destroying its ancient constitution, by inflicting a general punishment, when a particular one was only intended, or merited, he made the cause general; and the people, part of whom might have beheld the chastisement of Boston with indifference, or with pleasure, perceiving that it was resolved to deprive them of those rights, which they had been taught from their earliest years to revere as sacred, and to deem more valuable than life itself, determined at all events to preserve them, or to perish in one common ruin.

Nor was the alarm confined to New England: it spread from one end of the continent of North America to the other, and became the cement of a strict and close union between all our old colonies. It was now visible, they said, that charters, grants, and established usages were no longer a protection for the subject; that all rights, immunities, and civil securities must vanish at the breath of an act of parliament; and that such act of parliament, both in its origin and duration,

duration, depended upon the pride, passion, or caprice of the minister, who had acquired a sufficient majority, in both houses, to be able to carry any measure, however violent, unjust, or oppressive. They were all sensible, that they had been guilty, in a greater or less degree, of those outrages which had drawn down upon Boston, and the whole province of Massachusetts Bay, the indignation of parliament: they believed that punishment, though delayed, was not remitted; that vengeance still hung over them; and that all the favour the least obnoxious, or the most moderate could expect, was to be the last that would feel the arm of power.

Towards this state were things hastening, when general Gage was appointed commander in chief of the British forces in North America, and governor of Massachusetts Bay. As he had already borne several commands with reputation on that continent, had resided there many years, and was both well acquainted with the people and much esteemed by them, great hopes were formed of the happy effects that might result from his administration. Unfortunately these hopes were nipt in the bud. Before general Gage reached his government, a ship from England had brought a copy of the Boston Port Bill to that capital; and at the very time he arrived in the harbour, a town-meeting was sitting, in order to consider of the most prudent measures to be pursued at so alarming a crisis. The first step taken by this meeting, was a resolution, in which the other colonies were invited to join, to stop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain and Ireland, and all the English islands in the West Indies, until the new act was repealed, as the only means that were left, to use their own language, for the salvation of North America and her liberties.

May 13,

Meanwhile the assembly of Massachusetts Bay met at Boston, the council being chosen, for the last time, according to their charter. The governor laid nothing before them except the common business of the province; but he gave them notice of their removal to Salem, on the first of June, in pursuance of the late act of parliament. In order to evade this measure, the assembly were hurrying through the necessary business of the supplies, with all expedition, that they might then adjourn themselves to such time as they should think proper. The governor, however, having obtained some intelligence of their design, adjourned them unexpectedly to the seventh of June, then to meet at Salem. Previous to this adjournment, they had presented a petition to the governor, that he would appoint a day of general fasting and prayer. This request he did not think proper to comply with, being well apprised of its purpose, and of the use that was likely to be made of such an unnecessary season of devotion: but the house of burgesses of the province of Virginia, a place little famed for piety, pitched upon the first of June, the very day on which the Boston Port Bill was to take effect, to be set apart for humiliation, fasting, and prayer, in order to implore the divine interposition, to avert the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and to give one heart and one mind to the people, firmly to oppose every injury to the liberties of America. This example was followed, or a similar resolution adopted, almost every where; so

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that the first day of June, in the year 1774, became a general day of prayer and humiliation throughout the whole northern continent of the New World.

The immediate dissolution of the assembly of Virginia, was the consequence of their forward and factious piety. Before their separation, however, an association was entered into, and signed by eighty-nine of the members, in which they declared, That an attack made upon one colony, in order to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack upon all British America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole was applied in prevention. They therefore recommended to the committee of correspondence, to communicate with the several committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies, to meet annually in General Congress, and to deliberate on these general measures which the united interests of America might, from time to time, render necessary. At Philadelphia about three hundred of the inhabitants met, and appointed a committee to write an answer to the solicitation of the town of Boston: they declined giving their advice in the present dangerous crisis, till such time as the sense of the province could be collected; and observed, that all lenient applications for redress should be tried, before recourse was had to extremities; that it might perhaps be proper to take the sense of a general congress, before the desperate resolution of putting an entire stop to commerce was adopted; and that, at any rate, it would be proper to reserve that as the last expedient. A town-meeting was also held at New York, and a committee of correspondence appointed; but they were very moderate in their sentiments, respect to the legislature being apparently greater in that province than any other. The case was very different at Annapolis in Maryland, where a resolution was taken to prevent the recovery of any debts belonging to Great Britain. This resolution, however, was neither adopted nor confirmed by the provincial meeting, held soon after; nor was it any where carried into execution. In general, as might have been expected in countries which depend so much on trade, the proposal for shutting up the ports was received with great hesitation and coldness, and more especially as former resolutions of that kind had been perverted to the private gain of individuals: it was considered as the last desperate resort, when all other means of redress should fail.

Some symptoms of moderation appeared even in Boston itself. An address of congratulation was presented to general Gage, signed by one hundred and twenty-seven gentlemen, merchants, and other inhabitants of that capital. Besides the compliments usual on such occasions, a declaration of the high hopes which they had founded on the general's public and private character, and a disavowal, as to themselves, of all lawless violences, it contained a wish that a discretionary power had been lodged in his hands to restore trade to its former course, as soon as the terms of the act had been complied with; and also a pathetic representation, that, according to the present conditions of the law, so much time would be lost, let compliance be ever so immediate, before his favourable representation of their conduct could reach the king and council, and produce, even on
well

well disposed minds, the desired effect, such delay must be occasioned as would involve them in unspeakable misery, if not total ruin. A few days after, an address of a very different nature, from the council, was presented to the governor. It contained some very severe reflexions on his two immediate predecessors, Bernard and Hutchinson, to whose machinations, both in concert and apart, that body attributed the origin and progress of the disunion between Great Britain and her colonies, and all the calamities that afflicted that province. They declared, that the people claimed no more than the rights of Englishmen, without diminution or abridgement; and these, as it was the indispensable duty of that board, so it should be their constant endeavour to maintain, to the utmost of their power, in perfect consistence, but with the truest loyalty to the crown, the just prerogatives of which they would be ever zealous to support. This address was rejected by the governor, as containing indecent reflexions on his predecessors, whose conduct had been examined, and approved by the king, as an insult on his majesty and the lords of the privy-council, and an affront to himself.

The same spirit prevailed in the house of representatives, when they met at Salem, where they passed a resolution declaring the expediency of a general meeting necessary: by another they appointed five gentlemen, from among those who had been most distinguished for their opposition to government, as a committee to represent that province; and by a third they voted the sum of five hundred pounds sterling to the said committee, in order to enable them to discharge the important trust to which they were appointed. As none of these resolutions could be agreeable to the governor, he refused his consent to such an application of the public money. On this the assembly passed a new resolution, recommending to the several towns and districts within the province, to raise the sum of five hundred pounds for the before-mentioned purpose, by equitable proportions, according to the last provincial tax.

This recommendation, which had all the force of a law, became a precedent. The assembly, foreseeing that their dissolution was at hand, were determined to give the people a public testimony of their opinions, and under the title of recommendations to prescribe rules for their conduct. They accordingly passed a declaratory resolution, expressive of their sense of the state of public affairs, and of the designs of government; in which they set forth, that they, with the other American colonies, had been long struggling under the heavy hand of power, and that their dutiful petitions for the redress of intolerable grievances had not only been disregarded, but that the design totally to alter the free constitution and civil government in British America, to establish arbitrary governments, and to reduce the inhabitants to the condition of slavery, appeared more and more to be fixed and determined: they then recommended in the strongest terms to the inhabitants of the province, totally to renounce the consumption of India teas; and as far as in them lay to discontinue the use of all goods imported from Great Britain, but more especially the productions of the East Indies, until the public grievances of America should be radically and totally redressed.

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Though the committee appointed to conduct this business proceeded with the greatest secrecy, the governor obtained some intelligence of it; and on the very day upon which they made their report, he sent his secretary to pronounce their immediate dissolution. Finding the door locked on his arrival, the secretary sent the house messenger to acquaint the speaker, that he had a message from the governor, and desired admittance to deliver it. The speaker after some delay, returned for answer, that he had acquainted the house with the message which he had received, and that their orders were to keep the doors fast. The secretary, on this refusal of admittance, caused proclamation to be made upon the stairs, of the dissolution of the general assembly. Such was the issue of the final contest between the governor of Massachusetts Bay and the last assembly which was held in that province, on the principles of its charter.

June 17.

The day after the dissolution of the assembly, a most pathetic, but at the same time a firm and manly address, was presented from the merchants and freeholders of the town of Salem to general Gage. It must not be forgot, that this town was now become the temporary capital of the province, and principal seaport, in place of Boston; and that the general assembly, the courts of justice, the custom house, and (as far as such a change could be effected by authority) the trade of that mart was removed: so that the people of Salem were already in possession of a principal share of the spoils, which it was supposed would have effectually influenced their conduct; and thereby have bred such incurable envy, jealousy, and animosity between the gainers and the sufferers, as would have brought back the capital to a sense of her duty, as well as of the justice of her punishment.

This conjecture, founded on a general but undistinguishing knowledge of human nature, was strongly contradicted by the sentiments of the inhabitants of Salem, as it always will be by people in such circumstances. When men are threatened with a common danger from abroad, all private jealousy and particular interests are lost in the necessity of public union. The people of Salem were sensible that they could derive no permanent advantage from the punishment inflicted upon Boston, unless that city persisted in withstanding the authority of government; and in this event, the whole province would be in such a state of confusion, if not of hostility, as must put an entire stop to trade: they therefore assumed the language of generosity and affection, and pleaded with much eloquence the cause of their suffering neighbours. "We are deeply afflicted," say they in their address to the governor, "with a sense of our public calamities: but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiseration; and we hope your excellency will use your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already sorely distressed people.—By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart: and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every sense of justice,

tice, and lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

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The governor had still, however, considerable hopes from the conduct of the merchants of Boston. He expected that they would have entered into the spirit of the Port-bill; and by removing their commerce along with the custom-house to Salem, have thereby the sooner induced the capital to the compliances wished for by the legislature. But in this hope he was disappointed; for although the merchants thought it necessary to keep fair with government, and in general disapproved of all violences, they did not enter heartily into the new measures. It seems also probable, that general Gage had been led to believe the interest of government to be stronger, and the friends of the legislature more numerous than they really were. An experiment, however, which was made soon after, set this matter in a clear light. The friends of government attended a town-meeting at Boston, and attempted to pass resolutions for the payment of the tea, as well as for dissolving the committee of correspondence; but they found themselves lost in a prodigious majority, and saw no other resource against the prevailing spirit, and the proceedings of that assembly, except a protest.

In the meantime, rough draughts of the two remaining bills relative to the province of Massachusetts Bay, (both which were in agitation when the ships that brought the Port-bill sailed from England) had been received in Boston, and were immediately circulated over the continent. The perfect knowledge of these bills filled up, in most of the colonies, whatever was wanting in the measure of violence and indignation. Many of those who were before moderate, or seemed wavering, now became resolute and sanguine. The proposal of prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain or the West Indies, was now eagerly listened to, and considered as recommending a necessary measure. Nothing was talked of but meetings and resolutions. Liberal contributions for the relief of their distressed brethren in Boston, were every where recommended in these meetings; and numberless letters were written from towns, districts, and provinces, to the people of Boston, in which, besides every expression of sympathy and tenderness, they were highly commended for their past conduct, and strongly exhorted to a perseverance in that virtue which had brought on their sufferings.

The people of North America at this time, in regard to political opinions, might be divided into three classes. Of these, one was for rushing headlong into the greatest extremities: they were desirous of putting an immediate stop to trade, without waiting till other measures were tried, or the general sense of the colonies received on a subject of such alarming importance, both in its nature and in its consequences; although they were eager for the holding of a congress, they would leave it nothing to do but to prosecute the violence which they had begun. The second, if less numerous party, was by no means less respectable, and tho' more moderate, were perhaps equally firm: they were averse from any violent measures being adopted, until all other methods had been tried, and found ineffectual; they wished further applications to be made to Great Britain, and the

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grievances they complained of, as well as the rights which they claimed, to be clearly stated, and properly represented. This, they said, could only be done effectually by a general congress, as it might otherwise be liable to the objection of being the act of but a few men, or of a particular colony. The third party, consisted either of the friends of administration in England, or such as at least did not totally disapprove of the penal acts, and other measures for supporting the authority of the supreme legislature; but their still small voice, except in a few particular places, was lost amid the tumultuous din of faction, like that of virtue in a wicked world.

The more violent party, who had not patience even to wait for the result of a congress, entered into such measures as might have been expected from their temper and character. An agreement was framed by the committee of correspondence at Boston, which they entitled a *Solemn League and Covenant*, in which the subscribers bound themselves by the most sacred engagements, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, from the last day of the ensuing month of August, until the Port-bill and the other late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts Bay restored to its chartered rights. They also bound themselves, in the same sacred manner, not to consume or to purchase from any person any goods whatsoever, which should arrive after the specified time, and to break off all commerce, trade, and dealings, with any one who did, as well as with the importers of such goods. They likewise renounced in the presence of God, all future intercourse and connexion with those who should refuse to subscribe to that covenant, or to bind themselves by some similar agreement, with the dangerous denunciation annexed, of having their names published to the world; or in other words, of being marked out for the vengeance of the mob, as well as held up to the scorn, and exposed to the insults of every factious zealot.

This covenant, accompanied with a letter from the committee at Boston, was circulated with the greatest activity; and the people, not only in the New England governments, but also in the other provinces, entered into the solemn league with the greatest eagerness. Alarmed at so extraordinary a proceeding, general Gage published a proclamation against it, in which it was stiled an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination; contrary to the allegiance due to the king, destructive of the lawful authority of the British parliament, and of the peace, good order, and safety of the community. All persons were warned against incurring the pains and penalties due to such aggravated and dangerous offences, and all magistrates were charged to apprehend and secure for trial, such as should have any share in the publishing, subscribing, aiding or abetting the beforementioned, or any similar covenant.

That proclamation, however, had no other effect but to exercise the faculties of those who were versed in the crown laws, by endeavouring to shew that it did not come within any of the articles of treason, and consequently that the charges made by the governor were erroneous, unjust, and highly injurious. He had assumed a power, they said, which the constitution denies even to the sovereign;
namely,

namely, the power of making those things treason which are not considered as such by the laws; that the people have a right to assemble, in order to consider of their common grievances, and to form associations for their general conduct towards the redress of such grievances. Measures were accordingly every where taken for the holding of a general congress; and Philadelphia, from the convenience of its situation, as well as its security, was fixed upon as the place, and the beginning of September the time for meeting. Where an assembly happened to be sitting, as in the case of Massachusetts Bay, they appointed deputies to represent the province in the congress; but as this circumstance concurred in very few instances, the general method was for the people to elect their usual number of representatives, and these, at a general meeting, chose deputies from among themselves, the number of whom bore commonly some proportion to the extent and populousness of the province. Two was the smallest, and seven the greatest number, that represented any province: but whatever the number of representatives might be, each colony was to have only one vote.

Even in this unpromising state of public affairs, general Gage had the consolation to receive a congratulatory address from the justices of the peace of Plymouth county, assembled at their general sessions; in which, besides the customary compliments, they expressed great concern at seeing the inhabitants of some towns, influenced by certain persons calling themselves committees of correspondence, and encouraged by men whose business it was, as preachers of the gospel, to inculcate principles of loyalty and obedience to the laws, entering into a league calculated to increase the displeasure of the sovereign, to exasperate the parent-state, and to interrupt the harmony of society. A protest was also passed by several gentlemen of the county of Worcester, against all riotous disorders and seditious practices. But these symptoms of duty and allegiance entirely disappeared on the arrival of the new laws for the government of the province.

Along with these laws, the governor received a list of thirty-six new counselors, appointed by the crown, in conformity to the new regulations, and contrary to the method prescribed by the charter, of their being chosen by the representatives in each assembly. Of the gentlemen named, about twenty-four accepted the office; a number sufficient to carry on the business of government, until a fresh nomination should arrive for filling up the vacancies. Matters were now, however, unfortunately tending to that crisis, which was to put an end to all established government in the province of Massachusetts Bay. The people in the different counties became every day more outrageous, and every thing bore the semblance of war and resistance. Nothing was to be seen or heard of but the purchasing and providing of arms; the procuring of ammunition; the casting of balls; and all those other preparations which testify the most immediate danger, and most determined resistance. Every one who accepted of any office under the new laws, or prepared to act in conformity with them, was declared to be an enemy to his country, and threatened with the punishment due to such a character.

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In consequence of this violent spirit, the judges were every where rendered incapable of proceeding in their functions. On opening the courts, the great and petty juries throughout the province unanimately refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner under the new judges and the new laws; and the acting otherwise was deemed so heinous, that the clerks of the courts found it necessary to acknowledge their contrition in the public papers, for issuing the warrants by which the juries were summoned to attend, and not only to declare that, let the consequences be what they might, they would not act so again, but that they had not considered what they were doing; and that though they should be forgiven by their countrymen, they could never forgive themselves for the fault they had committed. At Great Barrington, and some other places, the people assembled in numerous bodies, and filled the court-house and avenues in such a manner that neither the judges nor their officers could obtain entrance; and on the sheriff's commanding them to make way for the court, they answered, that they knew of no court, or other establishment, independent of the ancient laws and usages of their country, and to none other would they submit, or give way upon any terms.

The new counsellors were yet more unfortunate than the judges. Their houses were surrounded by large bodies of the people, who soon made them sensible, that they had no other alternative but to submit to a renunciation of their office, or to suffer all the fury of an enraged populace. Most of them submitted to the former condition: some had the good fortune to be in Boston; and thereby evaded the danger; while others, in their flight thither, were hunted and pursued, with threats of destruction to their houses and estates, and narrowly escaped with their lives. The old constitution being dissolved, as we have seen, by act of parliament, and the new one thus rejected by the people, an end was put to all the forms of law and government in the province of Massachusetts Bay; and the inhabitants were reduced to that state of anarchy, which has ever been esteemed the worst condition of man, as people who have broke loose from the bands of society, are more apt to abuse their natural liberty than those who have never known restraint. Greater barbarities, and more frequent violences, have therefore commonly been committed in the anarchical than in the savage state. But the behaviour of the people of Massachusetts Bay, which will for ever excite the astonishment of mankind, is a striking contradiction of this general truth, as well as a memorable example of the efficacy of long established habits, and of a constant submission to the laws. They were not arrived at that state of corruption, in which a temporary anarchy has usually taken place in other countries; so that except the general opposition to the new laws, and the excesses arising from it, in outrages against obnoxious individuals, no other very considerable marks of the cessation of government appeared.

Meanwhile general Gage thought it necessary for the safety of the troops, as well as to secure the important post and town of Boston, to fortify the neck of land which affords the only communication, except by water, between that town and the continent. This measure, however judicious and necessary in itself,

could not fail to increase the jealousy, suspicion, and ill humour, already so prevalent in the province: and it was soon succeeded by another, which excited yet greater alarm. The season of the year was now arrived for the annual muster of the militia; and the general having probably some suspicion of their conduct, when assembled, or as they pretend, being urged thereto by insidious advisers, and false and malicious informers, seized upon the ammunition and stores that were lodged in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge, and ordered them to be carried to Boston. He also seized, at the same time, upon the powder that was lodged in the magazines at Charles Town, and some other places in the same province, being partly private and partly public property.

These prudential precautions excited the most violent and universal ferment that had yet appeared, and which sufficiently evidenced their necessity. The people assembled to the amount of several thousands, and it was with the greatest difficulty, that some of the more moderate and leading men of the country, were able to prevent them from marching directly to Boston; there to demand the delivery of the powder and stores, and in case of refusal, to attack the troops. About the same time the governor's company of cadets, consisting wholly of gentlemen of Boston, and chiefly of such as had always been well affected to government, disbanded themselves, and returned to general Gage the standard, with which he had presented them, according to custom, on his arrival. This slight to the governor, and apparent disrelish to the new government, proceeded immediately from his having taken away the commission of Mr. Hancock: a favourite officer, but noted incendiary, whom we have already had occasion to mention, and who was commander of that corps.

An assembly of delegates, from all the towns in the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the chief, as well as the capital of the province, was also held to consider of the general's proceedings. In this assembly were passed a great number of resolutions, some of which militated more strongly against the authority of the mother-country than any that had hitherto been published: they declared that the county would support and bear harmless all sheriffs, jurors, and other persons, who should suffer persecution for not acting under the present unconstitutional judges, or refusing to carry into execution any orders of their courts; and it was resolved, that those who had accepted seats at the council board, had violated the *duty* they owed to their *country*, and if they did not vacate them within a short, and limited time, that they should be considered as obstinate and incorrigible *enemies* to their *country*. They recommended to the people to perfect themselves in the art of war; and for this purpose, that the militia should meet once a week. A recommendation also followed, which in the then state of things amounted to a positive command: the collectors of the taxes, and all other receivers and holders of the public money, were requested not to pay it as usual to the treasurer, but to detain it in their hands until the civil government of the province should be placed on a constitutional foundation, or until it should be otherwise ordered by the Provincial Congress.

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The assembly of delegates concluded their proceedings by appointing a committee to wait upon the governor, with a remonstrance against the fortifying of Boston neck, and other places. In this remonstrance they declare, that though the loyal people of that county think themselves oppressed by some late acts of parliament, and are resolved through the *divine assistance* never to submit to them, they have no inclination to commence war with his majesty's troops. Besides the new fortification, the greatest of all grievances, because the greatest curb on their licentiousness, they impute the extraordinary ferment in the minds of the people to the seizing of the powder, to the planting of cannon on the Neck, and to the insults and abuses offered to passengers by the soldiers; and they conclude with declaring, That nothing less than a removal or redress of those grievances, can place the inhabitants of the county in that state of peace and tranquillity, which every free subject ought to enjoy. General Gage replied, That he had no intention to prevent the free egress and regress of any person to and from the town of Boston; that he would not suffer one man under his command to injure the person or property of any of his majesty's subjects, but that it was his duty to preserve the peace, and to prevent surprise; that they had no occasion to be alarmed at the cannon, unless their intentions were hostile, as no effect would be made of them, except to repel violence.

Before public affairs had arrived at this turbulent state, the governor, by the advice of the new council, had issued writs for the holding of a general assembly, which was to meet in the beginning of October. But the events that afterwards took place, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, together with the resignation of a great number of the new counsellors, in consequence of the persecutions to which they were exposed, induced him to countermand the writs by a proclamation, and to defer the holding of the assembly till a fitter season. The legality of the proclamation was however called in question; the elections every where took place without any regard to it, and the new members met at Salem, pursuant to the precepts. Having waited there a day, without the governor or any substitute for him attending, to administer the oaths and open a session, they voted themselves into a Provincial Congress, to be joined by such others as had been, or should be elected for that purpose; and the famous Mr. Hancock being chosen chairman, they adjourned to the town of Concord, about twenty miles from Boston.

Among their earliest proceedings, the Provincial Congress appointed a committee to wait upon the governor with a remonstrance, in which they apologized for their present meeting, by representing, that the distressed and miserable state of the colony had rendered it indispensably necessary to collect the wisdom of the province by their delegates in that assembly, and thereby to concert some adequate remedy, in order to prevent impending ruin. They next express their grievous apprehensions of the measures then pursuing: they assert, that even the rigour of the Boston Port Bill is exceeded by the manner in which it is carried into execution*: they complain of the late laws, calculated not only to abridge the peo-

* This must be a gross falsehood, as general Gage behaved with the greatest lenity: even with too much for the honour or interest of Great Britain.

ple of their rights, but to licence murders; of the number of troops in the capital, which were daily increasing by new accessions drawn from every part of the continent, together with the formidable and hostile preparations at Boston-neck, all tending to endanger the lives, liberties, and properties, not only of the people of Boston, but of the province in general; and they concluded with adjuring the governor, as he regarded his majesty's honour and interest, the dignity and prosperity of the empire, and the peace and happiness of the province, to desist immediately from the construction of the fortrefs at the entrance into Boston, and to restore that pass to its natural state.

General Gage was involved in some difficulty in giving an answer to this remonstrance, as he could not acknowledge the legality of the assembly by which it was framed. The necessity of the times however prevailed: he must either act or speak. He chose the latter alternative, and expressed great indignation at the idea, that the lives, liberty, or property of any people, except avowed enemies, could be in danger from British troops. England, he said, could never harbour the dark design of secretly destroying or enslaving any people; and that, notwithstanding the enmity shewn to the troops, by withholding from them almost every necessary for their preservation, they had not yet discovered the resentment which might naturally be expected to arise in the bosoms of men from such hostile treatment. He reminded the congress, that while they complained of alterations made in their charter by act of parliament, they were themselves by thus assembling, subverting that charter, and now acting in direct violation of their own constitution: he therefore warned them of their danger, and advised them to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings.

This caution was not regarded. The Provincial Congress not only continued their assembly, but their resolutions having acquired from the promptitude of the people, all the efficacy of laws, something like a new and independent government seemed to be formed. Under the stile of recommendation and advice, they settled the militia; they regulated the public money, and provided arms. These, and similar measures, induced general Gage to issue a proclamation, in which, though the direct terms are avoided, they are charged with proceedings which are generally understood to imply treason and rebellion. The inhabitants of the province were accordingly prohibited, in the king's name, from complying in any degree with the requisitions, recommendations, directions, or resolves of that unlawful assembly.

Boston was by this time become the place of refuge for all those friends of the legislature, who thought it necessary to persist in avowing their sentiments. The commissioners of the customs, with all their train of officers, had also thought it necessary to abandon their head quarters at Salem, and to remove the apparatus of a custom house to a place which an act of parliament had proscribed from all trade. Every thing tended to increase the mutual apprehension, distrust, and animosity between the military and the people. On the approach of winter, general Gage had ordered temporary barracks to be erected for the troops, partly for safety, and partly to prevent the disorders and mischiefs, which, in the present state of

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mens minds, must be the unavoidable consequence of their being quartered upon the inhabitants: but so great was the dislike to their being accommodated in any manner, that the select men and the committees obliged the carpenters to quit their employment, though the money for their labour would have been paid by the crown; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the general could get these temporary lodgments erected. Injuries provoke injuries: he retaliated on them, in his turn, by a measure no less calculated to excite disgust or perpetuate hatred. This was the landing by night, from the ships of war in the harbour, a detachment of sailors, who spiked up all the cannon upon one of the principal batteries belonging to the town.

During these transactions in Boston and its neighbourhood, the twelve old colonies; namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties on the Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, occupying that whole extent of continent which stretches from Nova Scotia to Georgia, had appointed deputies to attend the GENERAL CONGRESS, which was held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September, 1774. The number of delegates, who represented those colonies, amounted in all to fifty one. Several of the provinces had given instructions to their deputies previous to their meeting in Congress, some of which differed widely from others; but they all contained the strongest professions of loyalty and allegiance, and totally disclaimed the idea of independency. In this declaration, it is possible, they might not be altogether insincere, as it appears by their resolutions, that Great Britain would have got nothing by such a supremacy as they were willing to acknowledge, in return for the expence of protecting them, but the common advantages of trade. Some colonies, however, besides an obedience to all the commercial laws, except such as were specified, proposed the granting of an annual revenue to the crown for public purposes, and disposable by parliament. But in these, as in all other points, the deputies were instructed to coincide with the majority of the Congress; and this majority, as already observed, was to be determined by reckoning the colonies, as having each a single vote, without regard to the number of deputies which any one might send.

The debates and proceedings of the Congress were conducted with the greatest secrecy, nor have any of them yet transpired, except such as they have thought proper to lay before the public. The first of these was a declaratory resolution, expressive of their sentiments in regard to the province of Massachusetts Bay, and immediately intended to confirm and encourage the inhabitants in that line of conduct on which they had entered. By their subsequent resolutions, the Congress not only formally approve of the opposition made by this province to the late acts, but farther declare, That if an attempt should be made to carry them into execution by force, all America ought to support the inhabitants in such opposition; that every person who shall accept, or act under any commission or authority, derived from the late act of parliament for changing the form of government, and violating the charter of the colony of Massachusetts

Bay, ought to be held in detestation, and considered as the wicked tool of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights which God, nature and compact have given to the British colonies in America; and they conclude with a resolution, that the transporting or attempting to transport any person beyond the sea, for the trial of offences committed in America, being against law, will justify, and ought to meet with resistance and reprisal.

These resolutions being passed, the Congress ordered a letter to be written to general Gage; in which, after repeating the complaints that had been frequently made by the town of Boston, and by the delegates of different counties in the province of Massachusetts Bay, they declare the determined resolution of the colonies to unite for the preservation of their common rights, in opposition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of that province are oppressed; that, in consequence of their sentiments upon that subject, the colonies had appointed them the guardians of their rights and liberties; and that whilst they were pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure, in order to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, they felt the deepest concern that his excellency should proceed in a manner that bore so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive laws did not warrant. They represented the tendency which this conduct must have to irritate and force a people into hostilities, however well disposed to peaceable measures, and involve them in the horrors of civil war. In order to prevent these evils, they entreated the general to discontinue the fortifications at Boston, and to give orders that the communications between the town and country should be open and free.

The Congress at the same time published a declaration of rights; to which they maintained that the English colonies in North America are entitled by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the constitution, and their several charters or compacts. Among the first of these are life, liberty, and property; a right to the disposal of any of which they had never ceded to any sovereign power whatsoever, and consequently none of them could be disposed of without their consent. They represent, as has often been done for them, that their ancestors, at the time of their emigration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of Englishmen, and that by such emigration they neither forfeited surrendered, nor lost any of those rights; that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free governments, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; and they proceeded to shew, That as the colonists are not, and from various causes cannot be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial assemblies, (where their right of representation can alone be preserved) in all cases of taxation and internal policy.

In order to qualify the extent of this demand of legislative power in their assemblies, which might seem to leave no room for parliamentary interference, in order to ascertain their dependence on the mother-country, they declare, That, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the interest of both countries, they con-

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sent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are confined to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother-country, and the commercial benefit of its respective members, but excluding every idea of taxation, internal, or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.

The Congress also resolved, that the colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage; that they are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws, which had received the sanction of the crown; that they have a right to assemble peaceably, consider of their grievances, and petition the king for redress; and that all prosecutions, and prohibitory proclamations, on account of their so doing, are illegal; that the keeping of a standing army in the time of peace, in any colony, without the consent of its legislature, is contrary to law; that it is essential to the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature should be independent of each other; that therefore the exercise of legislative power, by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, is unconstitutional, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

After thus specifying their rights, and enumerating their grievances, the Congress declared, That, in order to obtain redress of the latter, which threatened destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of the people of North America, a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, would prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure. They accordingly entered into an association, by which they bound themselves, and of course their constituents, to the observance of a variety of articles to the foregoing purpose, “until the repeal of such acts, or parts of acts, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, and foreign paper, imported into America; and also until the repeal of the four acts passed in the last session of parliament; namely, that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston; that for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; that which is intitled an act for the better administration of Justice; and that for extending the limits of the government of Quebec, and other purposes therein mentioned!”

The Congress now proceeded to frame a petition to his majesty; a memorial to the people of Great Britain; an address to the colonies in general, and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. The petition to his majesty contains an enumeration of those grievances already mentioned in their resolutions, and abounds with expressions of loyalty, duty and affection. They declare that from the pernicious system of policy in regard to America, adopted since the conclusion of the late war, have flowed all those distresses, dangers, fears, and jealousies, which overwhelm the colonies with affliction; and “appealing to that Being, who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they solemnly profess,

that their councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending destruction." This is a very extraordinary asseveration; and the man who can implicitly believe it, must have an equal share of Christian faith and charity.

The memorial to the people of Great Britain is a masterly composition; and shews the abilities, if not the views of the Congress, in a very advantageous light. After bestowing the highest praises on the inhabitants of this island, on account of the glorious stand which they have at different times made in defence of their liberty and independency, "be not therefore surpris'd," say they, "that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the constitution of which you are so justly proud, and who transmitted the same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith of government, and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason; and who prosecute them with a design, that, by having our lives and property in their power, they may with the greater facility enslave you." This artful preamble is followed by an enumeration of what they consider as their rights, and a long string of grievances, which they trace, as in the petition to the king, up to the conclusion of the late war. They endeavour by a variety of arguments to vindicate their conduct, and proceed to examine what they call the ministerial plan for enslaving them. They represent the probable consequences to this country of a perseverance in that plan, even though it should be attended with success. "In what condition will you then be?—What advantages, or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest?—Your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with pensioners and placemen, will doubtless be increased; your commerce, we presume, will also be somewhat diminished: but granting it should be otherwise; may not a minister with the same armies that have subdued us, enslave you?"—If to this it is answered, that we will cease to pay those armies, they reply, that the power of taxing America at pleasure will pour such a tide of wealth into the royal coffers, as will not only render the crown independent on the inhabitants of Britain for supplies, but will furnish it with treasure sufficient to purchase the small remains of liberty in the island*. "In a word, say they, "take care, that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us."

"We believe," add they, "that there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency: be assured, that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem an union with you as our greatest happiness: we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the empire; and shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own. But if you are determined, that your ministers shall

* If there is any truth in this, all their former representations of the poverty of their condition must have been egregiously false.

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wantonly sport with the rights of mankind* ; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity can restrain your hands from shedding human blood, in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, That we never will submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world."

In their address to the colonies, the Congress inform them, That, as in duty and justice bound, they have deliberately, dispassionately, and impartially examined and considered all the measures that led to the present disturbances: the exertions of both the legislative and executive powers of Great Britain, on one hand, and the conduct of the colonies on the other ; that upon the whole, they find themselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those they wish to revere ; and that in making their choice, they have preferred the course dictated by honour, and a regard for the welfare of their country. After stating and examining the several laws passed, and the measures pursued with respect to America, from the year 1763, they conclude, that " it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and now carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of the colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government." They next proceed to state the importance of the trust which was reposed in them, and the manner in which they have discharged it. On this subject they say, That though the state of the colonies would certainly justify other measures, than those which they have advised, yet they have weighty reasons for such a choice ; that they have adopted a mode of opposition, which, far as things have been carried, does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with their fellow citizens on the other side of the Atlantic.

This address is on the whole well executed, and breathes a delusive spirit of moderation ; but of all the papers published by the American congress, their address to the French inhabitants of Canada, discovers the most able and ingenious methods of application to the temper and passions of those whom they endeavour to gain. They begin with stating the right the Canadians had, on becoming English subjects, to the inestimable benefits of the English constitution ; that this right was farther confirmed, by the royal proclamation, in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for their full enjoyment of those advantages ; and they impute to succeeding ministers an audacious and cruel abuse of the royal authority, in withholding from them the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which they were thus fully entitled. " As we have lived," say they, " to the unexpected time, when ministers of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations ; and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discerning the unspeakable worth of that form you are now undoubtedly entitled to, we esteem it our duty, to explain to you

* It may not be improper here to remark, that the ministers accused by the Congress of sporting with the rights of mankind, as we learn from their complaints, are not only the present ministry, under lord North, but those under the honourable George Grenville, those under the marquis of Rockingham, and those under the duke of Grafton and the earl of Chatham.

some of its most important branches." They accordingly proceed to specify and illustrate, under several heads, the principal rights to which the people are entitled by the English constitution; supported by corroborating quotations, in regard to their necessity, from Montesquieu and the marquis de Beccaria. "These are the rights," add they, "without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which these colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased: these are the rights a profligate ministry are now striving, by force of arms, to ravish from us, and which we are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with our lives.

"These are the rights to which you are entitled, and which you ought at this moment in perfection to exercise!—And what is offered to you by the late act of parliament in their place?—Liberty of conscience in your religion:—No! God gave it to you; and the temporal powers, with which you have been and are connected, firmly stipulated for your enjoyment of it. If laws divine or human could secure it against the despotic capacities of wicked men, it was secured before. Are the French laws in civil cases restored?—It seems so; but observe the cautious kindness of the ministers who pretend to be your benefactors: the words of the statute are, that those laws shall be the *rule*, until they shall be *varied or altered* by any ordinances of the governor and council. Is the *certainty* and *lenity* of the criminal law of England, and its *benefits* and *advantages*, commended in the statute, and said to have been *sensibly felt* by you, secured to you and your descendants?—No. They too are subject to arbitrary alterations by the governor and council; and a power is expressly reserved of appointing such courts of criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as shall be thought proper*. Such is the precarious tenure of mere will, by which you hold your lives and your religion.

"The crown and its ministers are impowered, as far as could be by parliament, to establish even the *inquisition* itself among you. Have you an assembly composed of worthy men, elected by yourselves, and in whom you can confide, to make laws for you; to watch over your welfare, and to direct in what quantity and in what manner, your money shall be taken from you?—No. The power of making laws for you is lodged in the governor and council, all of them dependent upon, and removeable at the pleasure of a minister.—In the very act for altering your government, and intended to flatter you, you are not authorised to assess, levy or apply any rates and taxes, but for the inferior purposes of making roads, and erecting and repairing public buildings, or for other local conveniences, within your respective towns and districts. Why this degrading distinction? Ought not the property honestly acquired by Canadians, be held as sacred as that of Englishmen?—Have Canadians not sense enough to attend to any other public affairs, than gathering stones from one place and piling them up in another?—Unhappy people! who are not only injured but insulted. What would your countryman, the immortal Montesquieu, have said of such a

* This power, by the act is vested in the crown, not in the governor and council.

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plan of administration as is formed for you?—Hear his words with an intensefulness of thought suited to the occasion: “In a free state, every man, who is supposed a free agent, ought to be concerned in his own government; therefore the legislature should reside in the whole body of the people, or in their representatives:”—and he farther observes, that “when the power of *making* laws, and the power of *executing* them are united in the *same* person, or in the *same* body of magistrates, there can be *no liberty* *; because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should *enact* tyrannical laws, to *execute* them in a tyrannical manner: nor can there be *any liberty*, if the power of *judging* be not separated from the *legislative* and *executive* powers.”

“Apply these decisive maxims,” continue they, “sanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres to your own state. You have a governor, it may be urged, vested with the *executive* powers, or the powers of administration. In him, and in the council, is lodged the power of *making laws*. You have *judges* who are to *decide* every cause affecting your lives, liberty, or property. Here is indeed an appearance of the several powers being separated and distributed into different hands, for checks one upon another; the only effectual mode ever invented by the wit of men, to promote their freedom and prosperity: but scornful to be illuded by a tinkered outside, and exerting the natural *sagacity* of Frenchmen, examine the specious device, and you will find it, to use an expression of Holy Writ, a *painted sepulchre* for burying your lives, liberty, and property.

“Your judges, and your legislative council, as it is called, are dependent on your governor, and he is dependent on the servant of the crown in Great Britain. The *legislative*, *executive*, and *judging* powers, are *all* moved by the nod of a minister: privileges and immunities last no longer than his smiles; when he frowns, their feeble forms dissolve!—Such a treacherous ingenuity has been exerted in drawing up the code lately offered to you, that every sentence, beginning with a benevolent proposition, concludes with a destructive power; and the substance of the whole, divested of its smooth words, is, That the crown and its minister shall be as absolute throughout your extended province, as the despots of Asia or Africa. What can protect your property from taxing edicts, and the rapacity of necessitous and cruel masters? your persons from *lettres de cachet*, gaols, dungeons, and oppressive service? your lives and general liberty from arbitrary and unfeeling rulers?—We defy you, casting your view upon every side, to discover a single circumstance, promising from any quarter the faintest hope of liberty to you or your posterity, but from an entire *adoption* into the UNION of these COLONIES.

“What advice would the truly great man before mentioned, Montesquieu, that advocate of freedom and humanity give you, were he now living, and knew

* The political liberty of the subject, according to Montesquieu, is a *tranquillity of mind*, arising from the opinion each person has of his *safety*. In order to possess this liberty, he observes, it is requisite the government be so constituted, that no one man need be *afraid* of another: and his exemplification of this idea, as well as the maxim, is evidently borrowed from the English constitution. But excellent as the English constitution is, who can doubt but *political liberty*, or that *tranquillity of mind* which arises from an *opinion of personal safety*, may exist under another form of government?

that

that we, your *numerous* and *powerful* neighbours, animated by a just love of our invaded rights, and *united* by the indissoluble bands of affection and *interest*, called upon you, by every obligation of regard for yourselves and your children, as we now do, to *join us* in our righteous *contest*? to make a *common cause* with us therein, and take a noble chance *for emerging* from an humiliating *subjection* under governors, intendants, and military tyrants, into the firm rank and condition of English freemen, whose custom it is, derived from their ancestors, to make those tremble, who dare to think of making them miserable—would not this be the purport of his address?—“Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a small people, compared to those who with open arms invite you into a fellowship. A moment’s reflection should convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness—to have all the rest of North America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of Boston have roused and associated every colony, from Nova Scotia to Georgia. Your province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and *strong* chain of *union*. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political interests. For their own sakes, they will never desert or betray you *.”

These public measures being adopted, the delegates put an end to their session, after having resolved, That a Congress should be held in the same place on the 10th day of May, 1775, unless the redress of grievances which they had desired, should be obtained before that time: and they recommended to all the colonies to chuse deputies, as soon as possible, for that purpose. They also, in their own names, and in behalf of all those whom they represented, declared their “most grateful acknowledgments to those truly *noble*, *honourable*, and *patriotic* advocates of civil and religious liberty, who had so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament.” These are flattering epithets, and were, no doubt, very pleasing to those who thought they had a right to the application of them. But if by the advocates of America are to be understood that set of men, either in or out of parliament, who dare insult a peaceful monarch’s reign; who under the different leaders of faction, oppose every national measure, from a spirit of opposition; who sound the trumpet, without having courage to wield the sword of rebellion—if by the advocates of America are to be understood those men who continue to deny the right of Great Britain to tax America, in contradiction to long parliamentary usage, and in contempt of the force of a positive statute, instead of meriting such sounding appellations, at least from the inhabitants of this country, they deserve to be branded with the name most odious among men united in civil society; and the time has been when they would not only

* After such an artful and inflammatory address, it is surprising that the congress should ever have had the effrontery either to avow allegiance to Great Britain, or to disclaim their ambitious purpose of independency. This address, exclusive of every other circumstance, and of the proofs arising from their subsequent conduct, is of itself sufficient to put such a purpose beyond a doubt.

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have borne the reproach, but have suffered the punishment denounced by the law against traitors. Nay, the present is perhaps the only example in the history of polished nations, when it was accounted no crime to abet the cause of the enemies of the state, to dispute the authority of the supreme legislature, and to vindicate the claims of those whom it has declared rebels.

Misled by the writings and the speeches of such pretended patriots, the Americans imagined all England was of one opinion in regard to them, except those whom they were taught to term the tools of the court; and even the court itself they hoped would be obliged to accede to their pretensions, on the meeting of a new parliament. The king had been frequently importuned to dissolve the former one; and he at length thought proper to exercise that branch of his prerogative, so dangerous to the liberty of the people. For if the king has the power of dissolving a parliament obnoxious to his subjects, he has also the power of dissolving one obnoxious to himself; and the consequences to which that leads are too obvious to need being pointed out. The people, however, could not blame a measure they had so often solicited, and the court had its reasons for such a conduct. The new parliament met on the 30th of November, a few days after the congress rose; and although, at the elections, a more than common proportion of the old members are said to have been thrown out, the speech from the throne announced a continuation of the same vigorous measures with respect to America. Having mentioned the unlawful combination that had been formed, in order to obstruct the trade of this kingdom, his majesty assured the two houses, that they might "depend upon his firm and steadfast resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of the legislature over all the dominions of the crown; the maintenance of which he considered as essential to the dignity, the safety, and the welfare of the British empire."

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No step, however, was taken in regard to the affairs of the colonies, till the beginning of the year; when the earl of Chatham, after a long absence, appeared in the House of Lords, to express his disapprobation of the whole system of American measures. Though his power and influence were, for many reasons, much diminished, his appearance could at no time be wholly without effect. As soon as the papers relative to the affairs in question were produced, he moved an address to his majesty, for recalling the troops from Boston. This motion was ushered in and supported by a long speech, in which his lordship represented such a measure as a matter of immediate necessity. "An hour now lost, said he, in allaying the ferment in America, may produce years of calamity: the present situation of the troops render them and the Americans continually liable to events, which may cut off the possibility of a reconciliation; but this well-timed mark of affection and good will, on our side, will remove all jealousy and apprehension on the other, and instantaneously produce the happiest effects to both." He announced his motion as introductory of a plan which he had formed, for a solid, honourable, and lasting settlement between England and America. "I now only set my foot," added he, "upon the threshold of Peace."

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The language of the lords in administration was high and decisive. They condemned the conduct of the Americans in the strongest and most explicit terms, and insisted, that, all conciliating means having proved ineffectual, it was full time for the mother-country to assert her authority, or for ever to trellinguish it. "If the task is difficult now," said they, "what will it be in a few years? Parliament must be obeyed, or it must not: if it is to be obeyed, who shall resist its determinations?—If otherwise, it is better to give up at once every claim to authority over America. The supremacy of the British legislature cannot be disputed; and the idea of an inactive right, when there is the most urgent necessity for its exercise, is absurd and ridiculous. If we give way on the present occasion, from mistaken notions of present advantages in trade and commerce, such a concession will infallibly defeat its own object: for it is plain that the Navigation Act, and all other regulatory acts, which form the great basis on which these advantages rest, and on which the true interests of both countries depend, will fall a victim to the selfish and ambitious views of the Americans." In a word, it was declared, that the mother-country should never relax till America confessed her supremacy; and it was avowed to be the resolution of the ministry, to enforce obedience by arms.

The lords in the minority, during this debate, did not seem to be fully agreed on the propriety of recalling the troops. Some noblemen, who were the most earnest for a reconciliation, did not think it by any means just or wise, to leave those who had risked their lives in support of the claims of this country, however ill-founded or improperly exercised, as unprotected victims to the rage of an armed and incensed populace; and that too before any stipulations were made for their safety. They thought that if conciliatory propositions were offered, the troops then at Boston were not numerous enough to raise any alarm on account of a supposed ill-faith in keeping them up, and could nowise prevent the restoration of peace. It was wrong at first to send the force; but it might be dangerous to recall it before a reconciliation was accomplished. They however supported the motion, because it looked towards that great object; and because they thought any thing better, they said, than a perseverance in hostility. But after a pretty long debate, the motion was rejected by a great majority; there appearing, on a division, only eighteen in favour of it, and sixty-eight against it.

This decisive victory restored the confidence of the minister, and perhaps encouraged him to measures, in the lower house, which he would not otherwise have hazarded at the meeting of a new parliament. On the American papers being laid before the House of Commons, a celebrated gentleman in the opposition, desired that the house might be informed, whether these papers contained all the intelligence which the ministry had received from America. The minister replied, that he would not undertake to say they did, as those which he had brought were extracts, containing only the facts in the original letters; that the opinions of the writers were not mentioned, it having been frequently found, that the making public the private opinions of men in office had been attended

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with bad consequences : therefore his majesty's servants had determined for the future, never to mention the private opinion of any person. The gentleman who proposed the question remarked, that in some cases it might be proper to keep a person's private opinion secret, but in so critical and alarming an affair as that of the Americans, the opinions of the people in power on the spot must be of great service ; that their judgment must operate here as facts, or at least that facts, unconnected with the opinions of those who best knew the spirit and tendency of each action, would be of little use ; that things were gone too far to make it necessary to conceal the sentiments of any man in office in America ; that the risk to be run, at such a time, is a necessary consequence of their situation, and that they would be more endangered by the ignorance of parliament concerning their sentiments, than by any sentiments they could deliver : he was therefore of opinion, that the whole of the information received from America ought to be laid before the house, and not such extracts from particular letters, as suited the minister's purpose.

This proposition being rejected, the minister moved, that the American papers, consisting chiefly of letters from the governors of the several provinces, should be referred to a committee of the whole house ; and that a separate committee should be appointed to take into consideration the petitions from the principal trading and manufacturing towns relative to the same subject. In favour of this distinction, the ministry urged, that the matter was to be taken up in a political, not in a commercial light ; that therefore, as there was little connexion between the views of the house and those of the merchants and manufacturers, it would be the highest absurdity that a committee, whose thoughts were occupied with the former, should be at all broke in upon or disturbed by the latter. This idea was severely reprobated by the gentlemen in opposition. " Is it then true," said they, " that in a question concerning the colonies, politics and commerce are separate and independent objects ?—But if they are, still the information which the merchants may give, in their evidence, of matters merely political, may be of advantage to the house. Their correspondencies are of all kinds. They do not scruple to offer to the house all they know of the state of America, without those fears which affect our officers in that country ; and as the minister has refused to give us the whole correspondence, this supplemental information is become the more necessary."

It was further represented on the part of administration, that the committee for the consideration of the American papers was appointed with a view to their coming to some speedy resolution, suited to the dignity of parliament, and to the present state of affairs in North America ; that the restoration of peace in that country, depended as much upon the immediate application, as upon the vigour of the measures pursued ; that the great variety of facts, and the mass of matter which must of course come under consideration in the committee to which the petitions were referred, would be a work of tedious inquiry and long toil ; that such a length of inquiry was incompatible with the dispatch necessary



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in the other business, as the hands of government would thereby be tied up, and the powers of parliament restrained from giving that speedy relief, which the pressure of public affairs required. On the side of opposition, it was replied, that the ministry need not be in such a violent haste to forward coercive measures, which experience had shewn, in late instances, to be highly pernicious; that it would be less insulting to the petitioners, and less disgraceful to parliament, as well as fairer and more manly, at once to reject the petitions, though they contained nothing exceptionable either in matter or form, than to consign them to what was termed “a committee of *oblivion*,” or to hear them after a determination. The motion was however carried, by a majority of more than two to one.

A petition was afterwards offered to the House of Commons from Mr. Bolla, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, three American agents, stating, That they were authorized by the American continental Congress, to present a petition from the Congress to the king, which petition his majesty had referred to that house; that they were enabled to throw great light upon the affairs of North America, and prayed to be heard at the bar, in support of the said petition. On this subject a violent debate arose. The ministry alledged, that the Congress was no legal body, and that no person could be heard in regard to their proceedings, without giving that illegal body some degree of countenance; that parliament could only hear the colonies through their legal assemblies, and the agents properly authorized by them, and regularly admitted as such here; that to act otherwise would lead to inextricable confusion, and destroy the whole order of colony-government. To these arguments it was answered, That regular colony-government was in effect destroyed already:—in some places, by act of parliament; in others, by the dissolution of assemblies by governors; and in several, by popular violence. The question now was, How to restore order?—And it was urged, that the General Congress, how illegal soever in other respects, was sufficiently legal for presenting a petition; especially as this petition was signed by all the persons who composed that assembly, and might therefore be received as from individuals. The petition was however rejected, on a division, by a majority of two hundred and eighteen to sixty-eight.

In this manner the parties tried their strength in the new parliament, and in the nation, by petitions for and against the measures of government in respect to the colonies, previous to the proposing of the grand scheme, on which the ministry rested their hope of finally breaking that obstinate spirit, which gave them so much trouble in America. It was already evident, that the failure of their former plans had not in the least abated the readiness shewn, by both houses of parliament, to adopt any others which should afford the most distant prospect of success; and it was confidently believed and asserted, that when the merchants and manufacturers were deprived of all hopes of preventing the operation of force, it would then become their united interest to give all possible effect to it. Thus would they become, by degrees, a principal support of that cause which they now so eagerly opposed: when once every thing was made to depend upon war, nothing but the success of that war could give the trading body any hopes
of

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of recovering their debts and renewing their commerce ; therefore not only their opinion of the efficacy of such a mode of proceeding in America, but the hopes of engaging a great body at home to concur in it, determined the ministry more and more to go through with, and complete that coercive plan which they had begun.

Feb. 1.

Meanwhile the earl of Chatham, not discouraged at the great majority by which his motion for the recal of the troops from Boston was rejected, still persevered in the prosecution of that conciliatory scheme with America, which he then in part announced, and to which that motion was but an introduction. His lordship accordingly brought into the House of Peers the outlines of a bill, which he hoped would answer that salutary purpose, under the title of “ a Provisional Act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies.” He entreated the assistance of the house to digest the rude materials, which thrown together in the nature of a bill, he now presumed to lay before them ; to reduce the whole to that form, which was suited to the dignity and importance of the subject, and to the great ends towards which it was directed. He called on them to exercise their candour, and deprecated the effects of party or prejudice, of factious spleen or blind predilection : he declared himself to be actuated by no narrow principle, or personal consideration whatsoever ; and said, that though the proposed bill might be looked upon as a bill of concession, it was impossible but to confess at the same time, that it was a bill of assertion.

This bill, which occasioned a variety of discussions, both in and out of parliament, contained a multiplicity of matter, and its parts were so numerous and so different in their nature, that the aggregate mass has been thought too great to be comprised in one draught. As it was in a great measure conditional, its operation depended, not only on the consent, but on the acts of others ; and as a farther objection, a long time might elapse before it could be certainly known, whether it was or was not to operate. It laid down, as a principle not to be controverted, and a condition upon which all the benefits of the act depended, a full acknowledgment of the supremacy of the legislature, and of the superintending power of the British parliament. Though it did not absolutely decide in words upon the right of taxation, but seemed to leave it partly as a matter of grace, and partly as a compromise ; yet by declaring and enacting, that no *tallage, tax, or other charge shall be levied in America, except by common consent in the provincial assemblies*, both the right of taxation and the right of the British legislature to order taxes to be levied in another manner, are evidently implied in this form of concession. The bill asserts, as an undoubted prerogative, the royal right to send any part of a legal army to any part of the dominions of the crown, at all times and all seasons, and condemns a passage in the petition from the American congress which militates with that right : but by way of salvo, it declares, that no military force, however legally raised and kept, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people ; a declaration which, it was said, would afford little consolation to a people groaning under the pressure of a military government.

verment. It rendered legal the holding of a Congress in the ensuing month of May, for the double purpose of duly recognizing the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the king, his heirs and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt. On a supposition that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great and flourishing state of the colonies, the necessities of the mother-country, and their obligations to her, the bill restrained the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits; and without repealing, it suspended for a limited time those late acts, or parts of acts, which had been complained of in the petition from the general congress. It placed the judges on the same footing, as to the holding of their salaries and offices with those in England; and it secured to the colonies all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, granted by their several charters and constitutions.

Lord Dartmouth, who was then at the head of the American department, behaved on this occasion with great moderation. He said that the bill took in such a variety of matter, that it was impossible to pronounce any immediate opinion concerning its propriety; and that as its noble author did not seem to press the house to any immediate decision, but appeared rather desirous that it should be maturely and fully considered, he was willing to take it into consideration after the American papers. But this concession had no effect upon the other lords in administration, who opposed it with so much heat, as in some measure to forget the respect due to its noble framer, and that attention which the importance of the subject seemed to demand. They condemned, without reserve, the bill in whole and in all its parts, and censured the mode of bringing it in as irregular, unparliamentary, and unprecedented: they affirmed that it was impossible to conceive how such a mass of matter, so important in its nature, so extensive in its consequences, and directed to such a variety of objects, each of them worthy of a separate consideration, could be thus brought forward together, and in such a manner, that the matter should have been laid before the house in separate portions, each of which ought to be singly discussed, as leading to one great comprehensive system. It was besides contended, that this bill fell in with the ideas of the Americans in almost every particular, and held out no one security; that the suspension of the late acts, as proposed in the bill, would in effect amount to an actual repeal; that if the laws for establishing the admiralty courts were repealed, the Act of Navigation would be of no farther avail, and become only a dead letter. The rebellious temper and hostile disposition of the Americans was much enlarged upon; they were not disputing about words, it was said, but about realities; that though the duty upon the tea was the pretence, the restrictions upon their commerce, and the hope of throwing them off, were the real motives of their disobedience; that they had already attacked and taken one of the king's forts*, and seized the stores and ammunition, in order to employ

* This act of hostility we shall afterwards have occasion to relate.

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them against himself; that if any thing can constitute rebellion, this must; that the present was no time for concession; that to concede now, would be to give up the point for ever. It was therefore moved, and strongly supported by all the lords on the side of administration, That the bill should be rejected in the first instance.

The earl of Chatham defended himself and his proposed act with great spirit and vigour: the indignity that was offered to his conciliatory plan, which appears to have been a favourite object, seemed to renew all the fire of youth; and he retorted the sarcasms that were levelled against him, from different quarters, with a most pointed severity. If he was charged with hurrying this business in an unusual and irregular manner into parliament, he placed it to the critical necessity of the times; to the wretched inattention and incapacity of the ministers, who though they declared all America to be in a state of rebellion, had not at this late season a plan to propose, or a system to pursue, for the adjustment of public affairs; that under such circumstances of emergency on one side, when perhaps a single day might determine the fate of this great empire, and such a shameful negligence and inability on the other, no alternative remained, but either to abandon the interests of this country, and relinquish his duty, or to propose such measures as seemed most capable of restoring peace and prosperity. He then called upon the servants of the crown to declare, whether they had any plan, however deficient, to lay before the house?—And if they had, he would set them an example of candour, which they by no means deserved, by instantly withdrawing the present bill.

Though it was evident that no previous concert had been held with the lords in opposition, in regard to this bill, and that few of them, if there had, would have approved of it in all its parts; yet they all felt, as in their own case, the insult offered, and the contempt shewn, by throwing it out in this abrupt and disgraceful manner. A conciliatory scheme from so great a man, it was said, should at least be examined: the exceptionable parts might be struck out; and undoubtedly many would afterwards be found, highly useful to retain. The debate became general, and the whole of the American affairs underwent a warm discussion. On one side, the dangers of a civil war were shewn, as well with respect to its domestic as its foreign consequences, and its miseries strongly painted: our calamitous situation was deplored, and the men and measures that had involved us in such a labyrinth of evils, were severely execrated. On the other hand, the domestic dangers were in part lessened, and those respecting foreign states, denied. The consequent evils of rebellion, it was said, were inseparable from dominion, conquest, and extended empire; and, in the present instance, that they sprung entirely from the original traitorous designs, hostile intentions, and rebellious disposition of the Americans. After much keen altercation, and even personal animadversion, if indeed so mild a name may be given to brutal abuse, the bill was rejected by a majority of sixty-one to thirty-two.

The day after this debate a petition was presented to the House of Commons, from the planters of the sugar colonies residing in Great Britain, and the merchants of London trading to those colonies. In this petition they set forth, how exceedingly they were alarmed at the association and agreement entered into by the

continental congress; in consequence of which all trade between North America and the West Indies was to cease at a certain day, unless the late acts of parliament were repealed by that day: they stated that the British property in the West India islands amounted to upwards of thirty millions sterling; that another property of many millions was employed in the commerce created by the said islands; a commerce comprehending Africa, the East Indies, and Europe; and that the whole profits and produce of those capitals ultimately centre in Great Britain, and increase the national wealth, while the navigation necessary to all the branches of this trade establishes a strength, which wealth can neither purchase nor balance. They observed, that the sugar plantations in the West Indies are subject to greater variety of contingencies than any other species of landed property, from their necessary dependence upon external support; that should any interruption therefore happen in the general system of their commerce, the great national stock thus vested and employed, must become precarious and unprofitable; and that the profits arising from the present state of those islands, or which are likely to arise from their future improvement, in a great measure depend upon a free and reciprocal intercourse between them and the several provinces of North America, whence they are furnished with provisions and other supplies, absolutely necessary for their support, and the maintenance of the persons employed in the plantations. They proceeded farther to shew, that they could not be supplied from any other markets, or in any degree proportioned to their wants, with those articles of indispensable necessity, which they then derived from the middle colonies of North America; and that if the agreement and association of the Congress should take full effect, which they firmly believed would happen, unless the former harmony which subsisted between Great Britain and her North American colonies should be restored, the islands would be reduced to the utmost distress.

This petition, like all the former upon the same subject, was referred to the committee established for the examination of such petitions; and the time being at length arrived, when the minister thought proper to open his designs with respect to America, he in a long speech recapitulated the information contained in the papers which had been referred to the grand committee. He next proceeded to discriminate the temper, disposition, and degrees of resistance, which discovered themselves in the several colonies; to point out those where moderation really prevailed, those where violence was concealed under the mask of duty and submission, and those which he considered to be in a state of actual rebellion. He asserted with much truth, that various arts had been practised on both sides of the Atlantic, to raise this seditious spirit to its present alarming height. He drew a comparison between the burdens borne by the people in England and these in America; by which it appeared, that, one with another, an Englishman then contributed fifty times as much money towards the public expence as an American. He stated the legislative supremacy of parliament, the measures adopted by America to resist it, and the almost universal confederacy of our colonies on the continent in that resistance. "Here," said he, "I set my
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foot on the great barrier which separates, and for the present divides both countries; and on this ground alone, of resistance and denial, I will raise every argument relative to the motion which I intend to make." This motion, he explained, would be for an address to the king, and a conference with the lords, that it might be the joint act of both houses. He then gave a sketch of the measures which he intended to pursue; namely, to send a greater force to America; to bring in a temporary act to put a stop to all the foreign trade of the different colonies of New England, but particularly to their fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, till such time as they should return to their duty. The other colonies, he said, were not so culpable, and might yet be hoped to be brought to a sense of their duty to the mother-country by more lenient measures. The question now, he added, lay within a very narrow compass; it was simply whether we should abandon all claim on the colonies, and at once give up all the advantages arising from our sovereignty and the commerce connected with it; or whether we should resort to the measures indispensably necessary in such circumstances, and thereby insure both.

This language was sufficiently explicit, and the address spoke yet plainer. After enumerating the disorders in the colonies, and declaring that a rebellion actually existed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, the two houses of parliament "beg leave in the most solemn manner to assure his majesty, that it is their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to stand by his majesty against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of his just rights and those of the legislature." An address loaded with such important consequences called up all the powers of opposition, and a dread of the horrors of civil war, even induced some moderate men, properly of no party, to join with them. They contended, that it was a matter of little moment, though even this they doubted much, whether the disturbances which prevailed in the colonies might legally be termed rebellious or not; that the question before the house was, whether it was prudent for parliament, and at that time, to *declare* them such; for if parliament should find it necessary, in the course of events, to reconcile matters by any concession, treaty with, and concession to rebels, would be highly dishonourable to parliament. If a treaty should not take place, it was observed, that our arms would never be the more powerful for distinguishing the disorders they were destined to suppress, and which had been created by the arbitrary conduct of those in power, by the name of rebellion; that it would render many in America quite desperate, and make them think that they were contending for their lives, their fortunes, and their families, as well as their political liberty. It was in vain expected, they said, that this method of singling out Massachusetts Bay as the only seat of rebellion, could ever blind the other colonies to the consequences, or persuade them to abandon, what they had already made a common cause, in the most public and solemn manner possible; that it was well known no act of violence had been committed in Massachusetts Bay, which was not equalled by something of a similar, and sometimes even of a more heinous nature in other provinces: that therefore the only effect of the violent,

violent, but partial declaration of rebellion, would be to delude ourselves into ineffectual preparations of hostility, as if against one province only, when in reality we had twelve to contend with; and that the experience of last year in the partial proceedings against Boston, might serve to instruct the house in the inefficacy of such low contemptible politics. The colonies were now, it was observed, compacted into one body: the proceeding of one was become the proceeding of all: every attempt to disunite them had been found to strengthen their union, and all severities to augment their rage and indignation; so that a general war, or general reconciliation was necessary.

On the other side, it was insisted by the crown lawyers, and the friends of administration, that such Americans as came within certain descriptions, had been guilty of certain acts, and who still persevered in the support and commission of those acts, were in a state of actual rebellion; that those who by open force make a general resistance to the execution of the laws, are by all writers considered as guilty of high treason; that such was the state of Massachusetts Bay; and that as to the declaration of parliament, it does not preclude the future mercy of the crown, if the rebels shall appear to be deserving of it. The very address, they said, was an act of mercy, in warning an ignorant and obstinate people of their danger; that it was not necessary to punish universally, as the making examples of a few of the ringleaders would be sufficient; that the boasted union of the colonies would dissolve the moment that parliament shewed itself resolved on measures of vigour and severity; that their whole commercial and political system being founded upon principles of self-denial, suffering, and rigour, to which human nature is not equal, must fall to the ground: that therefore both justice and reason required such a declaration from parliament as the present, in support of its authority, which might as well be formally abandoned as not resolutely asserted. After violent altercations, and the grossest personal abuse, and even personal defiance, the motion for the address was carried by a majority of two to one in the House of Commons, and four to one in the House of Lords.

The answer from the throne to the address, besides the usual thanks, contained an assurance of taking the most speedy and effectual measures for enforcing due obedience to the laws, and the authority of the supreme legislature, together with a declaration, That, whenever any of the colonies should make a proper and dutiful application, his majesty would be ready to concur with the parliament in affording them every just and reasonable indulgence; and it concluded with an earnest wish, that this disposition might have an happy effect upon their temper and conduct. A message to the House of Commons, which accompanied the answer from the throne, informed them, That as it was determined, in consequence of the address, to take the most steady and effectual measures for supporting the just rights of the crown and the two houses of parliament, some augmentation to the forces by sea and land would be necessary for that purpose. This message was referred, as usual, to the committee of supply.

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While measures were thus concerting for the application of a military force to the cure of the disorders in America, other means were thought necessary to come in aid of that expedient. The military force might, indeed, restrain or punish the disobedient, and effectually support the magistrate, in case of an insurrection; but how to get the magistracy to act, or any sufficient number of them to engage, on ordinary occasions, heartily in the cause of the legislature, appeared to be a matter of more difficulty, and which must be accomplished by other means. The change in the charter of Massachusetts Bay had not been attended with the desired effect: on the contrary, it had produced an entire dissolution of government; and should it even yet be practicable to carry it into execution, the inferior magistrates, constables, select men, grand and petty juries, must be aiding to the higher magistrates, or nothing could be done. These must also be chosen in the country; and as the coercive plan was still relied on, it was proposed to inflict a punishment so universal, that the inconveniencies which every man would feel, might interest every man in procuring obedience and submission to the late acts of parliament. With this view, the minister moved for leave to bring in "a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation, in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time."

The minister supported the intended bill, of which, as we have already seen, he had given some previous intimation, on the following grounds:—That as the Americans had refused to trade with this kingdom, it was but just that we should prohibit them from trading with any foreign state; that the restraints of the Navigation Act were their charter, and the several relaxations of that law so many acts of grace and favour, all which, when they ceased to be merited by the colonies, it was reasonable and necessary should be recalled by the legislature; that the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, as well as all the others in North America, were the undoubted right of Great Britain, and she might accordingly dispose of them as she pleased; that as both houses had declared a rebellion to be actually existing in the province of Massachusetts Bay, it was therefore surely just to deprive that province of the benefits which it derived from those fisheries. With respect to the other two colonies of New England included in the bill, he observed, that though there was still a governor and government in the province of New Hampshire, yet government was there so weak, that a quantity of powder had been taken out of one of the king's forts by an armed mob; besides, from the vicinity of that province to Massachusetts Bay, unless it were included, the purpose of the act would be defeated. Nor was Connecticut deserving of more favour; the people of which, on a rumour that the soldiery had killed some of the inhabitants of Boston, marched a large body of men towards that place; and though, on finding the report false, they returned without proceeding to any violence, the temper and disposition they shewed, as well as the
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general state and conduct of the colony, sufficiently evidenced the necessity of chastisement. Having thus stated the reasons for his proposed measure, the minister declared, that he would not be against such alleviations of the act, as should not prove destructive of its great object: he would therefore only offer it as temporary; to continue either to the end of the year, or of the next session of parliament; and he would also agree, that particular persons should be excepted, upon their obtaining certificates of their good behaviour from the governor of the province in which they resided, or upon their subscribing to a test, acknowledging the rights of parliament.

This bill, besides the matter peculiar to itself, brought up the whole series of American controversy. With regard to the particular measure, the principle of involving the innocent in the punishment of the guilty, was alternately combated with serious argument, pathetic remonstrance, and pointed ridicule. What legislature, it was said, had ever established a precedent of equal cruelty and injustice with the condemning of half a million of people* to perish with famine, for the supposed crimes of a few unknown persons?—And why were three other provinces to be punished, for a rebellion supposed to exist only in one? or if they were also in rebellion, why not declare them to be so?—One province was to be deprived of its subsistence, because a rebellion, no body knew where or by whom, was said to be lurking in some part of it: a second province was to be punished because it happened to be next door to rebellion; a third, because it had shewn a spirit of humanity towards the first; and a fourth must be starved, because the ministry could not otherwise square their plan. But the bill, it was added, would not only operate upon supposed rebels, or upon those who had the misfortune of being their neighbours, or who it was imagined either did or might conceal the seeds of rebellion: it would also punish the people of Great Britain, who were charged with no delinquency, but who, in consequence of this law, must lose a very considerable part of their property, which was lying in the proscribed provinces. For as New England did not produce staple commodities sufficient to pay the great quantity of goods, which it was annually under the necessity of importing from this country, it had no other means of discharging the debt, thus unavoidably incurred, than the fishery and the circuitous trade dependent on it: so that to cut off those resources was, in fact, to beggar our merchants and manufacturers; and the British legislature was, in its wisdom, going to pass a disabling bill, to prevent the payment of debts due to its British subjects.

It was farther contended, that the absurdity of the bill was even equal to its cruelty and injustice; that its object was to take away a trade from our colonies,

* This computation of the number of inhabitants in New England, though thrown out in the warmth of debate, appears to be pretty just. They are indeed estimated in the former part of this work at one fifth less; but the author has since been assured, by a very intelligent native, that they could not amount to less than five hundred thousand, at the beginning of the present contest. The estimate of the Congress is much higher; but to that little regard is due, as it was framed for a particular purpose.

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which all who understood it knew we could not transfer to ourselves; that God and nature had given the fisheries to the Americans, not to us, and set limits to our avarice and cruelty, which we could not pass; that when they were once destroyed, we could neither benefit by the fisheries ourselves, nor restore them to those, whom we had thus violently and unjustly deprived of the means of subsistence; that distance and local circumstances shut us out in the first instance; and in respect to the other, that the little capital, vessels, and implements of fishermen, the majority of whom must ever be necessarily poor, could only be kept up by the constant returns of profit, so that when these returns failed, the capital and implements would be lost for ever; that the people must either perish or apply themselves to other occupations from which they could not be recalled at will; that we were thus finding out the means for Providence to punish our own cruelty and injustice; as those fisheries, which were a more inexhaustible, and infinitely more valuable source of wealth and power than all the mines in the New World, would not only be lost to ourselves, but would be thrown into the scale against us, by falling into the hands of a rival nation; and that the American fisherman, having no occupation, must of course become a soldier. "Thus," added they, "you provoke a rebellion by the injustice of one set of acts, and then recruit the rebellious army by another!"

In support of the bill, besides the arguments originally urged, the charges of injustice and cruelty were denied; and it was said, that whatever dittails the bill might bring upon the colonies, they could not complain of the legislature, as they not only deserved it by their disobedience, but had themselves set the example; that they had entered into the most unlawful and daring combinations, to ruin, as far as in them lay, the merchants of this country, to impoverish our manufacturers, and to starve our West India islands; that nothing could be more equitable than to prohibit the trade of those who had prohibited ours; that if any foreign power had offered us but a small part of the insult and injury which we had received from our colonies, the whole nation would have been in a flame to demand satisfaction, and woe to the ministers who were slack in obtaining it! were we then to act the part of bravoes with all the rest of the world, and be tamely buffeted by our own people?—The charge of cruelty was affirmed to be equally ill founded: this was a bill of humanity and mercy as well as of coercion; it being the only moderate means of bringing the disobedient provinces to a sense of their duty, without involving the empire in the horrors of a civil war. They had daringly incurred all the penalties of contumacy and rebellion, and were liable to the severest military execution, without any imputation of cruelty; but instead of these dreadful punishments, which they so justly merited, they were to be brought to their senses merely by a restriction on their trade, which would last no longer than their disobedience.

"Never," added the friends of administration, after lamenting the necessity, that in this, as in other extreme cases, the innocent must share the punishment of the guilty, "never was a measure more truly necessary than the present. The colonies have too long imposed upon and deluded us, by the bugbear of with-

drawing their trade; hoping through the terror of our merchants and manufacturers, to bend the legislature to a compliance with all their demands, until they had brought their designs to such a ripeness as to be able to pull off the mask, and openly to avow their rebellious purposes. This is the third time, within these few years, that they have thrown the whole commerce of Great Britain into a state of the greatest confusion. Both colonies and commerce were better lost, than preserved upon such terms; not even life itself would be worth keeping in a perpetual succession of uncertainty and fear. Things are now come to a crisis, and the conflict must be sustained: we must either relinquish our connexions with America, or fix them upon such a firm and permanent basis, as will effectually prevent the return of those evils." Supported by these arguments, the motion for bringing in the bill was carried upon a division, by a majority of more than three to one.

In the further progress of the bill, which made its way, though slowly, through both houses of parliament, a petition from the merchants of London, interested in the American commerce, was presented against it; particularly on the danger, even to our own fisheries, from such a prohibition. The petitioners were allowed to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house on this subject; and a number of witnesses, consisting of merchants and captains of ships, were examined. In the course of their evidence, it appeared, that as far back as the year 1764, the four provinces of New England employed, in their several fisheries, no less than forty-five thousand, eight hundred and eighty ton of shipping, and six thousand men; and that the produce of their fisheries, in the foreign markets, for that year, amounted to the very considerable sum of three hundred and twenty two thousand, two hundred and twenty pounds sterling. It was also given in evidence, that neither the whale nor the cod-fishery, both which had much increased since that time, could be carried on to any degree of equal extent and advantage, either from Newfoundland or Great Britain, as from the continent of North America; and that, though an experiment should even be made by government to transfer the fisheries to Nova Scotia or Canada, the attempt could not succeed for want of men and vessels, which were only to be found in New England; or at any rate, that the stopping of one fishery, and the creation of another, must take up much time, and in the interval the trade would be inevitably lost.

On the other hand, a petition from the merchants, traders, and principal inhabitants of the town of Poole in Dorsetshire was presented to parliament in support of the principles of the fishery bill. This petition set forth, That the fishing trade would by no means be materially hurt by the restraints upon the colonies; that the foreign markets might be amply supplied, by extending the Newfoundland fishery from England; that the produce of this fishery already amounted to upwards of five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually, all which centres in this kingdom, whereas the profits of the colony fisheries go elsewhere; that the fishery from the mother-country is a constant nursery of seamen for the navy; but that the American seamen are not compellable to serve their country

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in time of war : and they concluded with soliciting, no less for their own immediate advantage, than for the universal benefit of their country, such encouragement to the British fishery to Newfoundland, as the parliament should think proper.

In the course of the evidence produced in support of this petition, it appeared, that four hundred ships, in all of about thirty six thousand tons burden ; two thousand fishing shallops, of twenty thousand tons burden, and twenty thousand men, were then employed in the British Newfoundland fishery ; that above six hundred thousand quintals of fish were caught annually, which upon an average of seven years, were worth fourteen shillings per quintal, and with the other amounts, consisting of salmon, cod-oil, seal-oil and skins, exceeded half a million sterling :—and that of the twenty thousand men, from Great Britain and Ireland, employed in that fishery, eight thousand necessarily continued in Newfoundland all the winter. In a word, an attempt was made to shew, and with no small appearance of truth, that the British Newfoundland fishery might not only be extended to such a degree as to supply all the European markets, but that if an absolute prohibition took place, so as to exclude the Americans totally and perpetually from the fisheries, it would be of the greatest benefit to this nation ; and that upon every principle of policy and commerce, both to strengthen our navy and increase our trade, they should be confined entirely and perpetually to our own people.

This was carrying the matter beyond the views of the minister, who intended the bill merely as a coercive measure. But the ideas of commercial and political advantage made so strong an impression upon the minds of the lords, that many of them not only contended for making it a permanent regulation, but an amendment was actually inserted, on the third reading of the bill in that house, for including the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, in the same restrictions with the New England Provinces. In support of this amendment it was urged, That by late accounts which had arrived it appeared, that the several provinces specified in it, were equally culpable with those of New England, and that of course they ought to suffer under one common punishment ; that at the time the bill originated in the lower house, this information was not received ; but that now they were in possession of evidence fully sufficient to authorise such amendment, and that without it the bill would be imperfect, and the punishment partial. The amendment was accordingly adopted by the lords, but rejected by the commons, as causing a disagreement between the title and the body of the bill, which must be productive of great embarrassment to the officers employed to carry it into execution. This matter occasioned the holding of a conference between the two houses ; at which the reasons offered by the commons having appeared satisfactory, the lords agreed in rejecting the amendment, and the bill received the royal assent.

The idea of the amendment however was not laid aside. It was adopted by the minister, who brought in another bill “ to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Caro-

lina, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies, under certain conditions and limitations." Nothing that could be called a debate arose upon this motion, which was carried without any difficulty; but during the time that the bill was in agitation, a long series of important evidence was laid before the house, in behalf of the West India merchants and planters, and in support of the petition which they had lately, as we have seen, presented to parliament. In the course of that evidence, which was conducted with much ability by the celebrated Mr. Glover, author of the poem entitled *Leonidas*, it appeared, That the sugar colonies may be considered as vast manufactories, with this peculiar distinction, that they are obliged to raise their own materials; that the cane is the raw material or staple produce, and sugar, molasses, and rum, the manufacture; that the raising of provisions was, and must from the natural state of things, continue to be a very secondary object; that it necessarily should at any time render it otherwise, the staple produce must proportionally decline; and that the scarcity of land in the small islands, together with the high price of labour, and the great value of improvable land in all, for the purpose of raising the staple, besides many insurmountable natural impediments, rendered it utterly impracticable to raise any thing near a sufficient stock of provisions: that the middle colonies in North America were the great sources of supply to the West India islands not only for provisions, but for an article equally necessary, namely, *lumber*; under which term is comprehended every kind of timber and wood that is used in building and the cooperage, excepting only in some particular cases, where great strength and durability are required, and in which the hard woods peculiar to the tropical regions are preferable.

It farther appeared, by a very moderate calculation, in which large allowances were made for every possible excess, that the capital in our West India islands, consisting of cultivated lands, buildings, negroes, and stock of all kinds, did not amount to less than the immense sum of sixty millions sterling; that their exports of late years to Great Britain run to about one hundred and ninety thousand hogheads and puncheons of sugar and rum annually, amounting in weight to near an hundred thousand tons, and in value to about four millions of English money, exclusive of a great number of smaller articles, and of their very large exports to North America; that their growth had been so rapid, and improvement so great, that within a very few years, their export of sugar to this kingdom was increased forty thousand hogheads annually*, amounting to about eight hundred thousand pounds in value. It also appeared, that the revenue gained above seven hundred thousand pounds a year upon the direct West India trade, exclusive of its eventual and circuitous products, and of the African trade, which cannot exist without it; and an attempt was made to shew, that this immense capital and trade were, from nature and circumstances, both totally dependent upon North America. The bill however passed, without any difficulty; and experience

* This extraordinary increase must not be altogether ascribed to improvement, at least in our old islands; but chiefly to an accession of territory, in the ceded islands.

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has shewn, that though the intercourse with North America was highly beneficial to the West India islands, it is not essential either to the continuation of their lucrative cultures, or to the enjoyment of those commercial advantages which Britain had been accustomed to derive from them*.

While these restraining bills were in agitation, a motion was made in the committee of supply for an augmentation of two thousand seamen, and an addition of four thousand, three hundred and eighty-three men to the land forces. This motion was attended with an explanation of the intended military arrangements; by which it appeared, that the army at Bolton would be augmented to about ten thousand men, which was thought a force sufficient for enforcing the laws; and that the appointment of a number of additional officers was necessary, as it was intended to carry on the operations against the rebels by detachments. Besides the reproach of cruelty brought against such a mode of carrying on war, it was insisted that the armament, both by sea and land, was totally inadequate to the purpose for which it was appointed; and it was added, with no small degree of truth, That the use of an insignificant force must infallibly have the effect of encouraging the colonies to that resistance, which the early appearance of a great fleet and army might possibly check in its infancy. The ministry, however, persevered in despising the strength of the colonies, and the augmentation was agreed to.

At the very time when party thus clashed with party, and nothing but a contemptuous defiance was hurled at America on the part of government, the noble lord at the head of the treasury, and the supposed chief pillar of administration, amazed all parties by that famous conciliatory motion, which has been the subject of so much discussion. He moved that a resolution to the following purport might be passed:—"When the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies, shall propose to make provision, according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it shall be proper, if such proposal should be approved of by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect to such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax or assessment, or to impose any farther duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce: the net produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province."

Lord North introduced this motion by a long speech, in which he endeavoured to shew that it was founded upon the late address to the throne, and particularly

* Though the islands suffer many inconveniences from the interruption of their commerce with North America, it may be questioned whether the mother-country is not a gainer, as she furnishes them with many articles which they formerly purchased from the colonies on the continent, and also receives a greater proportion of their produce.

on the following passage:—"whenever any of the colonies shall make a proper application to us, we shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence." He seemed, however, to build more upon the principles by which he was actuated in moving for that address, and the explanations he then made to the house, than upon the literal construction of any part of it. It was his meaning, he said, and he believed it to be the sense of the house, that parliament in passing that address, not only meant to shew the Americans its firm determination to support its just rights, but also its tenderness, and its conciliatory disposition, upon the making of proper concessions; and that particularly upon the great object of dispute, the point of taxation; for although they could never give up the *right*, and must always maintain the maxim, that every part of the empire is bound to bear its share of service and burden in the common defence, yet as to the *mode* of contribution, if that and not the question of right was the bone of contention, if the Americans would propose such means as were most agreeable to themselves, and at the same time would effectually answer the *end*, parliament would not hesitate a moment to *suspend the exercise* of the *right*: it would even *concede* to the Americans the *authority* of raising their share of the contribution themselves.

"This resolution," continued he, "marks the ground on which negotiation may take place: it is explicit, it defines the terms, specifies the persons from whom the proposals must come, and to whom they must be made; it points out the end and purpose for which the contributions are to be given, and the persons from whom the grant of them is to originate; and it takes away every ground of suspicion as to the application of the revenue to purposes for which the Americans would not grant their money, by its specific appropriation to the public defence. This resolution," added he, "will be an infallible touchstone to try the sincerity of the associated colonies. If their professions are real, and their opposition only founded on the principles which they pretend, they must, consistent with those principles, agree with this proposition; but if they are actuated by sinister motives, and have dangerous designs in contemplation, their refusal of these terms will expose them to the world. We shall then be prepared, and know how to act: after having shewn our wisdom, our justice, and our humanity, by giving them an opportunity of redeeming their past faults, and holding out to them fitting terms of accommodation—if they reject them, we shall be justified in taking the most coercive measures, and they must be answerable to God and man for the consequences.*"

The

* He gave it in his opinion, That no declaration of his, or even of the House itself, could bind to a strict adherence to any former resolution relative to the submission to be required of the colonies: previous to a relaxation on our side. The greatest nations, he observed, and this among the rest, have made the most solemn declarations, and entered into the most sacred engagements, and are unalterably to certain points, which afterwards, when circumstances changed, they departed from without scruple and without blame. He instanced in the war 1741, when we declared that we would never make peace with Spain, unless the point of *search* was given up; yet peace was made, without giving up the point in question. In the *grand alliance*,

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The opposition to the minister's motion originated among the courtiers. They asserted, that the propositions contained in it were in direct contradiction to every principle and idea of the address; that by adopting it, they must give up every ground they had gone upon in the whole course of the American measures; that it would be putting a negative upon all the acts and declarations of parliament; that it could be productive of no good, but numberless bad consequences; and they finally concluded, That they would make no concessions to rebels with arms in their hands, nor would they enter into any measure for a settlement with the Americans, in which an express and definitive acknowledgement from them, of the supremacy of parliament, was not a preliminary article. The minister was repeatedly called on his legs, and all was uproar and confusion, when Mr. Wedderburne, who had, a short while before, distinguished himself remarkably on the part of opposition, hushed the troubled waves to peace, by exhibiting the authoritative side of the resolution. "What will parliament lose," said he, "by accepting this motion?—The right?—No. It expressly reserves it; and it is, indeed, so essential a part of sovereignty, that parliament, if it would, cannot surrender it. Does it surrender the profitable exercise of that right?—So far from it, that it shews the firm resolution of parliament to enforce the only essential part of taxation, by obliging the Americans to provide what we, not they, think just and reasonable for the support of the whole empire. The dispute is at length put upon its proper footing:—"Revenue or no revenue."

This explanation soon convinced the malcontent courtiers, that the appearances of concession, lenity, and tenderness, held forth in the resolution, were of such a nature as not to interfere with their views. But the gentlemen in the opposition, who exhibited on this occasion a remarkable instance of the baneful influence of party-spirit, would allow no merit to the minister's motion, though it was evidently made as much with a view to reconcile them to the measures of parliament, as to conciliate the affections of the Americans. They considered it as a proof of his insecure situation, and as an impotent attempt to procure support from them: and they execrated it accordingly; though it would certainly have been very generally approved, had it originated with one of their own party. They said it was insidious, base, and treacherous in the highest degree; and calculated to render incurable all those mischiefs which it pretended to remedy; that the people are as effectually taxed without their own consent, by being compelled to the payment of a gross sum, as by an aggregate of small duties to the same amount, but with this odious difference, that the former carries all the appearance of a contribution, or ranfome, levied by an hostile army in a state of

at the beginning of the present century, the parties engaged to each other, "That no prince of the house of Bourbon should sit on the throne of Spain;" yet peace was made with a prince of the house of Bourbon sitting on that throne. He cited many other instances to the same purpose; and displayed great historical knowledge, as well as judgment in applying it.

avowed



EDMUND BURKE ESQ.^R

avowed warfare *. The motion was, however, carried on a division, by a majority of two hundred and seventy-four to eighty-eight.

This conciliatory plan gave birth to two others: one by Mr. Burke, the other by Mr. Hartley, both of which wore a very plausible appearance. Mr. Burke, whose plan was similar to lord Chatham's, endeavoured to prove, without inquiring whether it was to be *yielded* as a matter of *right*, or *granted* as a matter of *favour*, That the only method of governing the colonies with safety and advantage was, by admitting them to an *interest* in our *constitution*. With this view, he went into an historical detail of the manner of admitting Ireland, Wales, and the counties palatine of Chester and Durham, into an interest in the constitution; and he attempted to shew, from those instances, that this interest in the British constitution was not only the cause of the internal happiness of those countries, but of their union with and obedience to the crown and supreme legislature. He therefore proposed to go back to our old policy, and to establish the equity and justice of a taxation in North America by *grant*, and not by *imposition*; to mark the *legal competency* of the colony assemblies for the support of their government in peace, and for public aids in time of war; to acknowledge, that this legal competency has had a *dutiful* and *beneficial* exercise, and that "experience has shewn the benefit of their grants, and the futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of supply."

It was objected by the friends of administration, and even by several gentlemen of properly of no party, That these resolutions abandoned the whole object for which we are contending; that in words, indeed, they did not give up the right of taxation, but they did so in reality; that as parliament had frequently resolved not to admit the unconstitutional claims of the Americans, it could not admit resolutions directly leading to them; that we had no assurance the Americans would make any dutiful returns on their side, should these resolutions even be adopted; and thus the scheme, pursued through so many difficulties, of compelling that refractory people to contribute their fair proportion to the expences of the whole empire would fall to the ground. They took notice also, that the House of Lords had rejected a conciliatory plan †, upon principles more consistent with the dignity of parliament; that if the American assemblies had made provision upon former occasions, it was only when pressed by their own immediate danger, and for their own local use: but if the dispositions of the colonies had been as favourable as they were represented, still it was denied, that the American assemblies ever had a legal power of granting a revenue to the crown; this being the peculiar privilege of parliament, and a privilege which cannot be

* It was even asserted, that this scheme of taxation exceeded in oppression any other that the rapacity of mankind had yet devised. But if these furious advocates of America had been better acquainted with history, they would have been sensible, that it is no new thing with sovereigns to tax a province by requisition; and that, according to the scheme proposed by lord North, the parliament of Great Britain would stand nearly in the same situation towards the colony assemblies, as the king of France does towards the states of those provinces which still enjoy the privilege of having states of their own—the provinces of France which are supposed to be best governed.

† The earl of Chatham's.

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communicated to any other body whatsoever. In support of this doctrine they quoted the following clause, from that palladium of the English constitution, and of the rights and liberties of the subject, commonly called the *Bill of Rights*; namely, That “levying money for, or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, *without grant of parliament*, for a longer time, or in other manner, than the same is or shall be granted, is *illegal*.” This clause, they insisted, clearly enforced the exclusive right in parliament of taxing every part of the British empire:—and that right, they added, was indispensably necessary. “The right of taxation, the most essential of all others,” concluded they, “must reside in the supreme power; and not only be reserved in theory, but exercised in practice, otherwise it will be in effect lost, and all other powers along with it.”

These arguments appeared satisfactory to near three fourths of the members, who considered lord North’s conciliatory plan as offering every thing consistent with the rights of parliament. This opinion, however, did not hinder Mr. Hartley from making an attempt to improve upon that plan. He proposed that a letter of requisition should be sent to the colonies by a secretary of state, on a motion from the House of Commons, for contribution to the expenses of the whole empire. According to this proposition, it was urged, that the inestimable privilege of judging for themselves of the expediency, fixing the amount, and determining the application of the grants, would still be left in the colony assemblies; that the compulsory threat would be left out, and the objection of raising a revenue without consent of parliament removed, as this requisition would be made at the express desire of parliament. A proposal so moderate could interest the passions of neither party: it granted too much for the one, and too little for the other; and was therefore rejected, without a division.

Having thus got free from every obstruction, the minister moved for a committee of the whole house, “to consider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland.” As the American fisheries were now abolished, it became necessary to think of some measures for supplying their place, and particularly to guard against the ruinous consequences of the foreign markets either changing the course of consumption, or falling into the hands of our rivals and natural enemies. The consumption of fish-oil, as a substitute for tallow, was become so extensive as to render that also an object of great national concern; the city of London alone expending about three hundred thousand pounds sterling annually in that commodity. It seemed also necessary, in the present state of public affairs, that the kingdom of Ireland should be taken more notice of, and a greater consideration paid to her interests, than had hitherto been the practice of parliament. Several circumstances conspired to awaken this consideration. It had been shewn, in the course of the late evidence before the house, that the exports from Great Britain to Ireland, then amounted to two millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling annually; besides the other advantages derived from her, in supporting a large and excellent standing army, at all times ready for our defence, and the immense sums of ready cash which her numerous absentees, pensioners and placemen spend in this country. The attention to that sister kingdom

kingdom was therefore generally approved of, and several bounties were granted by the committee, in its progress to the ships of Great Britain and Ireland, without distinction, for their encouragement in prosecuting the Newfoundland fishery. A bounty was also allowed upon all flax-seed imported into Ireland, in order to prevent the evils which were apprehended to that country from the resolutions of the Congress, cutting off its great American source of supply in this article. The committee farther agreed to the granting of bounties for the encouragement of the whale-fishery, in those seas to the southward of the fisheries of Greenland and Davis's Straits; and, on the same principles, they took off the duties that were payable upon the importation of oil, blubber, and bone from Newfoundland, as well as those payable on the importation of seal-skins.

While parliament was taking these necessary measures for bringing back the colonies to a sense of their duty, and preventing the dangerous consequences to be feared from the interruption of their commerce with this country, the determinations of the General Congress were received as laws over all North America; and great hopes were entertained from the unanimity of those determinations, and the petitions to the king and people of England, that the ministry would be obliged to yield to them. These hopes had, for some time, a considerable influence in restraining those violences, to which the colonists were strongly inclined, and which afterwards took place. The leading men, however, did not allow themselves to be deceived by such an expectation. Conscious that their demands were such as Britain would never comply with, until they had shewn not only the resolution, but their power to maintain them by the sword, they every where gave orders, in the southern as well as the northern colonies, to train and exercise the militia; and as soon as advice was received of the proclamation issued in England to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to America, measures were speedily taken to remedy that inconveniency. For this purpose, and to render themselves as independent as possible on foreigners for the supply of those essential articles, mills were erected, and manufactories formed, both in Pennsylvania and Virginia, for the making of gun-powder; and encouragement was given in all the colonies for the fabrication of arms, and weapons of every sort.

In Massachusetts Bay, no regard was paid to general Gage's proclamation against the Provincial Congress. That assembly continued to sit till towards the end of November; and as Boston was already become a very formidable fortification, and was capable, with little further trouble, of being rendered a place of such strength as, under the protection of a powerful navy, would leave but little hope of its being ever reduced, various consultations were held concerning it. At these it was discovered, that, at the discretion of the governor, it might be converted into a secure prison for the inhabitants, who would thereby become hostages for the security of the province at large. In order to prevent so great an evil, different proposals were made: one was simply to remove the inhabitants; another, to set a value upon their estates, burn the town, and reimburse them for their losses. Both these schemes, however, were found to be

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clogged with so many difficulties as to render them impracticable; and it was not yet thought advisable to resort to force, though that appeared to be the only expedient. Meanwhile many of the principal inhabitants quitted the town, under the pretended apprehension of immediate violence from the troops; and associations were formed by the friends of government, in different places, in order to oppose the resolutions of the Provincial Congress: but the contrary spirit was so prevalent that this opposition was soon quelled, the loyalists being in all quarters overwhelmed by numbers.

The people of Rhode Island, having no army to over-awe them, were yet more bold in their proceedings. As soon as they received an account of the prohibition against the exportation of military stores from Great Britain, they seized upon all the ordnance belonging to the crown in that province. The assembly also passed resolutions for the procuring of arms and military stores, by every means, and from every quarter, as well as for training and arming the inhabitants; and the people of New Hampshire, who had hitherto preserved a greater degree of moderation than those in any other of the New England provinces, no sooner obtained intelligence of these transactions and resolutions at Rhode Island, than they were seized with a similar spirit. A body of men accordingly assembled in arms, and marched to the attack of a small fort, called William and Mary. This place was easily taken, and supplied them with a quantity of powder and other stores, by which they were enabled to put themselves in a state of defence. No other acts of extraordinary violence took place during the winter; but a firm determination of resistance was universally spread, the acts of the General Congress were approved in the provincial assemblies or conventions, and delegates appointed to represent them in the new Congress, which was to be held in the ensuing month of May.

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The assembly of New York, which met in the beginning of the year, was however a single exception to the rest of the twelve associated colonies. In this assembly, after very warm debates upon the question of acceding to the resolutions of the General Congress, it was rejected upon a division, though by a very small majority. They afterwards proceeded to state the public grievances, with an intention of laying them before the king and parliament; a mode of application in which they were encouraged by the lieutenant-governor, and from which they professed the happiest effects. They accordingly drew up a petition to the king, a memorial to the lords, and a representation and remonstrance to the commons; but as, in these papers, they called in question the right of taxation, it was insisted in the House of Commons, that the Declaratory Act must be repealed, before any such representation could be received. The like fate attended the petition and memorial; which were both rejected, as containing claims derogatory to, and inconsistent with, the legislative authority of parliament.

Feb. 1.

The new Provincial Congress, which met at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay, did not deviate from the line which had been chalked out by their predecessors. Among other resolutions, they published one to inform the people, That from the

the present disposition of the British ministry and parliament, there was real cause to fear that the reasonable and just applications of the colonies to the mother-country for peace, liberty, and safety, would not meet with a favourable reception; but, on the contrary, from the large reinforcement of troops expected in that province, the tenor of intelligence from Great Britain, and general appearances, they had reason to apprehend that the sudden destruction of the colony was intended; for refusing, with the other colonies of North America, tamely to submit to what they termed, the most ignominious slavery. They therefore urged, in the strongest terms, the militia in general, and the *minute-men* * in particular, to spare neither time, pains, nor expence, at so critical a juncture, in perfecting themselves in military discipline.

Meanwhile general Gage having received intelligence that some brass cannon were deposited in the town of Salem, sent a detachment of troops under the command of a field officer, in order to seize and bring them to Boston. The troops having larded at Marblehead, proceeded to Salem, where they were disappointed as to finding the cannon; but being informed that they had been only removed that morning, in consequence of their approach, they were induced to march farther into the country, in search of them. In this march, they arrived at a draw-bridge, over a small river, where a number of people were assembled; and those on the opposite side had taken up the bridge, to prevent the passage of the troops. Here a scuffle ensued; and the detachment was permitted to pass, when it was thought all danger was over. Happily no lives were lost on the occasion, if no advantage was gained. The colonel having advanced a little way into the country, in the exercise of that right which he claimed, returned without molestation to Salem, and embarked for Boston. There new dangers began to discover themselves on every side.

The colonists having collected a considerable quantity of military stores at the town of Concord, where the provincial Congress was now held as formerly, general Gage thought it necessary to dispatch the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn, of the marines, in order to destroy the magazine. It is said that this expedition had another object; namely, to seize on the persons of Messrs. Hancock and Adams, those violent leaders of faction, who seemed determined to involve their country in all the horrors of civil war. The detachment, consisting of about eight hundred men, embarked in boats at Boston, on the night preceding the nineteenth of April, and having sailed a little way up Charles river, landed at a place called Phipps' Farm, whence they proceeded, with great expedition and silence, towards Concord. At the same time, several officers on horseback scoured the roads, and secured such country people as they chanced to meet with at that season of repose. Notwithstanding these precautions, they discovered, by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed; and the people actually began to assemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before day break. On their

April 18.

* A certain number of the militia, who undertook to hold themselves, at all times, in readiness for actual service.

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arrival at Lexington, about five in the morning, they found the company of militia belonging to that town drawn up on a green near the road. An officer in the van called out, "Disperse, ye rebels!—Throw down your arms, and disperse!"—At the same instant some shots were fired from a neighbouring house, said to be a place appropriated to religious worship, and where the people were assembled, under pretence of offering up their supplications to the God of Peace. The soldiers, considering this as a signal of defiance, rushed forward; a few scattered shots led to a more general discharge; eight of the militia were killed upon the spot, and several wounded.

The detachment, after this execution, advanced to Concord; the colonel having previously dispatched six companies of light infantry, to take possession of two bridges, which lay at some distance beyond the town. A body of the militia, who occupied a hill in the way, retired at the approach of the troops, and passed over one of those bridges, which was soon after occupied by the light infantry. In the meantime the main body being arrived at the town, proceeded to execute their commission, by rendering some pieces of iron cannon unserviceable, and throwing several barrels of gun powder, bullets, and other stores into the river. During these operations, the militia who had retired from the hill, returned towards the bridge, with a seeming intention to relieve the town. On this movement, the light infantry retired to the Concord side of the river, and began to destroy the bridge; but on the nearer approach of the militia, they judged it necessary to betake themselves to their arms: they fired, and killed two men. The provincials returned the fire, and a skirmish ensued at the bridge, where the light infantry lost several men, and found it necessary to retreat towards the main body. The country now rose on the troops: they were attacked on all sides; and skirmish succeeded skirmish, through the whole of a long and very hot day.

Fortunately general Gage, apprehensive of the danger of the service, had detached lord Percy early in the morning with sixteen companies of foot, a detachment of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to support colonel Smith's detachment, otherwise the fate of that party must have been very doubtful. In their march of six miles back to Lexington, they were annoyed not only by a prodigious body of the provincials, who threatened every moment to cut them off, but by the secret fire from houses, walls, and other coverts, all of which were lined with armed men. The support of the second detachment, which was arrived before the return of the first, afforded the wearied troops time to breathe; the field pieces, in particular, obliging the provincials to keep their distance: but as soon as the military resumed their march, the attacks became proportionally more violent, as the country people grew more numerous, and the danger was continually increasing, until they reached Charles Town. Thence they passed over directly to Boston, entirely spent with the excessive fatigue which they had undergone. The loss, however, was not so great on either side, as the length, irregularity, and variety of the engagement may seem to indicate. This must be ascribed to the caution, if not timidity of the provincials, who seized every advantage, but declined coming to close fight. Their loss is not exactly known; but according

to their own accounts, it did not exceed sixty men, about forty of whom only were killed on the spot. Of the king's troops, sixty-five were slain, twenty taken prisoners, and upwards of one hundred and fifty wounded *.

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This affair immediately called up in arms the whole province of Massachusetts Bay; and although a sufficient number of men were soon assembled effectually to invest the British troops in Boston, it was with difficulty the crowds that were halting from different parts could be prevailed upon to return to their respective homes. The body of militia that surrounded Boston, is said to have amounted to twenty thousand men, under the command of the colonels Wood, Pribble, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas. These officers, for the present, acted as generals; and having fixed their head quarters at Cambridge, formed a line of encampment, the right wing of which extended from that town to Roxbury, and the left to Mytick, the distance between those extreme points being about thirty miles. They were speedily joined by colonel Putnam, an old and experienced officer, who had acted with reputation in the two last wars. He encamped with a large detachment of Connecticut men, in such a position as to be ready to support those who were before the town.

Nor did the other colonies prepare for war with less eagerness. Though some such an event as the affray at Lexington might have been foreseen and expected, it excited the greatest indignation over the whole continent. Besides the bravery shewn by the militia in this their first essay, and the supposed advantages which they had obtained over the regulars, were matters of great exultation: they were applauded as heroes; while those who fell in the action were regretted with the deepest concern, and honoured not only as patriots, but as martyrs, who had shed their blood in the cause of their country. The outrages and cruelties charged upon the king's forces, however unjustly, contributed greatly to increase the general ferment. In some places the government magazines were seized, and in others the public treasury, which was converted to the payment of the rebel forces. Lord North's conciliatory plan was totally rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; nor was it any where received. Every thing wore an hostile appearance.

Meanwhile the General Congress having, at the time appointed, met at Philadelphia, soon adopted such measures, as confirmed the people in their conduct and resolutions. These delegates entered into articles of confederation and perpetual union, under the name of "The UNITED COLONIES of North America;" and it was resolved to raise an army, and establish a large paper currency for its payment, the United Colonies being securities for realizing the nominal value of this currency. A resolution was also passed, to prohibit the supplying of the British fisheries with any kind of provisions; and in order to render this prohibition more effectual, a stop was put to all exportation to those colonies, islands, and places,

May 10.

* Each side charged the other, on this occasion, with the most inhuman cruelties; but to those little credit is due. Such charges are common in the beginning of civil wars, when men having lately been friends, cannot brook the treatment, though they have offered the injuries of enemies.

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which still retained their obedience to the mother-country. This measure, which was somewhat unexpected, occasioned no small distress to the people of Newfoundland, and to all those employed in the fisheries; insomuch, that to prevent an absolute famine, several ships were under the necessity of returning before they had completed their lading, in order to carry out provisions from Ireland.

The city and province of New York, notwithstanding their former moderation, on receiving an account of the late action at Lexington, seemed to be inspired with a plentiful portion of that spirit which operated so powerfully in the other colonies. A numerous association was accordingly formed, and a provincial congress elected; but as some regiments were expected speedily to arrive there from Ireland, the situation of that capital, which lies open to the sea, became very critical. In the meantime several private persons, belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and New York, undertook at their own risk, and without any public command or encouragement, an expedition of the utmost importance. This was the surprize of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and other fortresses, situated upon the great lakes, and commanding the passes between the United Colonies and Canada. These fortresses, by an unpardonable negligence in government, at such a time, were so feebly garrisoned, and so little prepared against danger, that they were taken, without the loss of a man, by two hundred and forty provincials, under the command of a colonel Easton and a colonel Ethan Allen. They found in Ticonderoga and Crown Point about two hundred pieces of cannon, besides some mortars, howits, and a quantity of various stores, which were to them highly valuable: they also got possession of two vessels, which gave them the command of lake Champlain, and of materials for the building and equipping of others.

During these transactions, the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston from England, together with a considerable number of marines, and draughts from other regiments, to supply the vacancies, which might have happened. These were soon followed by several regiments from Ireland; so that the force at Boston, with respect to numbers, the goodness of the troops, and the character of the commanders, was become highly respectable, and it was generally believed that matters would no longer continue in their former languid state. Nothing had hitherto been done for the honour of Great Britain, nor had any thing remarkable happened since the commencement of the blockade, except two slight engagements, which arose from the attempts of each party to carry off the stock of some of those small islands with which the Bay of Boston is interspersed, and which afforded the mixed spectacle of ships, boats, and men, engaged by land and water. In both these skirmishes the king's troops were foiled; and notwithstanding the late reinforcements, and the arrival of generals of the most active disposition, the army continued for some time very quiet at Boston, though exposed to the daily insults of the provincials.

In the meanwhile several steps were taken by both parties, which indicated the approach of a crisis. The General Congress resolved, That the compact between the crown and the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay being dissolved by the viola-
tion

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tion of the charter of William and Mary, the people of that province are authorised, and recommended to proceed to the establishment of a new government, by electing a governor, assistants, and house of assembly, according to the powers contained in their original charter*. They also passed a resolution, that no bill of exchange, draught, or order, of any officer in the army or navy, their agents or contractors, should be received or negociated, or any money supplied to them by any person; and they prohibited the supplying of the army, navy, or ships employed in the transport service, with provisions or necessaries of any kind. They erected a general post-office at Philadelphia, to extend through all the United Colonies, and placed Dr. Franklin, who had been removed from that place under the government, at the head of it. Nearly at the same time general Gage issued a proclamation, by which a pardon was offered, in the king's name, to all those who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of lenity; and all those, who did not except of the proffered pardon, or who should protect, assist, supply, conceal, or correspond with them, were to be treated as rebels and traitors.

June 12^o

This proclamation was generally considered as a prelude to immediate action; more especially as Hancock, in contempt of it, was about that time elected, and continued president of the General Congress. Accordingly, from that moment the provincials, as well as regulars, held themselves in readiness for a trial of strength. The post of Charles Town had hitherto been neglected by both parties, from an unaccountable ignorance of military matters. The provincials now perceived it to be equally important to them, whether they chose to act on the offensive or defensive. The necessary preparations were therefore made for that purpose; and a body of men was sent thither at night, with the greatest privacy, in order to throw up works upon Bunker's Hill, an eminence just within the isthmus, or neck of land that joins the peninsula to the continent. This peninsula is very similar to that on which Boston stands, excepting that the isthmus is considerably wider, and that Bunker's Hill is much higher than any hill in the latter. The towns are only separated by Charles river; which, in that part, is but about the breadth of the Thames at London-bridge: so that Charles Town seemed to hold nearly the same relation to Boston, which the borough of Southwark does to the capital of the British empire.

The party that was sent on this service, carried on their works with such extraordinary silence and composure, that though the peninsula was surrounded by ships of war, they were not heard during the night; and with such incredible dispatch in the execution, that by break of day, they had almost completed a small but strong redoubt, considerable entrenchments, and a breast-work that was in some parts cannon-proof. The sight of these works, early in the morning, was the first notice that alarmed the Lively man of war; and her guns called the

June 17^o

* The original charter contained no power of electing an assembly.

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town, camp, and fleet, to behold a sight which seemed little less than miraculous. A heavy and continual fire, of cannon and mortars, was, from that time, kept up on the works on Bunker's Hill from the ships, the floating batteries, and from the top of Cope's Hill in Boston. Such a great and incessant discharge of artillery, would have been a severe shock to the firmness even of veteran troops, and must no doubt have greatly alarmed the bold but raw provincials. They continued their labours, however, with unremitting assiduity, till about noon; when general Gage caused a large body of troops to be embarked, under the command of major-general Howe and brigadier Pigot, in order to drive them from their works. This detachment consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the fifth, thirty-eighth, forty-third, and fifty second battalions, with a proper artillery. The troops were landed without opposition, and drawn up under the fire of the ships of war; but the two generals found the enemy to be numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a reinforcement before they began the attack. They were accordingly joined by some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the forty-seventh regiment, and by the first battalion of marines; so that they now amounted in the whole to about two thousand men.

The attack was begun by a most severe fire from the artillery, under which the troops advanced very slowly towards the enemy, and halted several times, in order to afford the cannon an opportunity to do execution, and throw the provincials into confusion; but the disadvantage of ground, the number and situation of the enemy, and perhaps in some a secret disinclination to the service, in all a wish to avoid it, seemed at last to strike an unusual damp into the soldiers. Besides, the provincials had thrown some men into the houses of Charles Town, which covered their right flank; so that general Pigot, who commanded the left wing of the British troops, and to whose activity, bravery, and firmness, the highest praise is due, was at once engaged with the enemy's lines, and with the ambuscade in the houses. In this conflict Charles Town, (whether by bombs thrown from the ships, or by the troops is uncertain) was unfortunately set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The provincials stood a powerful and continued discharge of small arms and artillery, with a resolution and perseverance that would have done no discredit to regular troops. They did not exchange a shot until the British forces had approached almost to the works, when a most dreadful fire took place, and a number of our bravest men, but especially officers, fell*. Under so heavy and destructive a covered fire, it is little wonder that the troops were thrown into some disorder. General Howe was left for a few moments almost entirely alone, most of the officers near his person being either killed or wounded. But though his fortitude and presence of mind, on this occasion, cannot be too much extolled,

* The provincials have changed the field of battle, from a theatre of general opposition, into a scene of deliberate murder. They have in every engagement a certain number of marksmen, who, armed with rifled pieces, single out the principal officers, and devote them to destruction. This was particularly the case at Bunker's Hill. The practice is worthy of the savage Indians, from whom it seems to be borrowed.

The success of the day was still doubtful, when general Clinton, who had arrived from Boston during the engagement, rallied the troops instantaneously, by an happy manœuvre, and brought them back to the charge. Their native intrepidity returned, and produced its usual effects: they attacked the entrenchments with fixed bayonets, and forced them in every quarter. Their valour was irresistible: the provincials were driven from their works, and chased out of the peninsula.

Such was the hot and bloody battle of Bunker's Hill, in which a greater number of the British troops fell, in proportion to the number engaged, than is common in the sharpest European actions. The whole loss in killed and wounded amounted to about one thousand, of whom upwards of two hundred were killed on the spot; and of these, nineteen were commissioned officers, including a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, and seven captains. Seventy other officers were wounded. The loss on the side of the provincials is not certainly known; but according to their own account, it was comparatively small, not exceeding five hundred killed and wounded. The detachment is said to have amounted to between five and six thousand. Both parties claimed much honour from this action. The regulars, from having beaten near three times their number out of a strongly fortified post, and combated various other disadvantages. On the opposite side the provincials, who were by no means dispirited by the event, represented their number as inferior to that of the regulars, supported by floating batteries, ships of war, and a formidable train of artillery. Though they had lost a post, they had acquired, they said, almost all the beneficial consequences of the most complete victory; as they had entirely put a stop to the offensive operations of a large army sent to subdue them, and which they continued to blockade in a narrow town.

This was in some measure true; for although the king's troops kept possession of the peninsula on which Charles Town had stood, and fortified Bunker's Hill and the entrance, the provincials immediately threw up works upon another hill opposite to it, on the land side: so that the troops were as closely invested in that peninsula, as they had been in Boston. The provincials were also indefatigable in securing the most exposed posts of their lines with strong redoubts covered with artillery, and advanced their works close to the fortifications on Boston-neck; where with equal boldness and address, they burnt an advanced guard-house belonging to our people. As the latter were abundantly furnished with all manner of artillery and military stores, they were not sparing in throwing shells, and maintaining a great cannonade upon the works of the provincials. That image of war, however, appears to have had little other effect, than to inure them to real service, and to wear off the dread of those noisy messengers of fate, at first so terrible to raw troops.

C H A P. IV.

The Military Operations in North America, and the Measures adopted in Regard to them, from the Declaration of War by the Congress, to the Taking of New York, and the Reduction of Rhode Island, by the British Troops.

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July 6.

GENERAL Gage's late proclamation, the battle of Bunker's Hill, and the burning of Charles Town, increased the animosity, rage, and indignation, already so prevalent in North America, and drew from the General Congress a declaration, in the form of those public appeals to mankind and to Heaven, which usually accompany a denunciation of war, setting forth the necessity of their taking up arms. Among the long list of those supposed necessities, besides the recent hostilities, they state the endeavours used to infligate the Canadians and Indians to attack them; and in stating their resources, they compute upon foreign assistance as undoubtedly attainable. They disclaim, however, any immediate view to a foreign alliance; and declare, that they fight not for glory or for conquest,—but for the preservation of their liberties, in defence of which they are resolved to die.—This declaration was read with great solemnity to the different bodies of the provincial army encamped in the neighbourhood of Boston, and was received by them with loud shouts of approbation.

The Congress now took formally into consideration lord North's conciliatory proposition; which had been communicated to them, if not by the direction, at least by the permission of that minister, in the hand writing of Sir Grey Cowper, one of the principal secretaries of the Treasury. In the course of a long and argumentative discussion, they condemn it as unreasonable and insidious: as unreasonable, because if they declare that they will accede to it, they declare, unconditionally, That they will purchase the favour of parliament, without knowing at what price it will chuse to estimate its favour; and as insidious, because it has a tendency to detach individual colonies from the general confederacy, and leaves the minister, at last, a power of receiving or rejecting such as he shall think proper. On the whole, they concluded, That the proposition was held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief, that there was nothing in dispute but the mode of levying taxes; and that parliament having now been so kind as to give up that, the colonies must be unreasonable in the highest degree, if not perfectly satisfied: they therefore unanimously agreed in rejecting it.

About this time the colony of Georgia joined the general confederacy, which henceforth took the name of the “*Thirteen UNITED COLONIES*;” and the Congress, in compliance with the wishes of the body of the people, and at the particular application of the New England provinces, appointed George Washington, Esq; a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, and whom we have had occasion to mention as a provincial officer of some reputation early in the late war, to be General and Commander in Chief of all their forces. They also appointed



GEN^L GEORGE WASHINGTON.

pointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, esqrs. to be major-generals, and Horatio Gates, esq; to be adjutant-general. Of these commanders, Lee and Gates were English officers, who had served in the last war with distinction, but who from disgust or other causes had been led to join the rebels. The Congress, at the same time that they made these appointments, also fixed and assigned the pay of both officers and soldiers; the latter of whom, as in all civil disputes, were much better provided for than those on any regular establishment.

The generals Washington and Lee arrived at the camp before Boston in the month of July. They were treated with the highest honours in every place through which they passed: they were escorted by large detachments of volunteers, composed of gentlemen, in the different provinces; and they received public addresses from the provincial congresses of New York and Massachusetts Bay. The military spirit was now high; and so general, that war and its preparations occupied the hands and heads of all orders of men throughout the continent of North America. Persons of fortune and family, who were not appointed officers, entered cheerfully into the ranks, and served as private men. Even some of the younger quakers forgot their passive principles, of forbearance and non-resistance, and taking up arms, formed themselves into companies at Philadelphia, where they applied with the greatest ardour and assiduity to acquire a proficiency in military exercise and discipline. This spirit, however, was by no means universal among that inoffensive set of people; who, in general, disapproved of the violent opposition to the mother-country, whatever might be their temper in other respects. But the number of men, who were differently disposed, was sufficient to inspire the Congress with the most sanguine hopes: no less than two hundred thousand are said to have been under arms, and in training, within the limits of the United Colonies.

As the blockade of Boston was continued with little variation throughout the remainder of this year, and during a considerable part of the next, we must now turn our views to another quarter. The success which had attended the expedition to the Lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in the beginning of the summer, and which in a manner threw open the gates of Canada, encouraged the Congress to a measure, which it is to be presumed they would not otherwise have ventured upon. This was no less than the sending of an army for the invasion and reduction of that extensive country. A step of so extraordinary a nature demanded the most serious consideration: the commencement of an offensive war with the sovereign, was a new and perilous undertaking; and it seemed totally to change the ground, on which the colonies stood in the present dispute. Opposition to government had hitherto been conducted with the apparent design, and on the avowed principle only, of supporting and defending certain rights and immunities of the people, which were supposed, or pretended to be, unjustly invaded: opposition, or even resistance, in such a case, allowing the pretences to be fairly stated, was thought by many to be consistent with the principles of the British constitution, and to be countenanced by precedents; but

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but to render themselves at once the aggressors, and not contented with vindicating their own real or pretended rights, to fly wantonly in the face of the sovereign, carry war into his dominions, and invade a province to which they could lay no claim, or pretend any right, was such an outrage, as not only to overthrow every plea of justifiable resistance, but as would militate with the established opinions, principles, and feelings of mankind at large. On the other hand, the danger was pressing and great. The extraordinary powers granted to general Carleton, governor of Canada and commander in chief of the troops in that province, together with the spirit of enterprise and military talents of that able and resolute officer, left them every thing to fear from the force which he might be able to assemble. They therefore determined to prevent those evils which they had so much occasion to dread, by keeping danger at a distance.

Besides the Congress was sensible, that they had already proceeded to such lengths as could only be justified by force: the sword was already drawn, and the appeal made: it was now too late to look back; and to waver, would be certain destruction. If success did not afford a sanction to their resistance, and dispose the court of Great Britain to an accommodation upon lenient terms, all hope of preserving those immunities, for which they at present contended, must not only be given up, but they must lie at the mercy of a jealous and irritated government. In such a state moderation appeared criminal; especially where it might interfere with the great object for which they had taken arms. Nor were circumstances wanting to encourage them in this bold enterprise, from the situation of the country which they were going to invade. They knew that not only the British settlers, but the French inhabitants of Canada, the noblesse and clergy excepted, were in general much discontented at the introduction of the new system of government. It seemed therefore probable that this discontent, co-operating with the rooted aversion which the Canadians bore against their ancient oppressors, the proud and tyrannical noblesse, or lords of the manors, and the mortal dread which they entertained of being again reduced to their former state of feudal and military vassalage, would induce them to consider the invaders rather as deliverers than as enemies; and that they would consequently embrace so favourable an opportunity of obtaining a share in that freedom for which the provincials were contending. Though they were but imperfectly acquainted with the nature of the particular controversy, and little interested in it, it was presumed to be for freedom—for American freedom; and the name could not fail to captivate: it was in favour of colonies,—and Canada was a colony.

In this manner did the Congress reason; and these reasonings determined them to seize the present favourable opportunity, while the British forces were weak and cooped up in Boston, for attempting the reduction of that important province, an event which would infallibly put them in possession of all North America. The generals Schulyer and Montgomery, with two regiments of New York militia, a body of New England men, and some parties from the other provinces, amounting in the whole to about three thousand, were accordingly appointed to this service; and a number of bateaux, or flat

boats, were built at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in order to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada. It is composed of the surplus waters of the lakes, which it discharges into the river St. Laurence, and would afford a happy communication between both, were it not for some currents, which obstruct the navigation from the latter. Not above half the troops were arrived, when Montgomery, who was at Crown Point, received intelligence which made him apprehensive, that a schooner of considerable force, with some other armed vessels, which lay at Fort St. John's, on the river Sorel, were preparing to enter the lake, and thereby effectually obstruct the expedition. In order to prevent this danger, he proceeded with what force he had to Isle Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took the necessary measures to guard against the passage of those vessels into the Lake.

Augus.

General Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having also arrived from Albany, they published a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them; and with the same hope or design, they pushed on to Fort St. John's, which lies only about twelve miles from Isle Aux Noix. The fire from the fort, as well as the strong appearances of force and resistance which they observed, determined them to land at a considerable distance from it; in a country composed of thick woods, deep swamps, and intersected with waters of different kinds. In this situation they were vigorously attacked by a considerable body of Indians, who did not neglect the advantages which the country afforded: they also found that the fort was well garrisoned and provided, and therefore judged it necessary to return next day to their former station on the island, and to defer the siege until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which they expected. On this retreat Schuyler returned to Albany, in order to conclude a treaty, which he had been for some time negotiating with the Indians in that quarter; and he afterwards found himself so much occupied by business, or incapacitated by illness, that he was not able to join his associate: so that the whole weight and danger of the Canada expedition fell upon Montgomery, who proved himself not unworthy of such a command. His first step was to detach from the British interest those Indians who were disposed to act offensively against him; and being strengthened by the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to lay siege to the fort of St. John. This fort was garrisoned by the greater part of the seventh and twenty-sixth regiments, being nearly all the regular troops then in Canada, and was well provided with all things necessary for defence.

Sept. 6.

Meantime the provincial parties were spread over the adjacent country, and every where received with open arms by the Canadians; who, besides joining them in considerable numbers, gave them all possible assistance; whether in carrying on the siege, removing their artillery, or in supplying them with provisions and other necessaries. Encouraged by this favourable state of things, the fortunate adventurer, Ethan Allen, who as we have already had occasion to observe, without any commission from the Congress, had a principal share in the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and who since, under the title of colonel,

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seems to have acted as a rebel officer, but without observing any regular subordination, formed the bold resolution of attempting to make himself master of Montreal by surprise. This daring enterprise he undertook without the knowledge of the commander in chief, at the head of a small body of English provincials and some Canadians. His former extraordinary success made him think nothing impossible to him. The event, however, convinced him of his mistake; and is a striking example of the very different degree of consideration that is paid to fortunate, and unsuccessful temerity. Being met at some distance from the town, by the militia, under the command of English officers, and supported by the few regulars who were in the place, he was defeated and taken prisoner, with near forty of his followers, and the rest were happy to make their escape to the woods.

Sept. 25.

Montgomery was a man of a very different character. He was indefatigable in prosecuting the siege of fort St. John. It was however retarded for a time by the want of ammunition. This deficiency he supplied by the taking of Chamble, a small fort in the neighbouring country, where he found an hundred and twenty barrels of powder; and the garrison of St. John's, consisting of about five hundred regulars and two hundred Canadian volunteers, under the command of major Preston, endured with unabated courage and constancy the hardships of a long siege, augmented by a scarcity of provisions. In the meanwhile general Carleton was indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force sufficient for its relief. Attempts had been made for some time by colonel M'Lean, for raising a Scotch regiment, under the name of the Royal Highland Emigrants, to be composed of natives of that country who had lately arrived in America, and whom the troubles had prevented from obtaining settlements. With these and some Canadians, to the amount of about three or four hundred men, the colonel was posted near the influx of the Sorel to the river St. Laurence. The general was at Montreal, where with the greatest difficulty, he had got together near a thousand men; composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and some English officers and volunteers. He intended to effect a junction with M'Lean, and then to march directly to the relief of fort St. John; but on his attempting to pass over from the island of Montreal, he was encountered at Longueuil by a body of the provincials, who easily repulsed the Canadians, and put a stop to the whole design. Another party had driven colonel M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians under his command having received advice of the governor's repulse, immediately dispersed, and he was obliged to make the best of his way to Quebec with the emigrants.

Montgomery now pushed on the siege of St. John's with the utmost vigour: he had advanced his works very near to the bouy of the fort, and was making preparations for a general assault. Nor was there less activity or courage shewn in the defence of the place, the spirit as well as the fire of the garrison being equally supported to the last. During this state of things, an account of the success at Longueuil, accompanied by the prisoners who were taken, arrived at the provincial camp. On that intelligence Montgomery sent a flag of truce,
and

and a letter by one of the prisoners to major Preston, hoping that as all means of relief were now cut off by the governor's repulse, he would by a timely surrender of the fort, prevent the farther effusion of blood which a fruitless and obstinate defence must necessarily occasion. The major, in hopes that he might yet be relieved, endeavoured to obtain a few days to consider of the proposal; but this demand was refused, on account of the lateness and severity of the season. He also endeavoured, in settling the terms of capitulation, to obtain liberty for the garrison to depart for Great Britain, a request which was also denied: they were therefore obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, on condition of being allowed its empty honours; which were willingly granted them by Montgomery, on account of their gallant defence*. They were also allowed their baggage and other effects, and the officers were permitted to wear their swords. The prisoners were sent up the Lakes, by the way of Ticonderoga, to those interior parts of the colonies which were best able to provide for their reception and security; and the provincials, having found a considerable quantity of artillery and military stores in St. John's, proceeded on their enterprise with the fairest prospect of success.

Nov. 5.

On the retreat of colonel M^rLean to Quebec, the party which had reduced him to that necessity, immediately erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Laurence, in order to prevent the escape down the latter of a number of armed vessels, which general Carleton had collected at Montreal. Armed rafts and floating batteries were also constructed for the same purpose. These measures effectually prevented the passage of general Carleton's armament to Quebec; so that as general Montgomery approached Montreal immediately after the surrender of fort St. John, the governor's situation, whether in the town or on board the vessels, became equally critical. This danger was increased by the pusillanimity of the inhabitants, who proposed a capitulation as soon as Montgomery appeared. Even that was refused them; but the provincial general declared, in a written answer, That having come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security, the inhabitants should be maintained in the peaceable possession of their property, and in the free exercise of their religion; that he hoped the civil and religious rights of all the Canadians would be established on the most permanent footing by a provincial congress; and he promised, that courts of justice should be speedily erected upon the most liberal plan, conformable to the British constitution. This voluntary security being given to the inhabitants, the provincial army took possession of the town.

Nov. 17.

Nothing now could afford the slightest hope of the preservation of any part of Canada, but the lateness of the season: even that appeared an ineffectual obstruction, as there was only a handful of regular troops in the province, and the taking of general Carleton, which seemed almost certain, must determine its fate. For-

* In all transactions with our people, Montgomery writ, spoke, and behaved with that attention and politeness, to both officers and private men, which might be expected from a man of worth and honour, who found himself involved in an unhappy quarrel with his friends and fellow subjects.

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tune, however, directed things otherwise. At the very time that the practicability of the armed vessels being able to get down the river was given up, and when Montgomery was preparing bateaux with light artillery at Montreal, in order to attack them on that side, and force them down upon the batteries, means were speedily taken for conveying the governor, in a dark night, past the enemy's guards and works, in a boat with muffled paddles; and he arrived safely at Quebec, which he found environed with danger from an unexpected quarter. Meantime general Prescott, to whom was left the care of the armament at Montreal, finding it impossible to save the ships, was obliged to enter into a capitulation with the provincials; in consequence of which, the whole naval force of the upper part of the river, consisting of eleven armed vessels, was surrendered into their hands, and the general himself, with several other officers, some gentlemen in the civil department, a party of Canadian volunteers, and about one hundred and twenty English soldiers, became prisoners of war.

While Montgomery was thus carrying on the war in Upper Canada, from the New York side, by the old course of the Lakes, an expedition was undertaken directly against the lower part of the province and the city of Quebec, from the New England side, by a route hitherto untried, and deemed impracticable. This expedition was conducted by colonel Arnold, who about the middle of September marched from the camp near Boston, at the head of fifteen hundred men, to Newbury Port, at the mouth of the river Merrymack, where vessels were in readiness to convey them by sea to the mouth of the river Quenebec, in New Hampshire. They proceeded up that river with incredible difficulty, in two hundred bateaux, which they were frequently obliged to carry on their shoulders, as well as their provisions and stores, for several miles, through thick woods, deep swamps, and difficult passes. When they arrived at the head of the river, they sent back their sick, which were pretty numerous, and one of the colonels took that opportunity of returning with his division, under pretence of scarcity of provisions. By this desertion, and the diminution occasioned by the return of the sick, Arnold's detachment was reduced to about eight or nine hundred men. With these he crossed the heights that divide Canada from New England, and at length reached the head of the river Chaudiere, which falls into the river St. Laurence near Quebec. Their difficulties were now partly over. On the third of November they entered the inhabited parts of Canada, and found the people disposed to receive them with the same kindness that Montgomery's army had experienced in the neighbourhood of Montreal: they supplied them liberally with provisions, and rendered them every other service in their power. Arnold did not fail to improve this friendly disposition: he published an address to the people of the province, signed by general Washington, in which they were invited to join with the other colonies; to range themselves under the standard of general liberty; and informed, that the armament was not sent into the colony to plunder it, but to protect and animate them in the cause of freedom. They were therefore requested not to desert their habitations, nor to fly from their friends, but to provide them with such supplies as the country afforded;

and assured that, in so doing, they might depend not only upon safety and security, but an ample compensation.

The city of Quebec was at that time in a very defenceless condition, as well as in a state of internal discontent and disorder. The British merchants and settlers were much disgusted at the late act for the government of the province; nor did it appear that much reliance could be placed in the French inhabitants. Many of them were at least wavering, and some worse. In other respects that capital was in a manner defenceless. There were no troops of any sort within the walls, until colonel M'Lean's handful of new raised emigrants arrived from the Sorel. Some marines, which the governor had requested from the fleet before Boston, were refused by a naval council of war, on account of the danger of the navigation at so late a season. The militia, however, had been embodied by the lieutenant governor.—Such was the state of this important place, when Arnold and his army appeared at Point Levi, opposite to the town. Fortunately the river was between them, and the boats secured, otherwise it is hard to say what might have been the consequence of the first surprisè and confusion. The want of boats was indeed remedied in a few days by the Canadians, who supplied the provincials with canoes, in which they effected their passage during the night, notwithstanding the vigilance of the frigates and other armed vessels in the river: but the critical moment was now passed. The dissatisfied inhabitants, both English and Canadians, as soon as danger pressed, united for their common defence: they became seriously alarmed for the immense property which Quebec contained; they desired to be, and were embodied and armed. The sailors had landed, and were at the batteries ready to serve the guns: the defendants were considerably superior in number to the assailants, and Arnold had no artillery. In these circumstances, his only hope must have been the defection of the inhabitants; and being disappointed in that, nothing remained practicable for him, but to intercept the roads, and cut off the provisions, until the arrival of Montgomery. He tried, however, to tempt or to intimidate the defendants, by parading the heights for some days, and sending two flags to summon them to surrender: but these being fired at, and no message admitted, he at length drew off his army into quarters of refreshment.

About that time general Carleton arrived at Quebec, and immediately took such measures for its defence, as were suitable to his military reputation and experience. His first step was to oblige all those to quit the town with their families, who refused to take up arms in its defence. After this the garrison, including all orders who did duty, consisted of about fifteen hundred men: a number insufficient, supposing them even the best troops, to the defence of such extensive works. But of these it could hardly be said that any were regulars; colonel M'Lean's emigrants being newly raised, and the only company of the seventh regiment which had escaped being taken, consisting principally of recruits. The rest were composed of the British and French militia, a few marines, and about four hundred and fifty seamen, belonging partly to the king's frigates, and partly to the merchant ships that wintered in the harbour. The sailors, in a word,

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habituated to the management of great guns, and to prompt manœuvres, were the real strength of the garrison.

In the meantime Montgomery, having left some troops in Montreal, where he new clothed his army, and sent detachments into different parts of the province, in order to encourage the Canadians, as well as to forward supplies of provisions and necessaries, pushed on with as many men as he could spare from these necessary services, and such artillery as he could procure, to join Arnold. His march was in the beginning of winter, through bad roads, in a severe climate, and beneath the fall of the first snows, therefore attended with great hardships. These, however, the provincials encountered with unshaken resolution, and arrived with incredible celerity at Quebec. On their appearance before the town, Montgomery wrote a letter to general Carleton, magnifying his own strength, stating the weakness of the garrison, shewing the impossibility of relief, and recommending an immediate surrender, to avoid the dreadful consequences which must attend an assault, irritated as his victorious troops were, he said, at the injurious and cruel treatment which they had, in various particulars, received through the general's means. Though the flag that conveyed this letter, as well as every other, was fired at, and all communication absolutely forbidden by the resolute governor, Montgomery found other means to convey a letter to the same purport; but neither the number of the enemy, their cruel threats, nor his own defenceless situation, could make any impression upon the soul of Carleton.

Dec. 5.

Montgomery's forces, after his junction with Arnold, though much superior to those within the town, were by no means sufficient to invest such a place: his only prospect of success seemed, therefore, to be founded upon the effect which the parade of his preparations, and the violence of his attacks might have upon the motley garrison; or if those failed, to weary them out by continual watchings, and false alarms. He accordingly commenced a bombardment, which continued for some days, and might have been supposed to answer the former of those purposes, by throwing the garrison into disorder; but the intrepidity of the governor, seconded by the bravery, indefatigable industry and perseverance of the chief officers, as well as the activity of the seamen and marines, prevented the expected consequences; and it is no more than justice also to observe, that the garrison in general gallantly followed the example, and supported the valour of their commanders, at the same time that they endured the inconveniences, wants, and distresses incident to so long a siege, joined to a grievously severe and unremitted duty, with wonderful constancy and resolution.

The bombardment thus proving ineffectual, Montgomery opened a six-gun battery, at about seven hundred yards distance from the walls; but his metal was too light to make any considerable impression. Meanwhile the snow lay deep upon the ground, and the severity of the climate was such, that human nature seemed incapable of withstanding its force in the field. The hardships and fatigues which the provincials underwent, both from the season and the smallness of their number, were therefore incredible, and could only have been endured by men under the enthusiastic influence of a public cause, and warmly attached to their

their leader. Montgomery was however sensible, that their constancy must at length bend, if these evils were increased, or too long continued; and consequently, that something decisive must be immediately done, otherwise the benefit of his past successes would be lost, and the lustre of his now splendid reputation tarnished. He knew that the United Colonies would consider Quebec as their own, from the moment that he appeared before it; and that the higher their expectations were raised, the more grievous the disappointment would be in case of a failure. Their confidence of success was founded upon the high opinion which they held of his courage and ability: to forfeit that opinion was the worst of all possible consequences; yet to endeavour to take the city by storm, with a force so inadequate to such an effort, whether the great natural strength or the Upper town, or the number of the garrison was considered, seemed a measure truly desperate. But where the object is great, great hazards must be run; Montgomery therefore determined to carry the place by assault, or to perish in the attempt.

The provincial general, whose courage appears to have been of the most daring kind, accordingly proceeded to the execution of this arduous enterprise early in the morning, and under the cover of a violent storm of snow. He had disposed his little army in four divisions, two of which carried on false attacks against the Upper town, while Arnold and himself conducted two real ones, against different parts of the Lower town. By these means the alarm was general in both towns, and might have disconcerted the most regular garrison. From the side of the river St. Laurence, along the fortified front, and round to the bastion, every part seemed equally threatened, if not equally in danger. About five o'clock Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced against the Lower town, at Aunce de Mere, under Cape Diamond; but from some difficulties which retarded his approach, the garrison had been alarmed, and the signal for engaging given, before he could reach the place. He pressed on, however, in a narrow file, upon a scanty path, with a precipice towards the river, on one side, and an hanging rock over him. Having seized and passed the first barrier, accompanied by a few of his bravest officers and men, he marched boldly at the head of his detachment to the attack of the second. This barrier was much stronger than the former: several cannon were here planted, loaded with grape shot; and by these, together with a fire of musketry, equally well directed and supported, an end was at once put to the hopes of this enterprising officer and to the fortune of the provincials in Canada. Montgomery himself, with his aid-de-camp, some other officers, and most of those brave men who were near his person, fell in the first assault, and the detachment retired without any farther effort.

During this conflict Arnold, with a body of those troops, who had signalled themselves under his command by the memorable march immediately from New England, supported by some New York artillery, made an attempt on that part of the town called the Saut de Matelot; and having penetrated through St. Roques, they attacked a small but well defended battery, which they carried with considerable loss, after an hour's sharp engagement. But they had

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the misfortune, on this occasion, also to be left without a commander; for Arnold's leg being shattered by a shot, he was under the necessity of submitting to be carried off to the camp. His place was, however, well supplied by the ability of the other officers, seconded by the resolution of the men. Being yet ignorant of Montgomery's disaster, they were so far from being dispirited by their own, that they pushed on with great vigour, and made themselves masters of another barrier: but the garrison, having now recovered from their surprise, and being disengaged in all other quarters, had leisure to attend to the situation of this division, and to perceive the opportunity that was presented of cutting them off; as in attempting a retreat, they must pass, for a considerable way, within fifty yards of the walls, exposed to the whole fire from the ramparts. In order to render their fate inevitable, a considerable detachment, with several field pieces, issued through a gate which commanded their route, and attacked them furiously in the rear, whilst they were already fully occupied in every other quarter, by the troops that now poured upon them from different parts. Thus circumstanced, without a possibility of escape, attacked on all sides, and seeing no hope of relief, the provincial detachment surrendered.

The prisoners, amounting to about five hundred, were treated with the greatest humanity by general Carleton; and all enmity to Montgomery expiring with his life, respect to his private character prevailed over every other consideration. His body was interred with all the military honours due to a brave soldier*. By comparing circumstances, previous and subsequent to this engagement, it appears that the provincials, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not lose less than half their number. The governor and officers acquired great and deserved honour by their defence, and the behaviour of the raw garrison was worthy of veteran troops. The besiegers immediately quitted their camp, and retired about three miles from the city, where they strengthened their quarters in the best manner they were able, being apprehensive of a pursuit and attack from the garrison. General Carleton, however, satisfied with the unexpected advantage he had gained, and the security which it produced, did not chuse to hazard the fate of Canada, and perhaps of North America, in a rash enterprise. The capital was now entirely out of danger, and the succours that were expected could not fail to relieve the whole province.

Meantime the command of the rebel army, in consequence of the death of Montgomery, devolved upon Arnold, whose wound rendered him at present unequal to so arduous a task. The perseverance of the provincials, all things considered, was

* Richard Montgomery was a gentleman of good family in the kingdom of Ireland, and had served with reputation in the late war. The excellency of his accomplishments and dispositions had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities and of public esteem. He is represented as a real and zealous lover of liberty; and having married a lady, and purchased an estate in the province of New York, he was from these circumstances induced to consider himself as an American. He had undoubtedly considerable, and probably great military talents; and it remains to be lamented, that a man who appears to have been so well qualified to support the interest and glory of his country against her natural enemies, should have perished in an unnatural as well as unhappy civil contest.

however

however astonishing. They had lost besides their general, the best of their officers, and the bravest of their fellow soldiers, with part of their small artillery. The hope of assistance was distant and doubtful, and the arrival of succours must at any rate be slow. The severity of a Canadian winter was also beyond any thing that they were acquainted with, and the snow lay about four feet deep on a level. In such circumstances, it required no small share of activity and address to keep even brave men together; and Arnold, who had acquired so much reputation by his late march, discovered on this occasion the utmost vigour of mind, as well as a genius full of resources. Defeated and wounded as he was, he put his troops into such a situation as to make them still formidable; and he sent an express to general Wooster, who commanded at Montreal, to bring succours, and take direction of the army. But as this could not be done immediately, he bore up manfully with the force he had against the difficulties with which he was surrounded. The siege of Quebec was converted into a blockade; and Arnold found means, for some months, effectually to obstruct the conveyance of any supplies of provisions or other necessaries into the town.

During these transactions in Canada, a long course of jealousy, distrust, suspicion, and altercation, between the governor and the greater part of the inhabitants, in the province of Virginia, finally terminated in open hostility, and a ruinous intestine and predatory war. The people of that colony, as formerly noticed, had been at least as forward as those of any other, in taking measures for opposing the demands of the mother-country. They were among the first in expressing their resolutions, and the readiest in shewing their determination, to support, at all hazards, what they termed the rights of America: but in other respects, the greatest order and tranquillity was preserved in the province; and notwithstanding the uneasiness excited by the prorogation or dissolution of their assemblies, and the consequent expiration of their militia laws, which, in a country where the slaves are so much superior to the number of free inhabitants, was an alarming circumstance, they seemed to pay a more than common degree of respect, attention, and even personal regard to the earl of Dunmore, their governor. However, as the want of a legal assembly seemed to give some sanction to the holding of a convention, a Provincial Congress was assembled in March 1775, which immediately took measures for arraying the militia, under cover of an old law passed in the year 1738; and that convention also recommended to each county to raise a volunteer-company, for the better defence and protection of the province.

Alarmed at this interference with respect to the militia, the governor soon after employed the captain of an armed vessel, which lay at a few miles distance from James River, to convey with a detachment of marines, by night, the powder in the public magazine of the colony at Williamsburg, the capital of the province, on board the man of war. Though that measure was conducted with great privacy, it was by some means discovered the ensuing morning; when the apparent secrecy, and seeming mysteriousness of the act, increased the consternation and alarm among the inhabitants, who immediately assembled with such

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arms as they could procure, with an intention of demanding restitution of the gun-powder. They were prevented, however, from proceeding to extremities by the mayor and corporation; who presented, at the same time, an address to the governor, stating the injury, reclaiming the powder as a matter of right, and shewing the dangers to which they were peculiarly liable from the insurrection of their slaves. Lord Dunmore acknowledged, that the gun-powder had been removed by his orders. Having heard, he said, of a tumult in a neighbouring county, and not thinking it safe in the magazine, he had conveyed it to a place of perfect security: but he pledged his word, that whenever an insurrection rendered it necessary, it should be immediately returned. It had been removed in the night, he added, to prevent giving an alarm: he expressed great surprisè at the people's assembling in arms; and observed, that he could not think it prudent to put powder into their hands in such a situation.

However little satisfaction this answer might afford to the magistrates, they prevailed on the people to depart quietly to their houses; but a report being spread in the evening, that detachments from the men of war were upon their march to the town, the inhabitants again flew to arms, and continued all night upon the watch, as if in expectation of the approach of an enemy. They also from this time forward increased their nightly patrols, and shewed an evident resolution of protecting the magazine from all farther attempts. The governor, whose temper was naturally violent, seems to have been exceedingly irritated at the behaviour of the people in these commotions; and perhaps resented too highly, for such times, their assembling in arms, though not only without, but with an evident intention to oppose his authority. During this warmth of passion some threats were thrown out, which cool reason will ever condemn; namely, to set up the royal standard, to enfranchise the negroes, and arm them against their masters. These measures, if carried immediately into execution, might have proved a violent remedy for the disorders in the province; but as threatened, they served only to spread a general alarm, and to excite an incurable suspicion of the designs of government.

Meanwhile several public meetings were held in different counties, in all of which the measure of seizing and removing the powder, as well as the governor's threats, were reprobated in the strongest terms; and some of the gentlemen of Hanover, and other neighbouring counties, not satisfied with simple declarations, assembled in arms under the conduct of Mr. Henry, one of the Virginia delegates to the general congress, and marched towards Williamsburg, with an avowed design not only of obtaining restitution of the gun-powder, but to take such effectual measures for securing the public money, as should prevent it from experiencing a similar fate with the magazine. A negotiation was, however, entered into with the magistrates, when the insurgents had arrived within a few miles of the city; in which it was finally settled, that the security of the receiver-general of the colony, for paying the value of the gun powder, should be accepted as a restitution; and that upon the inhabitants engaging for the future, effectually

effectually to guard both the treasury and magazine, the insurgents should disperse, and return to their several homes.

The alarm of this affair induced lady Dunmore, with the rest of the governor's family, to retire on board the Fowey man of war in James River; whilst his lordship, with the assistance of a detachment of marines, converted his palace into a little garrison, fortified it in the best manner possible, and surrounded it with artillery*. A proclamation from the governor and council, in which Henry and his followers were charged with rebellious practices, in extorting the value of the powder from the receiver-general, and in which the different commotions were attributed to disaffection in the people, and a desire of changing the established form of government, served only to afford more room for altercation, and to increase the reigning discontents. Several county meetings were held, at which Henry's conduct was vindicated and applauded, and resolutions were passed, that at the risk of every thing dear, he and his followers should be indemnified from all suffering, loss, and injury on that account. The charge of disaffection was denied, and that of intending to change the form of government retorted.

While things were in this state of tumult and disorder, the general assembly was suddenly and unexpectedly convened by the governor, in consequence of some dispatches from England. The grand motive for such a measure was to gain their approbation, and if possible their acceptance of lord North's conciliatory proposition. The earl of Dunmore accordingly, in his speech, used his utmost address to carry that favourite point. He stated the favourable disposition of parliament, as well as of administration, towards the colonies; the moderation, equity, and tenderness which induced the present advances towards a happy reconciliation; while he dwelt upon the justice of their contributing to the common defence, and bearing an equitable proportion of the public burdens of the empire. As no specific sum was demanded, he observed, that they had an opportunity of giving a free scope to their justice and liberality, and that whatever they voted would be a free gift in the fullest sense of the word; that they would thus shew their reverence for parliament, and manifest their duty and attachment to their sovereign; and he took pains to convince them, from the proceedings and resolutions of parliament, that a full redress of all their real grievances would be the immediate consequence of their compliance.

The first act of the assembly, was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the causes of the late disturbances, and particularly to examine the state of the magazine, that necessary measures might be taken for its replenishment. But although the magazine was the property of the colony, it was in the custody of the governor, who appointed a keeper, so that an application to him for admittance

* His lordship's conduct on this occasion, as well as in afterwards retiring on board the man of war himself, while he pretended to retain his civil character, appears altogether inexcusable. A supreme civil magistrate should calmly look danger in the face, and continue in the just exercise of his authority, as if unconscious that any harm could reach him, till he find it necessary either to relinquish that authority, or assert it effectually by force. A contrary conduct leads to the most ungenerous constructions, and dark suspicions, on the part of the people so governed.

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was necessary; and during an altercation which arose upon this subject, and before an order for admittance was obtained, some people of the town and neighbourhood broke into the magazine, and carried off part of the arms. Several members of the House of Burgesses, however, used their personal interest and authority in getting as many of them as possible restored; but the governor was so much struck, it would appear, with the outrage, that while the propositions recommended in his speech were yet under the consideration of the assembly, and before their address was determined upon, he quitted the palace privately and suddenly, by night, and retired on board the Fowey man of war, which had formerly been the refuge of his family. He left a message for the House of Burgesses, acquainting them, that he thought it prudent to retire to a place of safety, as he was fully persuaded that both himself and family were in constant danger of falling sacrifices to the blind and ungovernable fury of the people; that so far from wishing to interrupt their sitting, he hoped they would successfully proceed in the great business before them; that he would render the communication between him and the house as easy and safe as possible; and he assured them that he should attend as formerly to the duties of his office, and use every endeavour to restore that harmony which had been so unhappily interrupted.

June 8.

This message produced a joint address from the Council and House of Burgesses, declaring their disbelief that any person in that province could meditate so atrocious a crime as his lordship apprehended, and lamenting that he had not acquainted them with the ground of his uneasiness before he had adopted such a measure, as they would have used all possible means to have removed every cause of his disquietude. They feared that his removal from the seat of government, they said, would have a tendency to increase the dissensions which unhappily prevailed among them; and they declared, that they would cheerfully concur in any measure which he should propose for the security of himself and his family; observing how impracticable it would be to carry on the business of the session with any degree of propriety and dispatch, whilst he remained at such a distance*, and so inconveniently situated. They therefore concluded with entreating his return, as well as that of his lady and family, to the palace, as a measure that would afford much public satisfaction, and be the likeliest means of quieting the minds of the people.

Lord Dunmore returned a written answer, in which he justified his apprehensions of danger from the public notoriety of commotions among the people, as well as from the threats and menaces with which they were attended. Besides complaints of the general conduct and disposition of the House of Burgesses, he specified several charges against that body; namely, That they had countenanced the violent and disorderly proceedings of the people, particularly in regard to the magazine, which was forced and rifled in the presence of several of their members; that instead of the commitment of the persons who had been guilty of so daring and heinous an offence, they had only endeavoured to procure a restitution of the

* The Fowey man of war was then in York River.

arms; and that the house or its committee had ventured upon a step fraught with the most alarming consequences, in appointing guards, without his approbation or consent, under pretence of protecting the magazine, shewing thereby a design of usurping the executive power, and of subverting the constitution. No means, he observed, could be effectual for affording the security which they proposed to concur in, but by reinstating him in the full powers of his office, opening the courts of justice, and restoring the energy of the laws; by detaching all independent companies, or other bodies of men, raised and acting in defiance of legal authority; by obliging the immediate restoration of the king's arms and stores; and by what was no less essential than any other matter, their own example, and their endeavours to remove that general delusion, which kept the minds of the people in a continual ferment, and thereby to abolish that malice and spirit of persecution, which now operated so dangerously against all those who, from duty and affection to their king and country, opposed the present measures, and who from principle and conviction differed from the multitude in political opinion. These, he added, were the only means to afford the security requisite for all parties; and that for the accomplishment of those ends, together with the great object and necessary business of the session, he should have no objection to their adjourning to the town of York, where he would meet them, and remain till the business was finished.— He concluded with representing, That unless they had a sincere and hearty desire of seizing the opportunity which was now offered by parliament, of establishing the freedom of their country upon a fixed and known foundation, and of uniting themselves with their fellow-subjects of Great Britain in one common bond of interest and mutual assistance—unless such was their resolution, his return to Williamsburgh would be as fruitless to the people, as it might possibly be dangerous to himself: but if their proceedings manifested this happy disposition, that he would return with the greatest joy, and consider it as the most fortunate event of his life, to have an opportunity of promoting their happiness, and of being a successful mediator between the colony and the mother-country.

The mollifying terms in the conclusion were by no means sufficient to remove the ill humour excited by the several charges and implications contained in the foregoing part of this long message. It therefore produced a reply of an uncommon length, under the form of an address, fraught with all the bitterness of recrimination, as well as with defensive arguments, and an examination of facts*. — The House of Burgesses also presented an address in answer to the governor's speech, in which they entered into a long discussion of the proposition contained in the parliamentary resolution, founded upon lord North's conciliatory motion. This they combated upon the same grounds, and with a variety of arguments of the same nature with those which we have formerly had occasion to state on the part of the people of other colonies; and they ultimately declared, that as it only

June 14.

* They endeavoured, particularly, to shew the general tranquillity that prevailed in the colony, previous to the late affair of the powder, and the governor's declaration relative to the slaves; the latter of which, in so far as it was believed, having irritated the people beyond all bounds.

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changed the form of oppression, without lessening its burden, they could not close with the terms. They observed, however, that these were only offered as the sentiments of a particular colony, and that for a final determination, they referred the matter to the General Congress, before whom they would lay the papers.

This answer was surely sufficient to make his lordship sensible, that all hopes of reconciliation between the colony and the mother-country was at an end, until force should teach the one or the other to bend. A constant intercourse was, however, kept up for some time, by addresses, messages, and answers, between the House of Burgesses and the governor on board the Fowey. That was a singular situation; an attempt to govern, without chusing, or thinking it safe, to set a foot on shore in the country to be governed. At length the necessary bills having passed the assembly, and the advanced season requiring their attendance in their several counties, the council and burgesses jointly entreated the governor's presence, to give his assent to them, and finish the session; and they observed, That though they submitted to the inconvenience of repeatedly sending their members twelve miles to attend his excellency on board a ship of war, they could not but think it highly improper, and too great a departure from the constitutional and accustomed mode of transacting their business, to present the bills to him in any other place than the capital. They therefore entreated that he would meet them the ensuing day at Williamsburgh, to pass the bills that were ready, and expressed their hopes that he could not still entertain any groundless fears of personal danger; but if it was possible that he yet remained under so strange a delusion, they declared that they were ready to pledge their honour, and every thing sacred, for his security.

Lord Dunmore insisted on his right of calling them to any place in the colony, where the exigence of affairs might render their attendance necessary. Besides, he affirmed, that the well-grounded cause which he had for believing his person not safe at Williamsburgh had increased daily; that he could not, therefore, meet them, as they required, at the capital, but would be ready to receive the house at his present residence, for the purpose of giving his assent to such acts as he should approve of. This answer put an end to all public correspondence and business between the governor and the colony. The transferring the legislative council and house of representatives of an extensive country on board a man of war, was evidently not to be expected; for, all other objections apart, their danger in such a situation would at least be as great, if hostile designs were apprehended, as the governor's could be on land. Of this they were fully sensible, and the burgesses passed resolutions on receiving the foregoing answer, in which they declared, That the message requiring them to attend the governor on board a ship of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges; that the unreasonable delays thrown into their proceedings, and the evasive answers to their sincere and decent addresses, gave them reason to fear that a dangerous attack was meditated against the unhappy people of that colony: it was therefore their opinion, that they ought to prepare for the preservation of their property, and their inestimable rights and liberties. Thus, taking strides towards rebellion and independency, but strongly pro-

professing loyalty to the king, and amity to the mother-country, they broke up their session.

An end being in this manner put to the English government in the colony of Virginia, a convention of delegates was soon appointed to supply the place of the assembly; and these having an unlimited confidence reposed in them by the people, became of course possessed of an unlimited power in all public affairs. They immediately took the most effectual means of raising and embodying an armed force, as well as of providing for its support, and pursued every other measure which could tend to place the colony in a state of defence. Whether lord Dunmore expected that any extraordinary advantages might be derived from an insurrection of the slaves, or imagined there was a much greater number of people in the colony satisfied with the present system of government, than were really so, he determined, though his authority was no longer regarded, not to abandon his hopes, nor entirely to lose sight of the country which he had governed. Accordingly being joined by those friends of government, who had rendered themselves too obnoxious to the people to continue in safety in the colony, as well as by a number of runaway negroes, and being supported by the king's frigates upon the Virginia station, he endeavoured to establish such a marine force, as would enable him, by means of those noble rivers, which render the most valuable parts of that rich province accessible by water, to be always ready to profit by any favourable occasion, in order to recover possession of it. The force, however, thus put together was calculated only for depredation, and never became equal to any essential service. The former, in part, was indeed matter of necessity; for as the people on shore would not supply those on board the fleet with provisions or necessaries, but sent detachments of the new raised forces to protect the coasts, they must either starve or procure them by violence. How terrible must that condition have been, where every bit of bread, and every drop of water, was to be purchased at the price or the risk of blood!

During this state of inglorious hostility, the governor procured a few soldiers from different parts, with whose assistance an attempt was made to pillage, destroy, or get possession of a port town called Hampton. It appears that the inhabitants had some previous intimation of the design; for they had sunk boats in the entrance of the harbour, and thrown such other obstacles in the way, as rendered the approach of the ships, and consequently the landing of the troops impracticable, on the day destined for the attack. The ships cut a passage through the boats in the following night, and began to cannonade the town furiously in the morning; but at this critical season, they were relieved from their danger and apprehensions, by the arrival of a detachment of rifle and minute men, from Williamsburgh. These, united with the inhabitants, attacked the ships so vigorously with their small arms, that they were obliged to quit their station, and desist from the enterprise.

In consequence of this repulse, a proclamation was issued by the governor declaring, That as the civil law was at present insufficient to prevent and punish treason and traitors, martial law should take place, and be executed throughout the

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the colony; and requiring all persons capable of bearing arms to repair to his majesty's standard, or they would be considered as traitors. He also declared all indentured servants, negroes, or others appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who should join his majesty's forces, to be free. This measure, which has been generally condemned, as tending to loosen the bands of society, to destroy domestic security, and subvert the political system of slavery, so necessary to the prosperity of every European power that possesses dominions in the New World, was attended with less important consequences in exciting the desired insurrection, from its being so long threatened and apprehended, than if it had been more immediate and unexpected. The proclamation, however, had some present effect in the town of Norfolk and the adjoining country, where many of the people were well disposed to government. Lord Dunmore was accordingly joined by several hundreds both of blacks and whites, and many others who did not chuse to push matters to extremity, publicly abjured the Congress, with all its acts, and all conventions and committees whatsoever.

It is probable that the governor now hoped, that the facility and good disposition which he experienced at this place, would have been so general, as to enable him to raise a considerable army; and thus perhaps, without any foreign assistance, to have the glory of reducing one part of the province by means of the other: but this pleasing prospect was soon interrupted by intelligence, that a party of the rebels was marching towards him, with great expedition. In order to obstruct their designs, and protect the well affected, he took possession of a post called Great Bridge, which lay at some miles distance from Norfolk, and was a pass of infinite importance, as it commanded the only road by which the rebels could approach that town. Here he constructed a fort, on the Norfolk side of the bridge, which he furnished well with artillery, and rendered as defensible as the time would admit. Notwithstanding the loyalty of the people in this quarter, which included two small counties, it does not however appear that lord Dunmore's force was by any means considerable, either in regard to number or quality. He had indeed about two hundred regulars, including the grenadiers of the fourteenth regiment, and a small body called the Norfolk volunteers; but the rest were a motley mixture of blacks and whites, without either bulk or skill to render them formidable.

The rebels, under the command of a colonel Woodford, also fortified themselves within cannon shot of the Great Bridge. They had a narrow causeway in their front, which must be passed, in order to come at their works; so that each party was pretty well secured against surprise. In this state, both sides continued quiet for some days. At length a design was formed of driving the rebels from their entrenchments. This was undertaken before day-break. Captain Fordyce, at the head of the grenadiers, amounting to about sixty, led the attack. They boldly passed the causeway, and marched up to the entrenchments with fixed bayonets; and with a coolness and intrepidity which, at the time, excited the astonishment, and afterwards the praise of their enemies: for they were not only exposed naked to the fire in front, but to the cross fire of another part of the works.

works. The brave captain, with several of his men fell: the lieutenant, with others, were taken; and what was truly remarkable, all the survivors of the grenadier company, whether prisoners or not, were wounded. The fire of the artillery from the fort prevented pursuit; so that farther loss was avoided, and an opportunity afforded of carrying off the dead.

The night after this repulse, the king's forces retired from their post at the Great Bridge; and as all hopes in that quarter were now at an end, Lord Dunmore thought it necessary to abandon the town and neighbourhood of Norfolk, and retire again with his forces on board the ships. Many of the loyalists, or well affected inhabitants, also thought it prudent to seek the same asylum, carrying along with them their families and most valuable effects. The rebels took possession of Norfolk; and the fleet, which was now considerable for the number of vessels and tonnage, though without adequate force, removed to a greater distance.

During these transactions, a scheme had been in agitation for raising a body of troops in the back settlements of Virginia and the two Carolinas, where it was known the people were in general well affected to government. It was further hoped, that some of the Indian nations might be induced to become parties in this design; and that thus united, they would not only make such a diversion as must greatly alarm and distress the rebels, but that they might even be able to penetrate so far towards the coasts, as to form a junction with the governor. One Conelly, a native of Pennsylvania, and an active enterprising man, who seems to have been well calculated for such an undertaking, was the framer of that plan; and his idea being approved by lord Dunmore, he with great difficulty and danger carried on a negotiation with the Ohio Indians, and his friends among the back settlers upon the subject. This having succeeded to his satisfaction, he returned to lord Dunmore, who sent him with the necessary credentials to Boston, where he received a commission from general Gage to act as colonel commandant, with assurances of assistance at the time and in the manner appointed.—It was intended that the British garrisons in the Detroit and some other of the back forts, with their artillery and ammunition should be subservient to this project; and the adventurer expected to draw some assistance, at least in volunteers and officers, from the nearest parts of Canada. He was to grant all commissions to the officers, and to have the supreme direction in every thing, not only of the enterprise, but of the new forces; and as soon as they were in a condition fit for such an attempt, he was to penetrate through Virginia, so as to meet lord Dunmore, at a given time in the month of April 1776, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, on the river Potowmac; to which place his lordship was to bring such a naval force, and other assistance as was deemed necessary for the purpose. It was also a part, and not the least comprehensive of this plan, to cut off the communication between the northern and southern colonies.

So far things seemed to look prosperous with the enterprising Conelly, as well as favourable to the interests of Great Britain; but on his road through Maryland, to the scene of action, and when he was so far advanced that he thought it in his

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power to set fortune at defiance, the vigilance or suspicious temper of one of the committees, if not some base informer, blasted all his hopes. Being taken up on suspicion, with two of his associates who travelled with him in disguise, his papers betrayed every thing. Among these was the general scheme of the enterprise, and a letter from lord Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs, with such other authentic vouchers as made the whole undertaking evident. The papers were published by the Congress, and the adventurers were committed to prison.

Meanwhile Virginia was a scene of the greatest disorder and distress. As the loyalists during their short superiority in the country adjoining to Norfolk, had not been remarkably lenient to those who differed from them in political opinions, the greatest cruelties were now practised on the inhabitants, in order to gratify private pique and natural malignity, under pretence of retaliation. At the same time the people on board the fleet were distressed for provisions and necessaries of every sort, and cut off from every succour from the shore. This necessitous condition occasioned constant bickerings between the armed vessels and the forces stationed on the coast. At length, on the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was sent on shore at Norfolk, to put the question, Whether the insurgents would supply, or permit his majesty's ships to be supplied with provisions. An answer was returned in the negative; and the ships in the harbour being continually annoyed by the fire of the rebels, from that part of the town which lay next the water, it was determined to dislodge them by destroying it. Previous notice being accordingly given to the inhabitants, that they might remove from the danger, the first day of the year 1776 was signalized by the attack; when a violent cannonade from the Liverpool frigate, two sloops of war, and the governor's armed ship, the *Dunmore*, seconded by parties of sailors and marines, who landed and set fire to the nearest houses, soon produced the desired effect. The rebels were dislodged, and that part of the town which they occupied destroyed: but they were not willing that destruction should stop here; and therefore set fire to the back and remote streets, which would otherwise have escaped the fury of the flames, as the wind was in their favour. In consequence of this diabolical act, the whole town was reduced to ashes*; and as if that had not been enough, the rebels immediately after, partly to cut off every resource from the ships, and partly to punish the loyalists, burnt and destroyed all the houses and plantations within reach of the water, and obliged the people to remove with their cattle, provisions, and portable effects, farther into the country.

Nor was the situation of some of the British governors in North America, much more eligible than that of lord Dunmore. In South Carolina, lord William Campbell having, as was alledged, entered into a negotiation with the Indians, for coming in to the support of government in that province; and having

* Norfolk was the most considerable town in Virginia for commerce, and so growing and flourishing before these unhappy troubles, that in the two years preceding its destruction, the rents of the houses increased from eight to ten thousand pounds per annum. The whole loss is estimated at above three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

also succeeded in engaging a number of those back settlers, who were distinguished in the Carolinas by the name of *Regulators*, to espouse the same cause; the discovery of these measures, before they were ripe for execution, occasioned such a ferment among the people, that he thought it necessary to retire from Charles Town on board a ship of war, and afterwards to abandon his government. In the meantime Mr. Drayton, judge of the superior court, and one of the leading men in the colony, marched with a strong armed force to the back settlements, where a treaty was concluded between him and the heads of the Regulators; in which the differences between them were attributed to misinformation, a misunderstanding of each others views and designs, and a tenderness of conscience on the side of the latter, which prevented their signing the associations, or pursuing any measures against government. But as they now engaged, neither by word nor act to impede or obstruct such proceedings as should be pursued by the province in general; nor to give any information, aid, or assistance, to such British troops as should at any time arrive in it; so they were to be entirely free in their conduct otherwise, to enjoy a safe neutrality, and to suffer no molestation for their not taking an active part in the present troubles.—The government of the province was lodged in a council of safety, consisting of thirteen persons, with the occasional assistance of a committee of ninety-nine; and as they had intelligence that an army was preparing in England, which was particularly intended against South Carolina, no means were left untried for its defence,—in training the militia, procuring arms and gun-powder, and particularly in fortifying Charles Town.

Similar measures were pursued in North Carolina; with this difference only, that governor Martin was more active and vigorous in his proceedings, though they were not attended with more success. The Provincial Congress, their committees, and the governor were in a continual state of warfare. Upon a number of charges, but especially of fomenting a civil war, and exciting an insurrection among the negroes, he was declared an enemy to America in general, and to that colony in particular; and all persons were forbidden from holding any communication with him. These accusations he answered by a proclamation of uncommon length, which the Provincial Congress resolved to be, “a false, scandalous, scurrilous, malicious, and seditious libel,” and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

These expressions sufficiently shew the temper of the people, and their proceedings were answerable to their language. As the governor expected by means of the back settlers, as well as of the Scotch inhabitants and England emigrants, who were numerous in the province, and generally well affected to government, to be able to raise a considerable force, he took pains to fortify and arm his palace, at Newburn, that it might answer the double purpose of a garrison and magazine. But before this could be effected the moving of some cannon excited such a commotion among the people, that he found it necessary to abandon his palace, and retire on board a sloop of war in Cape Fear river. The people, after his departure, discovered powder, shot, ball, and various military stores and implements,

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implements, buried in the palace-yard. Though this, in such circumstances, was perhaps a necessary precaution, it served to inflame the minds of the populace to an extraordinary degree; every man seeming to consider it as a plot against himself in particular. In other respects, the province followed the example of South Carolina, by establishing a council of safety, training the militia, and vigorously providing for defence.

During these transactions in the southern colonies, some events not unworthy of notice, though nothing decisive, had happened in the northern part of the province of Massachusetts Bay. As general Gage had returned to England in the beginning of October, the command in chief of the army at Boston devolved upon general Howe, who soon after issued a proclamation, condemning to military execution such of the inhabitants as should attempt to quit the town without leave, if detected and taken; and if they escaped ordering them to be proceeded against as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. He also enjoined the signing and entering into an association, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their effects for the defence of the town; and such of them as he approved of were to be armed, formed into companies, and instructed in military exercises and discipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence.

Nor were the Provincials less vigorous in their measures. As the limited term for which the soldiers in the army before Boston had enlisted was nearly expired, a committee from the General Congress, consisting of several of its most respectable members, was sent thither, to take the necessary measures in conjunction with Washington, for keeping it from disbanding. This, however, does not appear to have been a work of any difficulty, as the whole army enlisted for a year certain to come. Among all the obstacles which the Provincials met with, in their attempts to establish a military force, nothing affected them so grievously, or was found so difficult to be surmounted, as the want of gun-powder: for although they used their utmost diligence in the collecting and preparing of nitre, and in all other parts of the manufacture, the product of their industry was very inadequate to the growing demand; and they had not yet opened that commerce, nor entered into those measures with foreign states, which have since procured a supply of military stores. But they left nothing undone to supply this defect; and among other temporary expedients, they had contrived to purchase, without notice or suspicion, all the powder upon the coast of Africa, and plundered the magazine in the island of Bermuda of above an hundred barrels.

In the course of those depredations, threats, and hostilities, which continually occurred on the coasts, the town of Falmouth was doomed particularly to suffer. Some violences relative to the lading of a ship with masts for the royal navy, drew the indignation of the admiral upon that place, and occasioned an order for its destruction. The officer who commanded the ships appointed for this purpose, gave two hours previous notice to the inhabitants to provide for their safety; and that time was farther enlarged till next morning, under cover of a negotiation for delivering up their artillery and small arms, as the price of sav-

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ing the town. This, however, they at length refused; having made use of the delay procured by such a pretext, for carrying off their most valuable effects. About nine o'clock in the morning a cannonade was begun, and continued with little intermission throughout the day; in consequence of which, and the bombs thrown into the town, the greater part of it was destroyed.

The chastisement of Falmouth probably accelerated that daring measure in the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay, where, under pretence of protecting their coasts, an act was passed for granting letters of marque and reprisal, and the establishment of courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of British ships. Certain acts of the General Congress likewise led to this bold step. In the course of the summer, they had drawn up articles of confederation and perpetual union between the several colonies that were already associated, with liberty of admission to those which yet adhered to government; but the people were not yet ripe for such a total and violent separation from the mother country. A resolution was also passed in the General Congress on the approach of autumn. That as America was blest with a most plentiful harvest, and would have a great superfluity to spare for other nations, if the late restraining laws were not repealed within six months from the 20th of July 1775, the custom-houses should be every where shut up, and all their ports be thenceforth open to every state in Europe, (which would admit and protect their commerce) free of all duties, and for every kind of commodity, excepting only teas, and the merchandise of Great Britain and her dependencies:—and the more to encourage foreigners to engage in trade with them, they passed a resolution, that they would, to the utmost of their power, maintain and support such freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, notwithstanding any reconciliation with Great Britain, and as much longer as the present obnoxious laws should continue. They at the same time immediately suspended the non-importation agreement in favour of all ships that should bring gun-powder, nitre, sulphur, good muskets fitted with bayonets, or brass field-pieces; such ships being to be loaded, in return, with the full value of their cargoes.

Towards the close of the year, the General Congress carried their audacity yet farther. In a declaration, in answer to the royal proclamation “for suppressing rebellion and sedition,” they not only denied the charges of forgetting their allegiance, but concluded with a resolution, in the name of the people of the United Colonies, That whatever punishment should be inflicted upon any persons in the power of their *enemies*, for favouring, aiding or abetting the cause of America, should be retaliated in the same kind and the same degree, upon those in their power, who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or who shall favour, aid, or abet the system of ministerial oppression.

An opposition so vigorous, and a revolt so universal, were sufficient to shake the firmest administration. Lord North, however, on the meeting of parliament, came boldly forth to face the storm, which was scarcely less terrible in the House of Commons, than in Boston and its rebellious neighbourhood. This storm was particularly roused by the speech from the throne: yet, on a candid examina-

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tion, it will perhaps be difficult to discover, what could render that speech obnoxious; unless to unfold important truths, and cloath found reasoning in elegant language can be a crime. But the reader who has pursued our impartial narration, which neither disguises the views nor conceals the violences of either party, will be able to judge for himself. "Those," says his majesty, "who have long too successfully laboured to inflame my people in America by gross misrepresentations, and to infuse into their minds a system of opinions repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies, and to their subordinate relation to Great Britain, now openly avow their revolt, hostility, and rebellion. They have raised troops, and are collecting a naval force: they have seized the public revenue, and assumed to themselves legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exercise, in the most arbitrary manner, over the persons and properties of their fellow subjects; and although many of these unhappy people may still retain their loyalty, and may be too wise not to see the fatal consequence of this usurpation, and wish to resist it, yet the torrent of violence has been strong enough to compel their acquiescence, until a sufficient force shall appear to support them.

"The authors and promoters of this desperate conspiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intentions and theirs. They meant only to amule, by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to me, whilst they were preparing for a general revolt*. On our part, though it was declared in your last session, that a rebellion existed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, yet even in that province we wished rather to reclaim than to subdue. The resolutions of parliament breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance: conciliatory propositions accompanied the measures taken to enforce authority; and the coercive acts were adapted to cases of criminal combinations among subjects not then in arms. I have acted with the same temper: anxious to prevent, if it had been possible, the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war; still hoping that my people in America

* His majesty here probably alludes more particularly to the second petition from the General Congress, in which they declare, that they are ready and willing, as they have ever been, with their "lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of his majesty, and of their mother-country;" at the same time that they were levying troops to enable them to shake off their dependence on the one, their allegiance to the other, and issuing a declaration of war against both. Many people have lamented that this petition, which was presented to Lord Dartmouth by Mr. Penn, late governor and chief proprietor of Pennsylvania, should have been consigned to neglect; but these who will allow themselves impartially to examine circumstances, can not fail to perceive that it had no other object than to gain time. This indeed sufficiently appears from the petition itself, which requests, that during the negotiation proposed for a permanent reconciliation, "measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your majesty's subjects." They were sensible that the provincial army was in no condition to resist the British forces in Boston, having few artillery, and almost neither powder nor shot. They could not divine, that the victors at Bunker's Hill would not only cease to pursue their advantage, but allow themselves to be cooped up within the walls of a town, and to perish by want and disease, rather than face the vanquished in the field!

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would have discerned the traitorous views of their leaders, and have been convinced, That to be a subject of Great Britain, with all its consequences, is to be the freest member of any civil society in the known world.

“ The rebellious war now levied is become more general, and is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire. I need not dwell on the fatal effects of the success of such a plan. The object is too important, the spirit of the British nation too high, the resources with which God has blest her too numerous, to give up so many colonies which she has planted with great industry, nursed with great tenderness, encouraged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at much expence of blood and treasure.” His majesty next proceeded to inform the parliament, that he had found it necessary to augment both his sea and land forces; that he had sent to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon a part of his electoral troops, in order that a greater number of the established forces of this kingdom might be applied to the maintenance of its authority; that he had received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance, and if he should make any treaties in consequence thereof, they should be laid before the house; that as soon as the colonists should be sensible of their error, he would be ready to receive the missed with tenderness and mercy; and, in order to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from the great distance of their situation, and to remove as soon as possible the calamities to which they were exposed, that he would appoint commissioners on the spot to grant general and particular pardons and indemnities, and to receive the submission of any province or colony, as well as to restore it, on such submission, to the free exercise of its trade and commerce, and to “ the same protection and security as if such province or colony had never revolted.”

This speech was said to be composed of a mixture of assumed and false facts, with some general undefined and undisputed axioms, which nobody would attempt to controvert. Among the former, that of charging the colonies with aiming at independency, was severely reprehended, as well as that of their making professions of duty, and proposals of reconciliation, only for the insidious purpose of amusing and deceiving. Those shameful accusations, it was affirmed, were only designed to cover the wretched conduct, and if possible to hide or excuse the disgrace and failure that had attended all the measures of administration. On the other side, the veracity of the speech in all its parts was warmly contended for; and, in particular, the charge against the Americans of seeking independency, was most strenuously supported. In proof, it was asked, whether the Congress had not seized all the powers of government; whether they had not raised armies, and taken measures for paying, cloathing, and subsisting them? “ Have they not issued bills to a great amount upon a continental credit?” said the same party. “ Are they not creating a marine? are they not waging war, in all its forms, against their mother-country, at the very instant that they hypocritically pretend to owe a constitutional obedience to her? Can any one, acquainted with these things, pretend to call in question the tendency of their views? The Congress have indeed declared, in general terms, that they do not aim at independency; but if we examine

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amine their particular claims, and compare them with their general assertions, we shall find, that the dependence which they would acknowledge, will virtually amount to little more than a nominal obedience to whoever sits on the throne, and to very nearly a renunciation of the jurisdiction of the British legislature."

In regard to conciliation, every hope of that sort was said to be now at an end. Parliament had already tried every expedient, consistent with its dignity, to reclaim the incorrigible disposition of the Americans; but what had she gained by this conduct? Her lenity, her reluctance to punish, was construed into weakness and fear; and the time which she sacrificed to forbearance and moderation, was sedulously employed by the Americans to preparation and war. We had offered to permit the Americans to tax themselves; but what return have they made to this indulgence? They have given a new proof of their disobedience and contempt; for although they knew any reasonable sum would be accepted, they would not gratify the mother-country so far as to contribute a single shilling towards the common exigencies of the state. In a word, it was insisted, that the question was no longer confined to any particular exercise of the authority of Great Britain, but extended to the very being of the sovereignty itself; that, in this state, an accommodation was impracticable, and that any advance towards it on our side, except in the line laid down in the speech, and accompanied with such a military force as would command obedience, would be pernicious, as well as disgraceful.

As to the expediency of adopting the measures proposed in the speech, it was urged, that it did not admit of a question. We were now in a situation which did not afford a possibility of receding without shame, ruin, and disgrace. The contest was for empire; and we must either support and establish our sovereignty, or give up America for ever. "The eyes of all Europe are upon us," said they; "and the future fate not only of the British monarchy, but of ages yet unborn, must depend upon our firmness or indecision." A strong picture was drawn of the fatal effects that would follow the independency of America—the inevitable ruin of our West India settlements, and her interference with us in our trade, and in our dearest interests, in every quarter of the globe. It was at the same time acknowledged, that the reduction of America would be attended with great and numerous difficulties; that it was a contest of the most serious nature, and however successful we might be, that the consequences must be severely felt by the community: but how awful soever the situation, it was the first duty of a great national assembly, not to despair of the resources of the state; and where the interests of a great people were at stake, difficulties must be encountered and overcome, not shrunk from. The difficulties were not greater, however, than we had often surmounted; than we had lately surmounted in protecting this very people against the most powerful and warlike nation on the European continent, when our armies gave law, and our fleets rode triumphant on every coast. "Shall we then be told," added they, "that a people of yesterday, whose greatness is the work of our own hands, can resist the combined efforts of the British empire?" This language was well calculated to rouse the spirit of

the country gentlemen, who have all along supported the coercive measures of administration in regard to America*. An amicable address to the throne, in answer to the speech, was accordingly voted, by a majority of two hundred and fifty against one hundred and eight, who contended for an amendment, which would have rendered it an insult.

The debates upon the address were no less warm in the House of Lords, than in that of the Commons, and nearly the same arguments were employed on both sides. But what rendered them remarkable was, the sudden and unexpected defection of the duke of Grafton; who, ever since his resignation, had been uniform in supporting the measures of government in regard to America, and was at this time high in office. He now condemned these measures with the greatest asperity, and declared that he had been deceived and misled; that nothing less than a total repeal of all the American laws, which had been passed since the year 1763, could restore peace and happiness, or prevent the most destructive and fatal consequences—consequences which he could not think of without feeling the utmost degree of grief and horror! A right reverend prelate of great eloquence and ability, who in the preceding session had both spoken and voted for coercive measures, took the same part, and accounted for the change in his sentiments and conduct, upon nearly the same principles; namely, misinformation, deception—a total failure of the promises, and disappointment in all the hopes held out by administration; but above all the ruinous consequences of the contest, and the now evident impracticability of coercion.

No body could yet tell, or even guess, where the defection might end. It was, however, attended with little effect. On the resignation of the duke of Grafton,

* These gentlemen, who call themselves *independent*, and who had been distinguished during the two late reigns for the steadiness of their opposition to court measures, as much as in the present by a contrary conduct, especially with respect to the colonies, were however alarmed at the report upon the address from the committee, and the debates were renewed with fresh warmth, on a subject that had before escaped observation; namely, the sending of Hanoverian troops to Gibraltar and Minorca without the consent of parliament. The aversion of the country-party to continental connexions, with something bordering on antipathy, to the employing of foreign troops in any case whatsoever, is well known. Many of them who approved of all the other parts of the speech, were therefore highly dissatisfied with this, and vigorously opposed that part of the address which recognized it as a favour: they insisted that the measure was illegal and unconstitutional, and would establish a precedent of a most alarming and dangerous tendency, by acknowledging a right in the crown to introduce foreign troops into the British dominions. In order to appease them, the minister found it necessary to promise to bring it before the house in a parliamentary way, and to crave an act of indemnity, if the measure should then be judged illegal. This concession put all things to rights. The country gentlemen being now satisfied, returned to their natural temper and disposition, and the opposition was again reduced to what is properly so called.—Among the peculiar circumstances which attended the debates on the address, was the total defection of General Conway from administration. He reprobated every idea of conquering America, on the different grounds of justice, expediency, and practicability: he also declared, in the most free terms, against the right of taxation; and said that he wished to see the Declaratory Act repealed, though it had been passed under his own auspices when in administration, and though on abstract legal principles he thought it right, and at the time of passing it proper and necessary.

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the earl of Dartmouth received the privy seal, and was succeeded in the American secretaryship by lord George Sackeville Germaine, whose political principles or connexion with Mr. Grenville had led him to support the highest claims of parliamentary authority over the colonies, and who had taken a full and decided part in all the late coercive measures in regard to them.—During these changes, a motion was made from the Admiralty in the committee of supply, that twenty-eight thousand seamen, including six thousand, six hundred, and sixty five marines, should be voted for the service of the ensuing year. This was accompanied with a general outline of the service to which the navy would be applied; particularly, that the fleet on the North American station would amount to seventy-eight sail. The estimates of the land service for the ensuing year were also laid before the committee of supply. From these estimates, and the illustrations with which they were accompanied, it appeared, that the whole force appointed for the land service, abroad and at home, would amount to about fifty-five thousand men, of which number upwards of twenty-five thousand would be employed in America.

Nov. 8. After long debates, the resolutions on the estimates were carried, by the usual majority of near three to one.

The House of Lords now took into consideration the second petition from the Congress to his majesty, which had been presented by Mr. Penn, and was laid before that house among other papers. On the motion of the duke of Richmond, Mr. Penn was examined at the bar. From his evidence it appeared, that the colony of Pennsylvania contained about sixty thousand men able to bear arms, and that of those twenty thousand had voluntarily enrolled themselves to serve without pay, before his departure; that an additional body of four thousand five hundred minute men had since been raised in the province, who were to be paid when called out on service; that the spirit of resistance was general; that he believed the colonies were notwithstanding inclined to acknowledge the imperial authority of the parent state, but not in taxation, and that they thought themselves able to defend their liberties against the arms of Great Britain.

After the examination was finished, the duke of Richmond, its proposer, made a motion, That the petition from the continental Congress to the king, was “ground for a reconciliation of the unhappy differences at present subsisting between Great Britain and America.” The motion was ably supported by that nobleman and his friends, who stated the necessity of an immediate reconciliation in every point of view; whether with respect to ourselves, the colonies, or our situation in regard to foreign powers. They represented the insurmountable obstacles which would occur, if an absolute conquest of North America was intended; the natural strength of that continent, every where intersected with great rivers, and composed alternately of strong inclosures, thick forests, and deep swamps; the inexpressible difficulty and vast expence, if not the utter impracticability of supplying with subsistence from England, such an army as would be adequate to the purpose; the advantages which the provincials would derive from their being at home, and from having their subsistence at hand, as well as from their perfect knowledge of the country: that the overrunning of a province, the seizing, plundering,

or destroying of a town, though ruinous to them, would afford no essential advantage to us, even supposing conquest to be the immediate object of the war; for that the instant we marched to subdue another province, that which we had quitted would become as hostile as the one we had entered. To this strong picture of difficulties, dangers, and disgrace, they contrasted the invaluable blessings of peace, and shewed the happy opportunity which the petition afforded of averting the numerous and even fatal evils of civil war. "It expressly declares," added they, "that the colonies desire no concession derogatory to the honour of the mother-country: the delegates of the people of America beseech his majesty to recall his troops, which can only be considered as a prayer for a suspension of arms; and all they desire as a preliminary, is the repeal of certain acts, in themselves unjust and oppressive."

On the other side, it was urged, that it was impossible to recognize the petition on which the present motion was founded, without relinquishing in that act the sovereignty of the British parliament; that treating with an unlawful assembly, who at the very instant declared themselves to be in a state of open resistance and hostility, would be to all intents and purposes, legalizing their proceedings, and acknowledging them the constitutional representatives of an independent sovereign state. If they were subjects, they could not assemble or deliberate, but in the mode and for the purposes prescribed by the constitution: if they were not, it would be in the highest degree ridiculous to treat with them in a capacity which they disclaimed. "The Americans," added the friends of administration, "deny the right of controul in the most effectual manner; for they deny the exercise of it in every instance wherein it militates with their interest, or with their traitorous views and rebellious designs. They refuse obedience to the declaratory act, the act for quartering soldiers, and the law for establishing vice admiralty courts; in a word, to every law which they do not like, and then tell us with a consummate effrontery, that they acknowledged our undoubted right of legislative controul, but will not permit us to exercise that right!"—It was even insisted by some lords, that the petition was an insidious and traitorous attempt to impose on the king and parliament; that while the authors made use of smooth language, and held out false professions for that purpose, they were at the very instant, in their appeals to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, abusing the parliament, denying its authority, and endeavouring to involve the whole empire in rebellion and bloodshed, by inviting their fellow-subjects in these kingdoms to make one common cause with them, in opposition to law and government; that no alternative therefore remained, in regard to those worst of rebels, who not content with the enjoyment of their own crimes, wanted to render them general, but the most speedy and effectual measures for their subjugation and punishment. The question at length being put, the motion was rejected on a division, by a majority of eighty-six to thirty-three.

About the same time, the minister in the House of Commons, after shewing the necessity of reducing America to obedience, or of finally giving it up, and exhibiting the great expence that must unavoidably attend the former measure, took an opportunity of convincing the landed gentlemen of the propriety, as well as
necessity

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necessity of applying to them on so important a national occasion—at a time when the other resources of the state, he acknowledged, were incompetent to the purpose. He accordingly moved, that the land-tax for the year 1776 be four shillings in the pound. This motion occasioned a variety of debates and conversations; and some members in opposition congratulated the country gentlemen on the additional shilling in the pound, after so short a respite, as the happy and enviable consequence of their darling coercive measures in regard to America; at the same time that they endeavoured to shew, by calculations on the state of the funds and expenditure, that it would be a perpetual mortgage on the estates of those gentlemen, which no change of circumstances, or even favourable turn of fortune could ever wear off, as nothing less than a land-tax at the rate proposed would be sufficient for our future peace establishment. The country gentlemen, though still somewhat out of humour on account of the employment of foreign troops without the consent of parliament, supported the motion^{*}; which was carried by a majority of an hundred and eighty-two, to forty-seven.

In the midst of these hostile measures, Mr. Burke moved for leave to bring in a bill “for composing the present troubles, and for quieting the minds of his majesty’s subjects in America.” Its object was to procure reconciliation and peace by concession; and the proposer observed, that as taxation had been the origin of the present differences, an arrangement of that question, either by enforcement or concession, was a preliminary indispensably necessary to peace. He entered largely into that question: he considered it under both heads; and after observing, that the impracticability of the former was now acknowledged by the ministers themselves, he added, That parliament is not the representative, but the sovereign of America; that sovereignty is not in its nature an idea of abstract unity, but is capable of great complexity and infinite modifications, according to the temper of those who are to be governed, and to the circumstances of things; which being infinitely diversified, government ought to be adapted to them, and to conform itself to their nature, instead of vainly endeavouring to force that to a contrary bias; that though taxation is inherent in the supreme power of society, taken as an aggregate, it does not follow that it must reside in any particular power in that society. This obscure doctrine he endeavoured to illustrate by the English government, in which the king is sovereign, but obliged to depend upon the commons for supplies. He concluded with pressing the necessity of giving up the point of taxation to the utmost, though he at the same time expressed his regret at our being obliged to surrender any part of the legislative authority: but this, he observed, was the natural, and inevitable consequence of injudicious exertions of power; for that people who quarrel unreasonably among themselves, and will not reconcile their differences in due season, must submit to the consequences incident to the situation in which such differences have involved them.

The principal objection made to this bill was, that it granted too much for us, yet not nearly enough to satisfy the Americans; as their claims reached not only

* This support, however, was not yielded, till the minister had given them farther assurance of bringing in the indemnity bill, acknowledging the measure relative to the Haverian troops to be illegal, nor till he had declared that taxation was the object of the war in America.

to the Declaratory Act, and to all the others passed since 1763, but included in their sweep all the revenue laws, from the act of navigation, down to the present time. They complain of all laws laying duties for the express purpose of revenue, yet the bill goes no farther back than the year 1767; but to render the remedy real and efficient, it should be carried back to the year 1672. Many members also contended, that as a plan of accommodation had been chalked out in the speech from the throne, it would be disrespectful to his majesty to adopt any other conciliatory scheme, until that was either tried, or administration had declined the undertaking. Nor were a few of opinion, that nothing less than coercion in its full extent could answer any good purpose; and that the stronger disposition Great Britain shewed towards conciliation, the more obstinate, rebellious, and insolent America would become. The bill was accordingly rejected by a majority of two to one; the numbers being two hundred and ten against the motion, to one hundred and five who supported it.

A few days after, the minister brought into the House of Commons the famous prohibitory bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies; and by which all property belonging to these colonies, whether of ships or goods, on the high seas or in harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crew of his majesty's ships of war. This bill, besides its primary object, repealed the Boston Port-bill, with the fishery and restraining acts; their provisions, in some instances, being deemed insufficient in the present state of warfare, and their operation, in others, liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It also enabled the crown to appoint commissioners, who besides the power of simply granting pardons to individuals, were authorized to enquire into general and particular grievances, and empowered to determine, whether any part or the whole of a colony, was returned to that state of obedience, which might entitle them to be received within the king's peace and protection; in which case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, the restrictions in the present bill were to cease in their favour.

The fire of opposition was rekindled by this bill, and it was encountered with great vigour in both houses. They said, that it was cutting off at the root all hopes of future accommodation; that it drove England and America to the fatal extremity of absolute conquest on the one side, or absolute independency on the other; that it would precipitate the Americans head-long into the arms of some foreign power, and compel them from motives of self-defence, to convert their merchant ships into privateers, whereby our West India islands would be totally ruined, and our foreign commerce in general suffer greater injuries, than during any war in which we had ever been engaged. On the other side it was argued, that the Americans were already in a state of open warfare with us, and while that war continued, it must necessarily be carried on by sea and land*, and conducted in every respect as

* Had the ministry been acquainted with what was transacting in America, they might have added, that the Americans themselves, sensible of this, had already issued letters of marque and reprisal; that they had not waited to be compelled to such a measure, but had taken the lead in naval hostilities.

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it would have been against alien enemies; that the stronger, the more urgent and immediate the coercion was, the fewer would be the mischiefs, the less the expence, and the sooner would peace and order be restored; that an ill judged lenity would be the extreme of cruelty, and prove equally ruinous to England and to America. It was farther urged, that whatever real or apparent hardships were included in the bill, it was in the power of the Americans, either collectively or individually to avoid all such; that the commissioners went out with the sword in one hand, and terms of conciliation in the other: America had therefore the choice, every colony had it in its power, to take the benefit of the latter. It had only to acknowledge the legislative supremacy of Great Britain, or if unwilling to accede to so general a declaration, to contribute of its own accord towards the support of government; and thereby, as one of the parts of the British empire, entitle itself to the protection of the whole, and to all the privileges which it formerly enjoyed. As to the losses which our merchants and the West India islands might sustain, it was added, that those, if real, could only be lamented among the many other evils incident to war: but happily they were merely imaginary, and only held out to distress government, and impede its operations, by alarming the trading part of the nation, and exciting a domestic ferment; for who would pretend to affirm, that the naval force of Great Britain was not sufficient to protect our commerce, and our West India islands from insult?—These arguments appeared so satisfactory, that the bill passed by a majority of one hundred and twelve to sixteen only, in the House of Commons, and in the House of Lords without a division.

It now only remained, on this subject, to lay before the parliament the treaties entered into between his majesty, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel, for hiring different bodies of their troops for the American service, amounting in the whole to about seven-teen thousand men, and to obtain the supplies necessary for the support of such an additional force. The debates on these treaties were long and warm in both houses, and many severe remarks were made on the bad terms on which the forces were obtained, as well as on the measure of hiring them. It was strongly urged in particular, that as the Americans had hitherto abstained from applying for assistance to foreign powers, and had ventured to commit themselves singly in this arduous contest, rather than have recourse to so odious and dangerous a refuge, it was the height of political folly and madness in us to induce them to depart from that temperate ground, by setting them an example of so fatal a tendency. The minister's motion for committing the treaties to the committee of supply, was however carried by the usual majority; and the session was concluded by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed a hope, that his rebellious subjects would yet be awakened to a sense of their errors, and by a voluntary return to their duty, justify him in gratifying the favourite wish of his heart, the restoration of harmony, and the re-establishment of order and happiness in every part of his dominions. But if a due submission should not be obtained from
such

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such motives and dispositions on their part, his majesty hoped it would be effected by the force with which he was intrusted by parliament.

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1776

In the meantime things wore a very inauspicious appearance in America. The delays and misfortunes which the transports from England and Ireland had experienced, reduced the British forces at Boston to great distress. The loss of most of the coal ships was particularly felt, as fuel could not be procured, and the climate rendered that article indispensable. It was even feared that the military stores would fail, and salt provisions at length become scarce. The troops at Bunker's Hill, in particular, underwent great hardships; being obliged to lie in tents all the winter, under the driving snows, and exposed to the almost intolerably cutting winds of the climate in that season; which, with the strict and constant duty occasioned by the strength and vicinity of the enemy, rendered that service exceedingly severe, both to the private men and officers.

During this state of things on our side, the provincials before Boston were well covered, and also well supplied in their lines. They were disappointed, however, in their hope of recovering the town and burning the shipping, when the frost should set in, as the harbour was never frozen. But though the winter was not so severe as to answer all the purposes of the rebels, the climate prevailed so far as to render both parties fond of their quarters; to check the spirit of enterprise, and prevent the effusion of blood; so that during two or three months, an almost total tranquillity prevailed. This tranquillity was unexpectedly interrupted, about the beginning of March, by some sudden movements on the side of the provincials. A battery was opened in the night near the water side, at the place called Phipps' Farm, whence a severe cannonade and bombardment was carried on against the town. Whilst the attention of the army was occupied by the firing of houses and other mischiefs incident to this new attack, they beheld with inexpressible surprise some considerable works, as if raised by enchantment, appear upon Dorchester Point, on the other side of the town.

March 2.

The situation of the British forces was now extremely critical. On the new works, a twenty-four pound, and a bomb-battery, were immediately opened by the provincials; and other works, it was foreseen, would speedily be constructed on some of the neighbouring hills; would command the town, a considerable part of the harbour, and render the communication between the works at Boston Neck and the main body, difficult and dangerous. In such circumstances, no alternative remained but to abandon the town, or to dislodge the enemy, and destroy the new works. General Howe adopted the latter, and took the necessary measures for the embarkation of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers; but this design was frustrated by the intervention of a dreadful storm, which rendered the embarkation impracticable. It was however resumed, the day after the tempest, when a new obstacle made it be laid entirely aside. On a nearer inspection, (how keen sighted is irresolution in discerning difficulties!) it was discovered, that another new work had been thrown up, which was stronger than any of the former; and that the whole were now so completely fortified that all hope of forcing them was at an end. It was also perceived by the same flow

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wisdom, (ever more happy at inventing apologies for inaction, than in discovering the motives to enterprise) that Boston was not a situation very happily chosen for the improvement of any advantage which might be obtained, towards the reduction of the colonies. Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to abandon the town, and to convey the troops, artillery, and stores on board the ships.

General Howe's situation was now truly pitiable; more especially if we can suppose him to be possessed of those fine feelings, and that high sense of military honour, which has been represented, with all the force of rhetoric, as peculiar to his family. He commanded an army, which he knew had been considered in this country as sufficient to look into nothing all resistance in America; and which in reality, with regard to the number of regiments, if not of men, the excellency of the troops, the character of the officers, and the powerful artillery with which they were furnished, would have been deemed respectable in any country, and formidable to any enemy. With such a force, to give up that town which had been the original cause of the war, and the constant object of contention since its commencement, to a raw and despised militia*, seemed, exclusive of all other circumstances, a disgrace not to be borne. Nor was even that ignominious measure by any means free from difficulty and danger. The rebels, however, continued quiet in their works, and made not the smallest attempt to obstruct the embarkation, or even to harass the rear of the army †.

Notwithstanding this favourable circumstance, the embarkation could not be regulated in such a manner (though ten days were spent in carrying it into execution) as to prevent some degree of disorder, precipitation, and loss. It resembled more the emigration of a people, than the breaking up of a camp. Fifteen hundred of the inhabitants, who had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to their countrymen, by their attachment to the royal cause, encumbered the transports with their families and effects. The officers had laid out their money in furniture, and such other conveniencies as were necessary to render their condition tolerable: no purchasers could be procured for these effects; and it would have been cruelty in the extreme to many of them, to have been under the necessity of leaving their whole substance behind. Almost every one had some private concern, which was sufficient to occupy his time and thoughts; and the prospect of public affairs was dark and discouraging. The intended voyage to Halifax,

* No circumstance has thrown so much discredit on the British arms, in the present unhappy contest, as the exaggerated representations of the natural pusillanimity of the provincials. The persons who made these representations, though some of them soldiers, and others men high in office, were no philosophers: they did not know that courage is confined to no latitude, to no peculiar race of men; that it is chiefly, if not entirely, governed by moral causes; and that roused by the love of liberty, it could transform into heroes the sluggish inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, as well as the half-animating Hollanders.

† It is said, and seems to be generally believed, that some kind of convention was established between the commanders in chief on each side; and that the abstaining from hostility on the one side, was the condition of saving the town on the other. In proof of this it is affirmed, That combatants were ready laid for firing the town, and that the select men were permitted to go out and hold a conference with general Washington on the subject.

(for thither it was resolved to transport the army) was subject to circumstances of a very alarming nature; the coast, at all times dangerous, was dreadful at this tempestuous equinoctial season; the multitude of ships, which amounted to about an hundred an fifty, increased the difficulty and apprehension; and to render matters still more irksome, they were going to a comparatively sterile country, which was incapable of affording those reliefs so necessary to men in their condition. Nor could it escape the observation, or cease to fill the military with uneasiness, that all this dangerous voyage, if completed, was directly so much out of their way; that they were going to the northern extremity of the continent, when their business lay in the southern provinces, or at least about the centre.

The resolution, however, was taken: the supposed necessity of their situation left no choice of measures, and regret was unavailing. They accordingly went on board; and as the rear embarked, general Washington marched into the town with drums beating and colours flying, in all the triumph of victory. He was received by the remaining inhabitants, and acknowledged by those who had taken refuge in his camp, and who now recovered their former possessions, with every mark of respect and gratitude that could be shewn to a deliverer. Nor was this his only satisfaction. The king's forces were under the necessity of leaving a considerable quantity of artillery, and some stores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boston Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unserviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented these from having any great effect. Thus was the long-contested town of Boston at length given up, and the colony of Massachusetts Bay freed from the alarms of war, and left at liberty to adopt every measure which could tend to its future strength and security.

March 17.

It was above a week before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but the passage made ample amends for this delay, the voyage to Hallifax being shorter and happier than could have been expected. Some ships of war were left behind to protect the vessels which should arrive from England. In this, however, they were not perfectly successful; the great extent of the Bay, with its numerous islands and creeks, and the number of small ports that surround it, affording such opportunities to the provincial armed boats and small privateers, that they took a number of these ships, which were still in ignorance that the town had changed masters*. As several movements made by the rebels, and particularly their taking stations on the neighbouring islands, indicated a design of attacking Castle William, the possession of which would be the means of confining the ships of war in the harbour, and of ren-

* Among the prizes taken by the provincials was an ordnance ship from Woolwich, containing, besides a mortar on a new construction, several pieces of fine brass cannon, a large quantity of small arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utensils, and machines necessary for camps. The loss of this ship was severely resented in England, and occasioned some very severe and just animadversions on the negligence of the admiralty, in trusting a cargo of such value and importance in a vessel of no force. She was taken by a small privateer.

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dering all future attempts upon the town by sea impracticable, general Howe thought it advisable to blow up and demolish the fortifications of that place before his departure.

Meanwhile general Washington being ignorant of the destination of the fleet, and apprehensive of an attack upon New York, detached several regiments for the defence of that city. Nor did he neglect such means as might render his conquest perpetual. Those inhabitants who had ventured to stay behind, though openly attached to the royal cause, were brought to trial, as enemies and betrayers of their country; and the estates of such as were found guilty, for which little evidence was necessary, were confiscated, and the produce applied to the public service. But nothing occupied so much at present the minds of the people of Boston, or had so much attention paid to it by the province in general, as the putting of that capital in such a state of defence, as might prevent a repetition of those evils which it had lately experienced. For this purpose, the greatest diligence was used in fortifying the town and harbour: some foreign engineers were procured to superintend the works; and every inhabitant dedicated two days in the week to their construction.

During these transactions at Boston, the blockade of Quebec was continued under great difficulties by Arnold. Reinforcements arrived slowly, and the Canadians, by no means remarkable for constancy, were seen to waver. Besides, the succours that were sent suffered incredible hardships in their march, and the vigilance of general Carleton baffled every effort of fraud, force, or surprise. But as all supplies from the country were cut off, the garrison and inhabitants experienced many distresses; and as the season approached, when supplies from England were confidently expected, the Americans grew more active in their operations. They again renewed the siege, erected batteries, and made several attempts by bombs and fire-ships to burn the vessels in the harbour. Though these attempts failed, they were boldly conducted; and the provincials were once drawn up, with scaling ladders, and every thing necessary for an assault, in order to take advantage of the confusion which they hoped the fire would produce. They were even so fortunate as to burn great part of the suburbs, and to disperse a party of Canadians, assembled by Mr. Beaujeu, in order to relieve the town. These slight successes, however, did not advance the main enterprise: the city itself continued impregnable; and as all hopes of taking it, either by storm or regular siege, daily decreased, the spirits of the provincials began to fail.

March 25.

While things were in this situation, the unexpected sight of some ships of war, which had forced their way through the ice before the passage was deemed practicable, with succours for the garrison from England, threw the besiegers into the utmost consternation; and that consternation was increased, by the ships cutting off all communication between the provincial forces on the different sides of the river. General Carleton was too active, and too well versed in military affairs, to lose any time in improving the favourable opportunity which fortune had afforded him. He immediately marched out at the head of the garrison, supported

May 6.

ported by the marines, and a small detachment of land forces which had arrived in the ships of war, to the attack of the rebel camp. There he found every thing in the utmost confusion: they had not even covered themselves with an entrenchment; and having already begun a retreat, they fled on all sides, abandoning their artillery, military stores, scaling ladders, and every other encumbrance. The flight was, indeed, so precipitate as scarcely to admit of any execution. Thus was the mixed siege and blockade of Quebec raised, after a continuance of about five months; and thus was Canada preserved by a fortitude and constancy in the governor and garrison, which will ever be remembered with sincere applause.

The governor shewed himself worthy of his success, by an act which immediately succeeded it, and which does great honour to his humanity. A number of the sick and wounded provincials lay scattered about, and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greatest danger of perishing under the complicated pressure of want, fear, and disease. In order to prevent this melancholy consequence, he issued a proclamation, commanding the proper officers to find out those unhappy persons, and to afford them all necessary relief and assistance at the public expence; whilst, to render the benefit complete, and to prevent obstinacy or apprehension from marring its effect, he assured them, that as soon as they were recovered, they should have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.

The force in Canada was soon increased. Towards the end of May several regiments from Ireland, one from England, another from general Howe, together with the Brunswick troops, arrived successively at Quebec; so that the army in that province, when completed, was estimated at about thirteen thousand men. The general rendezvous was at Trois Rivières; which, as we have frequently had occasion to observe, lies half way between Quebec and Montreal, and at the computed distance of about ninety miles from each. Meantime the provincials continued their retreat till they reached the banks of the river Sorel, where they joined some of the reinforcements which had not been able to proceed farther to their assistance. But their spirit was now broken and debilitated; and to complete their misfortunes, the small pox, that scourge of the New World, had spread through all their quarters. These discouraging circumstances, however, were not sufficient to damp the ardour of their leaders. A daring, and not ill-laid plan was formed for the surprisè of the royal army; and which needed only to be crowned with success, to be ranked among the most heroic military enterprises.

The British and Brunswick forces were at this time much separated. A considerable body was stationed at Trois Rivières, under the command of brigadier-general Frazer; another, under the command of brigadier Nesbit, lay near them on board the transports; and a greater than either, along with the generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and the German general Reidesel, were in several divisions by land and water, on the way from Quebec. The distance from the Sorel to Trois Rivières is about fifty miles; and several armed vessels and transports full

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full of troops, which had got up higher than that place, lay directly in the way. In the face of all these difficulties, a body of about two thousand five hundred men, under the command of a major-general Thompson, embarked at the influx of the Sorel in fifty boats; and coasting the south-side of what is called the Lake of St. Peter, where the St. Lawrence spreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet; whence they fell down the river by night, and stood to the other side, with an intention of surprizing the forces under general Frazer. But though they passed the armed vessels without observation, they missed their time by about an hour; a circumstance which occasioned their being discovered, and the alarm given at their landing. They afterwards got into bad grounds, and were involved in many other difficulties, which threw them into confusion. In this state of disorder, they found general Frazer's detachment ready to receive them; and while thus engaged in front, brigadier Nesbit, whose transports lay higher up the river, landed his troops, full in their back. No hopes of safety were left, except in a retreat, the accomplishment of which was very hazardous. This however they attempted, and were driven for some miles through a deep swamp, which they traversed with inconceivable toil, exposed to constant danger, and enduring every degree of distress. At length the British troops grew tired of the pursuit, and the woods afforded a desirable shelter to the provincials. The first and second in command, with about two hundred others, were taken prisoners.

June 8.

This was the last appearance of vigour shewn by the provincials in Canada. The whole royal army having united at Trois Rivieres, pushed forward by land and water with great expedition. When they arrived at the Sorel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place only a few hours before; that they had dismantled the batteries erected to defend the entrance into the river, and carried off their artillery and stores. A strong column was there lauded under the command of general Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorel to St. John's, while the remainder of the fleet and army sailed up the St. Lawrence to Longueil; the place of passage from the island of Montreal to La Prairie, on the continent. Here they discovered, that the rebels had abandoned the city and island of Montreal on the preceding evening. The army was immediately landed on the continent; and marching by La Prairie, crossed the peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorel, in order to join general Burgoyne at St. John's, where it was expected the provincials would make a vigorous stand.

June 14.

Meantime that general pursued his march along the Sorel without intermission, but with the caution necessary in a country recently occupied by the enemy, and where their last, and most desperate efforts were likely to be made. This caution, however, proved to be unnecessary. When general Burgoyne arrived at St. John's, he found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing destroyed that could not be carried away. The provincials acted in the same manner at Chamblee, and burnt such vessels as they were not able to drag up the currents, in their way to Lake Champlain, where they immediately embarked for Crown Point. Thus was an end happily put to the war in Canada: but the pleasure which that success afford-

June 18.

ed was considerably abated, by the restraint which was laid upon the farther operation of our forces in that quarter, till such time as we could acquire the command of the Lakes; and the operations in other quarters left no room for triumph.

CHAP. IV.
A. D. 1770

The necessity under which we have seen governor Martin reduced, of taking refuge on board a ship of war in Cape Fear river, did not damp his ardour in the public service, nor restrain his attempts to reduce the province of North Carolina to obedience. His endeavours were farther animated by a confidence of success, in consequence of the information he had, that a squadron of men of war and transports with seven regiments under the command of Sir Peter Parker and lord Cornwallis, were to depart from Ireland, on an expedition to the southern provinces, in the beginning of the year; and that North Carolina was their first, if not principal object. He likewise knew that general Clinton, with a small detachment, was on his way from Boston to meet them at Cape Fear. Besides, the connection he had formed with the back settlers and Highland emigrants, who were chiefly attached to the royal cause, seemed to insure the reduction of the insurgents, even independent of the expected force. The Highlanders were considered as naturally warlike, and the back-settlers as much bolder, hardier, and better accustomed to arms, than those who had been bred to more regular habits of industry, and who lived in less exposed parts of the country.

Governor Martin sent several commissions to these people for the raising and commanding of regiments, and impowered a gentleman of the name of M'Donald, to act as their general. He also sent them a proclamation, commanding all persons, on their allegiance, to repair to the royal standard, which was erected by M'Donald about the middle of February. On the first advice of their assembling at a place called Cross Creek, a brigadier general Moore instantly marched at the head of the provincial regiment which he commanded, together with such a body of the militia as he could suddenly collect, and some field pieces, within a few miles of them. He took possession of an important post called Rock-fish Bridge; and, as he was much inferior in strength to the loyalists, he immediately fortified it. Before Moore had been many days in this station, and while he was hourly expecting succours, M'Donald approached at the head of his army; sent a letter to him inclosing the governor's proclamation, and recommending to him and his party to join the king's standard by a given hour next day, otherwise they must expect to be considered as enemies, and treated accordingly. This was an embarrassing summons; but as Moore knew that the provincial forces were marching to his assistance from all quarters, he artfully protracted the negotiation, in hopes not only of saving his party, but that the loyalists might be surrounded, and obliged to lay down their arms.

Feb. 15.

M'Donald at length perceived his danger of being inclosed, as well as the snare that had been laid for him, and abruptly quitting his ground, endeavoured with much dexterity, by forced marches, the unexpected passing of rivers, and the greatest celerity of movement, to disengage himself. The provincial parties were, however, so close in the pursuit, and so alert in cutting the country and

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feizing the passés, that he found himself under the necessity of engaging a colonel Castwell, who with a body of militia and minute men, had taken possession of a place called Moore's Creek Bridge, where they had thrown up an entrenchment. The emigrants began the attack with great fury; but McCleod, the second in command being killed at the first onset, with several more of their bravest officers and men, they suddenly lost all heart, and fled with the utmost precipitation. McDonald, and almost all their leaders, were taken prisoners, and the party was totally broken and dispersed.

This victory was matter of great exultation and triumph to the provincials, and an irreparable misfortune to the royal cause. It appears that the grand object of the loyalists was, to bring governor Martin, with lord William Campbell, and general Clinton, who had by this time joined them, into the interior country; which they judged would be the means of uniting all the back settlers of the southern colonies in the support of government; of bringing forward the Indians, and of encouraging the well affected to shew themselves in all places: and if the zeal of those people could have been kept dormant, till the arrival of the troops from Ireland, it seems more than probable that the southern colonies would have felt considerably the impression of this party. But now their force and spirit were so entirely broken, their principal leaders being sent to different prisons, and the rest stripped of their arms, and watched with all the vigilance of jealousy, that no future effort could be reasonably expected from them.

Meanwhile lord Dunmore, with his fleet of fugitives, continued on the coasts or in the rivers of Virginia; and as every place was now strictly guarded, those unhappy people, who had put themselves under his protection, endured great hardships. The heat of the weather, the badness and scarcity of water and provisions, with the closeness of the small vessels in which they were crowded, produced by degrees that malignant and infectious distemper, known by the name of the Gaol Fever. This dreadful disorder made prodigious havoc among them, but was particularly fatal to the negroes, most of whom it swept away; and after various adventures, in which the survivors were chased from place to place, and from island to island, by the Virginian rebels, several of the vessels were driven on shore in a gale of wind, and many of the wretched fugitives became captives to their own countrymen. At length, every place being shut against, and hostile to the remainder, and neither water nor provisions to be obtained, even at the expence of blood, it was found necessary, towards the beginning of August, to burn the smaller and less valuable vessels, and to send the rest, amounting to between forty and fifty sail, with the miserable exiles, to seek shelter and retreat in Florida, Bermudas, and the West Indies.

Nor were the attempts of government more successful in any of the southern provinces. Sir Peter Parker's squadron, from an unexpected delay in Ireland, and bad weather afterwards, did not arrive before the beginning of May at Cape Fear; where it was detained, by various causes, till the end of the month. There the commodore and lord Cornwallis found general Clinton, who had already been at New York; who had thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had

seen lord Dunmore; and finding nothing could be effected at either place, with his small force, had come thither to wait for them. The season of the year was now much against the operations of the troops in the southern colonies. The excessive heat had rendered them sickly even at Cape Fear, notwithstanding the plenty of refreshments which they procured, and the little fatigue they had there to sustain: but something must be attempted; and as Charles Town, the capital of South Carolina, was within the line of Sir Peter Parker and lord Cornwallis's instructions, it was determined to attempt the reduction of that place.

The fleet accordingly anchored in the beginning of June, off Charles Town bar, where they were joined, before they proceeded to action, by the Experiment man of war. The naval force then consisted of two fifty gun ships, three frigates of twenty eight guns each, one of twenty, a hired armed ship of twenty-two, a small sloop of war, an armed schooner, and the Thunder bomb ketch. The land forces were commanded by general Clinton, lord Cornwallis, and brigadier general Vaughan. The first object of the armament after passing the bar, in which the two fifty gun ships, the Bristol and Experiment, found some difficulty, was the attack of a fort lately erected upon the southern point of Sullivan's Island. This fort commanded the passage to Charles Town, which lies about six miles farther West; and notwithstanding its late construction, was justly considered as the key of that harbour.

The troops were landed on Long Island, which lies nearer the bar, and to the eastward of Sullivan's Island; from which it is separated only by some shoals, and a creek called the Breach, deemed passable at low water. The rebels had posted some forces, with a few pieces of cannon towards the north-eastern extremity of Sullivan's Island, at the distance of about two miles from the fort, where they threw up works, to prevent the passage of the royal army over the Breach. General Lee was encamped with a considerable army on the continent, at the back and to the northward of the island, with which he held a communication open by a bridge of boats*; and could by that means, at any time, march the whole or any part of his army, to support that body which was opposed to the passage of the British forces from Long Island. The soil of the latter is a naked burning sand, where the troops suffered greatly from their exposure to the intense heat of the sun; and both the fleet and army were much distressed through the badness of the water, which is every where found brackish on the sea coasts of South Caro-

* It was truly remarkable, that at the time general Clinton sailed from Boston, general Lee, at the head of a strong detachment from the army before that place, immediately set out to secure New York against the attempt which it was supposed the British general would make upon it. Having succeeded in that point, he repaired to Virginia, where general Clinton on his arrival could not fail to be surpris'd at finding Lee in possession of the country, and in the same state of preparation he had left him at New York. On general Clinton's departure for Cape Fear, Lee once more traversed the continent with the utmost expedition to secure North Carolina; and at length, on the further progress of the fleet and army to the southward, Lee again proceeded with equal celerity to the defence of Charles Town.

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lina. Nor were they in a much better condition, with respect either to the quantity or the quality of their provisions.

June 28.

Notwithstanding the dispatch which these inconveniences rendered necessary, such delays occurred in carrying the projected enterprise into execution, that it was near the end of June before the attack upon Sullivan's island was made; so that the enemy had full three weeks to prepare for their defence, after the armament appeared. That interval they spent in completing their works, at which they laboured with incredible assiduity. The event was, that our ships failed to make any considerable impression upon the fort*, and were obliged to withdraw, after a hot and bloody attack of near ten hours. This failure was partly occasioned by the strange unskilfulness of the pilot, who entangled three of the frigates in the shoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all stuck fast; and though two of them were afterwards got off, they were then in no condition, and too late to execute the intended service. That service was to enfilade the works of the fort, and to cut off, if possible, the communication between the island and the continent. In consequence of this misfortune, the garrison was not only frequently reinforced, but the whole fire of the fort fell upon the two fifty-gun ships, and the two frigates that lay before it. They suffered accordingly: they were torn almost to pieces, and the slaughter was dreadful†. Never did British valour shine more conspicuous, nor did our marine ever sustain a more rude encounter in any engagement of the same nature‡.

During this obstinate conflict, the seamen looked frequently and impatiently to the eastward, still expecting to see the land forces advance from Long Island, drive the rebels from their entrenchments, and march up to second the attack upon the fort. In these hopes, however, they were grievously disappointed: the army never moved. Various causes have been assigned for this inaction§; but the truth seems to be, that the post which the rebels occupied at the end of Sullivan's Island, was in so strong a state of defence, the approaches on our side so disadvantageous, and Lee's force so great, and in such readiness to engage, that general Clinton

* The fortifications were composed of palm-trees and earth: the merlons were of an unusual thickness, and their lowness preserved them in a great degree from the weight of our shot.

† The *Bristol*, the commodore's ship, had an hundred and eleven, and the *Experiment* seventy-nine men killed and wounded. The two frigates engaged, the *Active* and the *Solbay*, though no less emulous in the discharge of their duty, suff' red less in proportion.

‡ It is said, that the quarter-deck of the *Bristol* was at one time cleared of every person but the commodore, who stood alone, a spectacle of firmness and intrepidity which have seldom been equalled, never exceeded. The others on that deck were either killed or carried down to have their wound dressed. Nor did captain Scott of the *Experiment* miss his share of danger or glory: who besides the loss of his arm, received a variety of other wounds: nor the gallant captain Morris, who with a noble obliquity disdained to quit his station, after he was dangerously wounded, till he received the fatal shot.

§ The *Gazette* says, that the king's forces were stopp'd by an impracticable depth of water, where they expected to have pass'd nearly dry-shod; but to suppose that the generals, and the officers under their command, should have been nineteen days in that small island, without ever examining, until the very moment of action, the nature of the only passage by which they could fulfil the purpose of their landing, or answer the ends for which they were embark'd in the expedition,

Clinton would have run the most manifest and inexcusable risk of the loss of his army, if he had ventured upon the attack; or at least, that the danger was too great for prudence to hazard. The action continued, until the darkness of night compelled that cessation, which the eagerness of the assailants, worn out as they were with fatigue, and weakened with loss, was still unwilling to accept. Then Sir Peter Parker, after every effort of which a brave man is capable, finding that all hope of success was at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly spent, between nine and ten in the evening, withdrew his shattered vessels from the scene of action. Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received great and deserved applause from his countrymen, for that courage and conduct which were so conspicuous in his gallant defence of it. The garrison also received their share of praise, and a sergeant was publicly distinguished by the present of a sword from the president of the colony, in consideration of his singular bravery.

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During these transactions, the Congress took an opportunity of gathering the general sense of the people, and of preparing their minds for that declaration of independency, which had been the primary object of the principal delegates, and which was now soon to be avowed, by a kind of circular manifesto to the several colonies, stating the causes which rendered it necessary, that all authority under the sovereign should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government taken into their own hands. In support of this position, they instanced the Prohibitory Act, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petition for redress of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the powers of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their destruction.

Pennsylvania and Maryland were the only colonies, that formally opposed the establishment of a new government, and the declaration of independency. A majority in the assembly of the former, though eager for a redress of grievances, regarded with horror every idea of a total separation from the parent-state. But although they knew that great numbers in the province held similar sentiments, they were also sensible, that the more violent party formed a very numerous and powerful body; that they had already taken fire at their hesitation, and considered them rather as secret enemies than lukewarm friends. Their situation was besides exposed to many difficulties. If they broke the union of the colonies, and thereby forfeited the assistance and protection of the other provinces, they had no certainty of obtaining a redress of those supposed grievances, which had made them join the association; yet they were not willing to give up all hope, nor to break off all possibility of accommodation.

dition, would imply a want of prudence and military circumspection, of which their character leaves no room to accuse them. It must however be acknowledged, that the account which we have given is by no means free from difficulties: for in the same space of time, the generals might also be supposed to have acquired a competent knowledge of the strength of the enemy; and if convinced of their superior force, the ships ought not to have been allowed, much less commanded to attack the fort, as even the destruction of that could serve little purpose, unless a superiority could be maintained on land, and could scarcely be hoped for without a co-operation, without the united efforts of the army and navy.

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Thus critically circumstanced, the majority of the assembly of Pennsylvania declared, that the question of independency was a matter of too great importance for them to decide finally upon; and that they would therefore refer it to their constituents, together with the arguments which had been used on both sides of the question. It was manifestly a step from which it would not be easy to retreat. On one hand the separation from Great Britain, even if it could be finally accomplished, must be attended with many inconveniences. The protection of the great parent-state, and the utility of the power of a common sovereign, to balance so many separate and perhaps discordant commonwealths, besides the many political and commercial advantages derived from the old union, must be evident to every sober and discerning person. On the other hand, it was insisted, that their liberty was their first good, and without which all the other advantages would be of no value: that liberty, it was also said, had been violated by many late acts; and as the appeal was now made to the people, ever tremblingly alive to present inconveniences, and blind to distant consequences, the majority of the people resolved, That the delegates should agree to the determination of the Congress. This decision, however, occasioned much dissention in the province, where a very considerable party still retain their attachment to the British government.

In Maryland, the delegates were instructed by a majority of seven counties to four, to oppose the question of independency in the Congress. This they accordingly did; and having given their votes, withdrew totally from that assembly: but the horror of being secluded and abandoned, together with the reproaches of the other colonies, and perhaps the dread of their resentment, soon gave a new turn to the conduct, if not to the sentiments of the province. The delegates were again instructed to return to the Congress, and to act there as they thought best for the interest of their country. This completed the union of the colonies in the fatal measure of independency; which was accordingly declared on the fourth day of July, in words to the following effect: "We the representatives of the *United States of America*, (the name which the confederacy now took) in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and ought to be *free and independent States*, and that they are absolved from all *allegiance to the British crown*, and that all *political connection* between them and the *States of Great Britain* is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as *free and independent States*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do: — and for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour *."

* This declaration was introduced by a long list of injuries, and supposed usurpations, in a most intemperate style, and without any adequate mixture of reasoning.

While the Americans were adopting this bold and desperate measure, government was concerting the means of their entire subjugation, if they should decline to accept of the terms offered by parliament. For this purpose it was determined to carry the war into New York and the neighbouring provinces, as being the most convenient in many respects for such operations; and with a view, that if general Clinton could penetrate to Hudson's or the great North river, the royal army might thereby be enabled to cut off all communication between the northern and southern colonies, and in a short time, it was hoped, finally to terminate the contest. The attainment of these important objects, and the conduct of the grand armament necessary to that end, were committed to admiral lord Howe and his brother the general; men who stood high in the public favour, and who besides being commanders in chief by sea and land, were appointed commissioners under the late act of parliament, for restoring peace, and for granting pardon to such, either colonies or individuals, as should deserve the royal mercy. The force with which they were furnished was answerable to the greatness of the enterprise, and such as no part of the New World had ever seen before. Nay the army was perhaps never exceeded by any in Europe of an equal number, whether considered with respect to the excellency of the troops, the abundant stock of all kind of military stores and warlike materials, or the goodness and quantity of artillery of every sort with which it was provided: nor was the number itself inadequate to the greatest efforts. It consisted of above twenty thousand British troops, and thirteen thousand Hessians and Waldeckers, supported by a large fleet, particularly well adapted to the nature of the service.

As the situation of the army at Halifax was by no means commodious, general Howe, without waiting for his brother or the expected reinforcements, left that place with admiral Shuldham and the fleet and army, about the 10th of June, and arrived towards the end of the month at Sandy Hook; a point of land that stands at the entrance into that confluence of sounds, roads, creeks, and bays, which are formed by New York island, Staten, and Long Island, the continent on each side, with the Rariton, and Hudson's river. The general found every accessible part of the island of New York strongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by little less than an army. The extent of Long Island did not admit of its being so strongly fortified or so well guarded: it was however in a powerful state of defence, as it well deserved, being in itself almost equivalent to the maintenance of an army. An encampment of considerable force was formed on the end next New York, and several works were thrown up on the most accessible parts of the coast, as well as at the strongest internal passes. Staten Island, being of less value, was less attended to. The general Howe landed without opposition, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who had been persecuted on account of their loyalty; and the troops being cantoned in the villages, received plenty of those refreshments of which they stood so much in need.

July 3.

At this place the general was met by governor Tryon of New York, with several well affected gentlemen, who had taken refuge together on
board

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board a ship at Sandy Hook, and who gave him a full account of the state and disposition of the province, as well as of the strength of the enemy. He had also the satisfaction of being joined by about sixty persons from New Jersey, who came to take arms in the royal cause, and about two hundred of the militia of the island were embodied for the same purpose; which afforded the pleasing prospect, that when the army was in force to march into the country and protect the loyalists, such numbers would join the royal standard, as would contribute not a little to bring the unhappy contest to a speedy conclusion.

July 14.

During this favourable aspect of things, lord Howe arrived at Staten Island, having reached Halifax about a fortnight after his brother's departure. His first act was to send on shore, by a flag, a circular letter to the several late governors of the colonies, desiring that they would publish as generally as possible, a declaration which accompanied the letter. In that piece, he informed the people of the powers with which his brother and he were endowed under the late act of parliament, of granting general or particular pardons to all those, who in the tumult and disaster of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour; as well as of declaring any colony, province, county, town, port, district, or place to be at peace with his majesty, and to restore them to their former privileges. It also added, that a due regard would be had to the services of those who should contribute to the restoration of public tranquillity.—These writings being immediately forwarded by general Washington to the Congress, were published by that body in the news-papers, with a preface or comment of their own, in the form of a resolution; setting forth, that the people of the United States would now perceive with what terms the court of Great Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the most moderate minded could not fail to be convinced, from the evidence before them, that the valour of America alone could save its liberties.

About the same time, different flags were sent ashore by lord Howe, accompanied by some of his officers, with a letter directed to George Washington, esq; which that commander refused to receive, as not being addressed with the title, and in the form due to the rank which he held under the United States. This conduct was highly applauded by the Congress, in a public resolution passed for that purpose, and in which they directed, That for the future, none of their commanders should receive any letter or message from the enemy, but such as should be directed to them in the characters which they respectively sustained. At length adjutant-general Paterfon was sent to New York, by general Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. The provincial general received him with great politeness, but absolutely refused to take notice of any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station; and very sensibly observed, that a letter directed to a person in a public character should have some description or indication of it. The *et ceteras*, he owned "implied every thing," as was insisted by the British officer, but they also implied any thing. A long conference ensued on the subject of prisoners;

but when the adjutant observed, that the commissioners were armed with great powers, and that he himself was happy in making the first advance towards an accommodation, Washington replied, that from what appeared their powers were only to grant pardons, and that those who had committed no crime needed no pardon.

The people of North America, however, were by no means of one mind in regard to the opposition to government, even after the declaration of independency. A short time before the arrival of the fleet, plots in favour of the royal cause were discovered both in New York and Albany, which were productive of much trouble. Several executions took place; great numbers were confined; and many abandoning their houses under the operations of their fears, were pursued as outlaws, and enemies to their country; while the estates of those against whom the slightest proof was found, were confiscated*. In the meantime, new forms of government were established in all those colonies, which deemed the former insufficient for their present situation, and the others made the necessary alterations, in order to adapt their old forms to the new system. This confidence and boldness in the midst of so dangerous a struggle, and at the eve of so formidable an invasion, shewed either great presumption, a knowledge of great internal strength, or a certainty of foreign support. But that support could not be yielded immediately; and as all hopes of accommodation seemed to be now at an end, and all the forces were arrived, except about one half of the Hessians, who were on their way, it was determined to make an attack upon Long Island; as being more practicable, and therefore better fitted for the first essay, than New York; as affording a greater scope for the display of military skill and experience, and as abounding with those supplies which so great a body of men as were now assembled, by sea and land, necessarily demanded.

Proper measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent, the army was accordingly landed, without opposition, near Utrecht and Gravesend on the south-west end of the island, and not far from the Narrows, where it approaches close to Staten Island. General Putnam was then encamped with a strong force at Brookland, or Brooklyn, a few miles distant from the place of landing, on the north coast, where his works covered the breadth of a small peninsula; having what is called the East River, which separated him from New York, on his left; and a marsh, which extends to Gowanus Cove, on his right, with the Bay and Governor's Island to his back. The armies were separated by a range of hills covered with wood, which intersects the country from East to West, and are in that part called the Heights of Guana. The direct road to the rebel camp, lay through a village named Flat Bush, where the hills commence, and near which was one of the most important passes. General Putnam had detached a considerable part of his army to occupy the woody hills and defend the passes; and if the officers upon this service had been skilful and vigilant, they could not have been easily forced.

August 22

* Nothing exhibits so strong a contrast, or is in the end so likely to produce a sincere reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country, as the lenity of the British government, and the severity of the Congress, during the present contest.

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Meantime lord Cornwallis pushed on with the reserve, and some other troops to Flat Bush; where finding the enemy in possession of the pass, he complied with his orders in making no attempt upon it. When the whole army was landed, the Hessians, under general Heister, composed the center at Flat Bush; major general Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coast; and the principal division, containing by much the greater part of the British forces, under the command of general Clinton, lord Percy, and lord Cornwallis, turned short to the right, and approached the opposite coast at Flat Land. Every thing being thus prepared for forcing the hills and passes, and advancing towards the enemy's lines, general Clinton, at the head of the van of the army, supported by lord Cornwallis, began to move from Flat Land, on the evening of the 26th, as soon as it was dark; and passing through that part of the country called New Lots towards Bedford, seized upon a pass of the utmost importance, which had been left unguarded. The main body of the army, under lord Percy, followed the van at a moderate distance; and the way being thus happily open, the whole army passed the hills without noise or impediment, and descended, by the town of Bedford, into the level country which lay between them and Putnam's lines. The engagement was begun early in the morning by the Hessians at Flat Bush, and by general Grant on the coast; and a warm cannonade, with a brisk fire of small arms, was firmly supported on both sides for some hours. At the same time, the ships made several motions on the left, and attacked a battery on Red Hook; not only to distract the right of the enemy, who were engaged with general Grant, but to call off their attention totally from the left and rear, where all their danger lay. Those who opposed the Hessians in the left and centre, were first apprised of the march of the British army, and of the ruin with which they were threatened. They accordingly retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order, in hopes of recovering their camp; but they soon found themselves intercepted by the king's troops, who furiously attacked them, and drove them back to the woods. There they again met with the Hessians, and were alternately chased and intercepted by the light infantry and dragoons. In these desperate circumstances, some of the Provincial regiments forced their way to the lines, through all the difficulties and dangers that opposed and encompassed them; others, perhaps not less brave, perished in the attempt; some kept the woods, and escaped, and some fled to them without finding shelter: while such as did not seek that refuge, and by much the greater number, were obliged to throw themselves into the marsh at Gowan's Cove, where many were drowned, and many perished miserably in the mud. In a word, the victory was complete, and the slaughter very considerable, as well as the destruction by other means besides the weapons of war.

The loss of the Provincials is said to have exceeded three thousand men, including a thousand that were taken prisoners: almost a whole regiment from Maryland, consisting entirely of young men of the best families in the province, was cut to pieces. But the loss even of so many brave men, was by no means their greatest misfortune: this defeat broke their spirit, and deprived them of that confidence in their own prowess, which is so essential to victory. New soldiers

diers in the height of health, and in all the pride of bodily strength, but imperfectly acquainted with danger, and strangers to the pain and vexation of wounds, are often more daring and adventurous than veterans; and if skilfully conducted to action in that temper, so as not to perceive their inferiority in discipline, before they are hotly engaged, will often perform wonders. But if, as in the present instance, they find courage and strength so much overbalanced by skill as to be totally useless, and all their most vigorous efforts thrown away, they are induced to ascribe to discipline an irresistible power which it does not possess, and to abandon all confidence in themselves, because they have been vanquished by means which they cannot comprehend. Little doubt can therefore be entertained, that if the British troops, whose valour shone remarkably on this occasion, and with whom the Hessians seemed emulously to contend for the palm of glory, had been instantly led, as their beating hearts eagerly demanded, to the attack of the rebel camp, that during the first impressions of terror, they would have carried it sword in hand, and in one day have decided the contest between the colonies and the mother-country. Their ardour was, however, repressed by the caution of general Howe; whose courage has never been called in question, and whose military talents are allowed to be considerable; but who in this, as in every other engagement in America, seems to have been diffident of his force, to have wanted confidence in his own generalship, and to have been filled with too awful apprehensions of the enemy's power of resistance, or to have been induced by an unaccountable lenity to check the career of victory, and put a stop to the effusion of blood.

The loss of British and Hessian troops was too trifling, it was thought, to inspire such excessive caution, not above sixty men being killed in the action; while, besides the enemy's great loss in officers and private men slain, three of their commanders, namely, major general Sullivan, with the brigadiers Stirling and Udell, and ten other field officers, were among the prisoners. Nor was the general's subsequent conduct, or at least the events which he was supposed to govern, calculated to efface the dissatisfaction of men of more ardent tempers; for although the victorious army encamped in the front of the enemy's works on the evening of the battle, and broke ground next night at the distance of only six hundred yards from a redoubt on their left, the rebels made their retreat undiscovered the night following, by an astonishing movement, or an extraordinary instance of negligence on our part, or both, without the loss of a man, and with the greater part of their artillery, and all their stores.

This masterly retreat was conducted by general Washington; who having passed over from New York during the engagement, but when it was too late to give a new turn to affairs, set his invention at work to preserve the remainder of the provincial army on Long Island. He knew that the superior power of the royal artillery would soon silence their batteries; and if their lines were forced, which in their comparatively weak and dejected state there was little hope of preventing, should such an attempt be made, they must all be killed or taken. If he endeavoured to strengthen them by reinforcements from New York, he hazarded the

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the loss of that island and capital, which were already menaced on every side, and kept in continual alarm by the fleet. A danger no less imminent than either of the former was still behind: the ships of war waited only for a fair wind to enter and take possession of the East River, which would totally cut off all communication between New York and Long Island. In such circumstances, no hope remained to the Provincials but in a retreat; and even that appeared a matter of no small difficulty and danger, under the eye of so powerful an army, flushed with success, and close to their works. This delicate manœuvre was however undertaken, and carried into execution with great ability by general Washington, during the night of the twenty-ninth of August; when the troops were withdrawn from the camp and their different works, and with their baggage, stores, and part of their artillery, were conveyed to the water-side, embarked, and passed over a long ferry to New York, with such wonderful silence and order, that the British army did not perceive the least motion; and was surprised in the morning, at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the rear-guard, or as the Provincials say, a party that had returned to carry off some stores that were left behind, in their boats, and out of danger.

Those ardent spirits who had blamed general Howe for not instantly attacking the rebel camp, and still more for lying three days before it, without attempting to force it, though Washington and the whole provincial army must have been taken or destroyed in consequence of such a measure, now congratulated themselves on their foresight, and did not scruple to say, that the general was either shamefully diffident of the force with which he was furnished, of his own ability to conduct it, or was unwilling to finish the war by violent means*. In this opinion they were confirmed, by the negotiation entered into between the commissioners and the Congress, through the agency of the captive general Sullivan; which came to nothing, as might have been foreseen by the most ordinary capacity †, and afforded the rebels fifteen days to recover themselves from their fright.

* General Howe has also been blamed by another set of men, who carry their views farther back, and affirm that, instead of attacking Long Island, he ought to have gone up the North River, and landed above New York; by which means Washington would have been obliged to fight him on very unequal terms, or to have precipitately abandoned that city, with the loss of all the stores of the rebel army, while the fleet might have effectually cut off the communication with the forces on Long Island, which must have surrendered of course.

† The Congress had already issued their declaration of independency: if they had suffered a recent loss, they had also escaped a great danger; and it could not be expected that they would submit, that they would reverse all their resolutions, and abandon all their hopes, till their strength was finally broken. They therefore replied by Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Dr. Rutledge, who had been appointed as a committee to consider of the proposals of the commissioners, That it did not appear to them that lord and general Howe's commission contained any authority of importance except what was contained in the act of parliament; for as to the power set forth by the commissioners of "inquiring into the state of America," they did not even think any expectation from the effect of such power would have been a sufficient ground for negotiation, had America still continued in her state of dependence.

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Sept. 15.

All this time the British army lay inactive in Long Island; but every hope or pretence for negotiation being now at an end, it only remained to the commissioners to make amends for their failure in their civil character, by the vigour of their military operations. It was accordingly resolved to make a descent upon the island of New York; and every thing being at length prepared for that purpose, several movements were made by the ships of war in the North River, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that side of the island. Other parts seemed equally threatened; and the taking of the island of Montresor, and erecting a battery upon it, in order to silence one which the provincials had at Horens's Hook, commanding the passage of Hell Gate, appeared to indicate a design of landing in that part. While the rebels were held in this state of apprehension and uncertainty, the first division of the royal army, under the command of general Clinton, with lord Cornwallis, major-general Vaughan, brigadier-general Leslie, and the Hessian colonel Donop, embarked at the head of New Town Bay, which runs pretty deep into Long Island, and where they were entirely out of the enemy's view. Being covered, as soon as they entered the river or channel, by two forty-gun ships, and three frigates, under the command of commodore Hotham, they proceeded to Kepp's Bay, about three miles north of the city of New York. There a descent being little expected, the preparations for defence were not so great as at some other places. The fortifications, however, were not inconsiderable, nor destitute of troops; but the fire from the ships was so incessant, and so well directed, that the works were soon abandoned, and the army landed without opposition. The rebels instantly evacuated New York, with their other posts in that part of the island, and retired towards the north end, where their principal strength lay. They were obliged to leave their artillery behind, and their military stores; which, however, were no more than sufficient for the immediate defence of the place.

A brigade of the royal army having taken possession of the city of New York, the main body encamped in the evening towards the centre of the island, with the right to Horens's Hook, on the East River, and the left to the North River, near Bloomingdale*; the rebel army occupying the ground, with extensive works, on both sides of King's Bridge, by which their communication with the continent was kept open, and a redoubt with cannon upon the Heights of Harlem, within the island, on the side of the North River. In this situation, in which both armies continued for some time, frequent skirmishes happened; and though the advantage was generally in favour of the king's troops, the apprehensions of the provincials, inspired by their late disaster, began to wear away. Meantime an attempt was made by some rebel incendiaries, (who had probably stayed behind for that purpose) to destroy New York by fire, in order to prevent its being of any service to the conquerors. About one third of the city was reduced to ashes; and nothing less than the courage and activity of the troops, as well as of the

Sept. 20.

* By this disposition they occupied the whole extent of the island, between the rivers; for although about sixteen miles in length, it is little more than one in breadth.

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 A. D. 1775. from the flames.

October 12. General Howe perceiving (after a deliberation and survey of upwards of three weeks) that no attempt could be made on the enemy on the side of New York, which would not be attended with great danger, without affording an equal prospect of success, determined at length upon a plan of operation, which would oblige them either to quit their strong post in the neighbourhood of King's Bridge, or render their perseverance in holding it extremely hazardous. With this view, the greater part of the army being embarked in flat boats, and other small craft proper for the service, passed successfully through the dangerous navigation of Hell Gate, (which forms a narrow and difficult communication between the East River and Long Island sound) and landed on Frog's Neck, near the town of West Chester, which lies in that part of the continent belonging to the province of New York, on the side of Connecticut; Earl Percy, with two brigades of British troops, and one of Hessians, being left in the lines near Harlem to cover the city of New York*.

The troops were detained for some days at Frog's Neck, waiting for the arrival of the provisions and stores, and a reinforcement which was drawn from Staten Island. These being come, they proceeded through Pelham's Manor to New Rochelle, which lies on the coast of the sound or channel which separates the continent from Long Island. Here they were joined by the greater part of a regiment of light-horse from Ireland, and by the second division of Hessians, under general Knyphausen, together with a regiment of Waldeckers, which had arrived at New York, since the departure of the army. The immediate object of this formidable force was to cut off the communication between Washington and the eastern colonies; and if that measure did not induce him to hazard an engagement, to inclose him on all sides in his fastnesses on the north end of New York island.

The king's forces were now masters of the lower road to Connecticut and Boston: but in order to gain the upper, it was necessary to advance to the high grounds called the White Plains; a rough, stony, and mountainous tract of country, which is however only part of the ascent to a country still higher, rougher, and more difficult. On the departure of the army for the upper country it was deemed necessary to leave the second division of Hessians at New Rochelle; as well to preserve the communication, as to secure the supplies of provisions and necessaries that were to arrive at that port. In the meantime Washington was not inattentive to the danger of his situation: he saw, that if he kept his post, he would at length be compelled to commit the whole fortune of the war to the hazard of a general engagement; a decision of which he had every reason to apprehend the event, from the inferiority of his real force, and as, in case of a defeat, there would scarce be a possibility of retreat. A grand

* Though this movement was, in some respects, highly judicious, the division under Lord Percy was certainly exposed to great danger from the superior force and consummate abilities of general Washington.



HUGH, Earl PERCY.

movement was therefore made, by which the Provincial army was formed into a line of small, detached, and entrenched camps, which occupied every height and strong ground from Valentine's Hill, not far from King's Bridge, on the right, to the White Plains, and the upper road to Connecticut, on the left. Thus the rebels faced the whole line of march of the king's troops, at a moderate distance; the deep river Bronx covering their front, and the North River on their rear; while the open ground to the latter afforded a secure passage for their stores and baggage to the upper country. A garrison was at the same time left for the protection of Fort Washington, as well as for the security of the works at Harlem and King's Bridge.

In consequence of this unexpected piece of generalship, the British commander found it necessary to proceed with great circumspection. The advance was slow, the march of the army close, the encampments compact: in a word, the most soldier-like caution was preserved by general Howe in his whole progress; but that did not prevent the enemy from sending parties over the Bronx to impede his march, though without effect. The Provincials were routed in every skirmish. Not discouraged however by their losses, on the approach of general Howe to the White Plains, the enemy quitted their detached camps along the Bronx, and joining their left, took a strong ground of encampment before the British forces, on the former. Every thing being now prepared for bringing the rebels to action, the royal army marched early in the morning in two columns towards the White Plains; the right commanded by general Clinton, and the left by general Heister.

October 28.

Before noon all the enemy's advanced parties being driven back to their works by the light infantry and Hessian chasseurs, the British army was formed; with the right upon the road from Mamaroneck, about a mile's distance from the centre, and the left to the Bronx, at about the same distance from the right flank of the Provincial entrenchments. A distinct body of the rebels possessed an advantageous ground which was separated from their right flank by the Bronx, at the same time that the windings of that river covered the detachment in front from the left of the royal army; and as this post would have been of great consequence in attacking that flank of their entrenchments, brigadier-general Leslie, with the second brigade of British troops, and the Hessian grenadiers under colonel Donop, were ordered to dislodge the enemy. Previous to their attack, colonel Ralle, who commanded a brigade of Hessians on the left, had passed the Bronx, and gained a post, which enabled him to annoy the flank of the rebel division, while it was engaged with the other detachment in front. Though the passage of the river was difficult, it was performed with the greatest spirit; and the twenty eighth and thirty-fifth regiments, being the first that passed, formed with the greatest steadiness under the enemy's cannon, on the opposite side. They then ascended a steep hill, in defiance of all opposition; and rushing on the rebels, routed, and drove them from their works. Nor was less alacrity shewn by the rest of the detachment, in supporting these two regiments.

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The gaining of this important post took up a considerable time; which was prolonged by the enemy's still supporting a broken and scattered engagement, in defence of the adjoining walls and hedges. Towards evening the Hessian grenadiers were ordered to advance upon the heights, within cannon shot of the Provincial entrenchments. The second brigade of British troops formed in their rear, and the two Hessian brigades upon the left of the British; but the right and centre of the army did not remove from the ground on which they had formed. In this position the king's troops lay upon their arms during the night, in full expectation of attacking the rebels next morning. It was then however discovered, that the enemy had drawn back their encampment, and greatly strengthened their lines by additional works; so that general Howe judged it necessary to defer the attack, till the arrival of the fourth brigade, and two battalions of the sixth, which had been left with lord Percy at New York, and were now ordered to join the army. On the same evening that the junction was formed, a disposition was made for attacking the enemy the following day: but an extreme wet night and morning, as the general informs us, prevented this design from being carried into execution*; and the rebels prevented any future step being taken for that purpose, by abandoning their camp during the succeeding night. Washington, to whom delay was a sort of victory, and who had not the smallest intention of venturing an engagement, while there was a possibility of avoiding it, took higher ground towards the North Castle district; after having set fire to the town or village of White Plains, as well as to all the forage and houses near the lines.

Sept. 30.

Nov. 2.

The British army next day took possession of the Provincial entrenchments; and general Howe seeing that the enemy could not be enticed to an engagement, and that the nature of the country did not admit of their being forced to it, determined not to lose time in a fruitless pursuit, but to take this opportunity of driving them out of their strong holds in New York Island, an operation which their army could not now possibly prevent. For this purpose, general Knyphausen crossed the country from New Rochelle; and having taken possession of King's Bridge without opposition, entered New York Island, and took his station to the north of Fort Washington, to which the enemy had retired on his approach. This fort lay on the east side of the island, not far from King's Bridge, and almost facing Fort Lee, on the Jersey side of the North River, which these two for-

* General Howe has been much blamed for not attacking the rebels on this occasion; but from some late examinations, before a committee of the House of Commons on that officer's conduct, it should seem unjustly. Though lord Cornwallis, for *political reasons*, thought himself bound to be silent on that head, he pledged his honour to colonel Bute, that if he should assign the cause why the attack was not made, that gentleman would be fully satisfied. "Did not the Hessian troops refuse to attack?" said the colonel. This question was not answered; but the fact did not seem to be disputed. It also appeared in the course of the examination, though not from direct evidence, that an attack was actually begun, and with success, by the grenadiers; and that they were afterwards called off—but for what mysterious reason the general has not informed us, though he certainly ought to declare it in vindication of his character, be the *political* motives for secrecy what they may.

tifications entirely commanded. Though not of sufficient strength to sustain a regular siege, its situation was extremely advantageous, and the approaches difficult.

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Nov. 13.

General Howe having returned slowly with the main army, encamped on the heights of Fordham, at a small distance from King's Bridge, with the North River on his right, and the Bronx on his left. Every thing was now prepared for the attack of Fort Washington; and colonel Magaw, the commander, refusing a summons to surrender, and declaring that he would defend it to the last extremity, a general assault was resolved upon, in order to save the time which must otherwise be lost in regular approaches. The garrison consisted of about three thousand men, and the strong grounds round the fort were covered with lines and works. Four attacks were made nearly at the same time. The first, on the north side, was conducted by general Knyphausen, at the head of two columns of Hessians and Waldeckers; the second on the east, was led by brigadier-general Matthew, at the head of the first and second battalions of light infantry and two battalions of guards, supported by lord Cornwallis with the first and second battalion of grenadiers, and the thirty-third regiment. These troops crossed the East River in flat boats; and as the enemy's works there extended the breadth of the island, redoubts and batteries were erected on the opposite shore, as well to cover the landing of the troops, as to annoy the rebels in those works which were near the water. The third attack, which was chiefly intended as a feint to distract the attention of the enemy, was made by the forty-second regiment under lieutenant colonel Stirling, who embarked in bateaux at a creek on the left of the enemy's lines towards the city of New York; and the fourth was conducted by lord Percy, who assaulted the right flank of the rebel entrenchments with the force under his command in New York Island. All these attacks were supported by a numerous, powerful, and well-served artillery.

The Hessians under general Knyphausen moved forward about noon; but having a thick wood to pass, in which the Provincials were very advantageously posted, it was some time before they could make any progress. Under these difficulties the Hessians behaved with great firmness and bravery, though exposed to the fire of three pieces of cannon, besides a hot discharge of musquetry. Meantime the light infantry landed, beneath a heavy fire, both before and after they had quitted their boats, from a party of the rebels posted behind rocks and trees. From this danger, however, they happily extricated themselves, by clambering up a very steep and ragged mountain, with their usual activity, and dispersing the enemy. The guards, followed by the grenadiers and the thirty-third regiment, landed without any loss.

During these transactions intelligence being received, that lord Percy had carried an advanced work on his side, colonel Stirling was ordered to attempt a landing with the forty-second regiment; and two battalions of the second brigade were sent to support him. This service was performed by the colonel with great gallantry. He proceeded in his boats through a thick fire, with great firmness and perseverance; and forcing his way up a steep height, which was well de-

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fended by a body of the rebels, gained the summit, in spite of all opposition; took an hundred and seventy prisoners; and penetrating across the island, facilitated lord Percy's success against the enemy's lines, which he forced. Meantime colonel Balle, who had led the right column of general Knyphausen's attack, having driven the rebels, after a vigorous resistance, from their strong holds in that quarter, pushed forward to their advanced works, and lodged his column within an hundred yards of the fort. Being soon after joined by general Knyphausen with the left column, which had at length overcome the impediments in the wood, the rebel garrison surrendered prisoners of war. The loss, on either side, was not in any degree proportioned to the warmth, length, and variety of the engagement; nor were the stores in Fort Washington adequate even to the shortest defence.

Nov. 18.

Fort Lee being the next object for the entire command of the North River, lord Cornwallis passed over with a strong body of forces, in order to reduce that place, as well as to make a farther impression in the Jerseys. In his attempt upon the fort he was assisted by a party of seamen from the fleet, who were highly active in dragging the cannon up a rocky and difficult precipice; and had not the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, been accidentally informed of his approach, they must all have been made prisoners. As it was, they had a very narrow escape, leaving all their artillery, stores, provisions, their tents standing, and even the kettles upon the fire. The royal army afterwards over-ran great part of the Jerseys without opposition, the enemy every where placing their safety in flight. At length the troops extended their winter cantonments from Brunswick to the Delaware; and had they possessed any means of passing that river, on their first arrival in its neighbourhood, there remains little doubt, considering the consternation and dismay which then prevailed among the Provincials, but they might easily have made themselves masters of the city of Philadelphia. The rebels had, however, very prudently destroyed, or removed out of the way all the boats and vessels of every kind.

Dec. 8.

During these successes in the Jerseys, general Clinton with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of ships of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attempt upon Rhode Island. In this enterprise they succeeded beyond expectation: the rebels having abandoned the island on their approach, they took possession of it without the loss of a man; at the same time that they blocked up a fleet of privateers in the harbour of Providence on the adjoining continent*. The squadron and troops continued in Rhode Island during the winter, where they had better quarters than any other of the king's forces in America.

The contest with the colonies seemed now drawing towards a conclusion. Hitherto the royal army had succeeded in every attempt, since its first landing at

* These privateers, commonly called the Continental Fleet, were under the command of one Hopkins, who in the month of March had swept Providence, the chief of the Bahama islands, of a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, and had been particularly successful during the summer in taking prizes, among which was the Glasgow frigate.



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Staten Island; while the rebel forces, besides loss by the sword, captivity, and desertion, began to dwindle to a very small number, from the nature of their military engagements. They were only enlisted for a year; and the Provincials, but little accustomed to any kind of restraint, very ill brooked even to long an absence from their families. Accordingly at the expiration of the term, but few were prevailed upon to continue in service. Every thing, in a word, promised some decisive event in favour of the royal arms on the side of New York, as soon as the campaign should be opened, if not the immediate submission of some of the colonies: nor was the prospect less encouraging on the side of Canada.

In order to acquire the command of Lake Champlain, which was necessary, as we have had occasion to observe, to enable general Carleton to proceed to the southward, the most incredible efforts were employed by the officers and men under his command, after the expulsion of the rebels. The task was indeed arduous beyond expression. A fleet of above thirty armed vessels, of different sizes, all bearing cannon, was to be little less than created; for although a few of the largest were reconstructions, the advantage derived from that circumstance depended more upon the use of materials which the country did not afford, than upon any saving of time or lessening of labour. When to this is added, the transporting over land, and afterwards dragging up the *rafts* or currents of St. Therèse and St. John's, thirty long boats, a number of flat-bottomed boats of considerable burden, a gondola weighing thirty tons, with above four hundred bateaux, the whole presents a complexity of labour and difficulty, which to say every thing in one word, appeared sufficient to appal even the spirit of the British seamen. It must be allowed, however, that the labour did not fall solely upon them, though they exceeded themselves on this great and toilsome occasion: the soldiers had their part, and even the peasants and farmers of Canada assisted.

The spirit of the commanders, as well as of the private men, rose in proportion to the difficulties which they had to encounter. The objects in view were great, the glory to be acquired tempting, and the desire of their attainment seemed to lessen or remove obstacles, which to cold or lukewarm speculation would have appeared insuperable. If the Lakes could be recovered, and Albany possessed, before the severity of the winter set in, the northern army would hold a principal share in the honour of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. But with all this ardour and the most unremitting industry, it was not until the month of October, that the fleet was in a condition to seek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The force was very considerable in respect to the place and service; extraordinary, in regard to the little time spent in its formation: and such, as a very few centuries ago, would have been deemed formidable even in the European seas. The ship *Inflexible*, which had been reconstructed at St. John's, whence she sailed in twenty-eight days after laying her keel, and which mounted eighteen twelve pounders; the *Maria* schooner, mounting fourteen six pounders; the *Carleton* schooner, twelve six-pounders; the *Thunderer* radeau, six twenty-four pounders, and six
twelve

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twelve pounders, besides howitzers; the Loyal Convert gondola, seven nine pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried each a brass field piece, from nine to twenty-four pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Four long boats were furnished in the same manner, and twenty four were loaded with provisions.

The armament was conducted by captain Thomas Pringle, and the fleet navigated by above seven hundred prime seamen, of whom two hundred were volunteers from the transports; who after having rivalled those belonging to the ships of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in all the danger of the expedition. The guns were served by a detachment of men and officers belonging to the train of artillery. The enemy's fleet, commanded by general Arnold, was in no degree equal, either with respect to the goodness of the vessels, the number of guns, furniture of war, or weight of metal; for although they were sensible of the necessity of preserving the dominion of the Lakes, and aided in that design by the original force in their hands, with a great advantage in point of time for its increase, they wanted timber, artillery, ship-builders, and all the materials necessary for such an equipment. Their force, however, was not contemptible: it consisted of fifteen armed vessels of different kinds, some of which carried guns of a very great size, particularly the Washington and the Congress galleys; each of which mounted two eighteen-pounders in the bow, two twelve and two smaller guns in the stern, and six six-pounders in the sides. The Royal Savage schooner carried eight six-pounders, and four four-pounders; and the Revenge schooner four six-pounders and four four pounders.

October 11. General Carleton was too full of zeal for the service, as well as too anxious for the event, not to head the British armament. Having accordingly proceeded up the Lake, he discovered the enemy's fleet very advantageously posted under the island of Valicour, and forming a strong line, extending from that island to the West side of the continent. A smart encounter ensued, and was vigorously supported on both sides for some hours; but as the wind was so unfavourable to the royal armament that the gun-boats and the Carleton schooner only could be brought into action, captain Pringle called them off, with the approbation of general Carleton, who was with him on board the Maria, and brought the whole fleet to an anchor in a line as near as possible to the rebels, that their retreat might be prevented. This design was however frustrated by the extreme obscurity of the night. The provincial fleet was almost out of sight next morning; but the following day they were overtaken, and brought to action, when a warm engagement took place. It lasted two hours; during which Arnold in the Congress galley, and five gondolas ran ashore, and were directly abandoned and blown up by the enemy. The Washington galley struck; and the whole armament except one galley and three small vessels, which escaped to Ticonderoga, was either burnt, sunk, or destroyed.

October 13.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the rebel force entirely broken in that quarter. Of this the enemy were so conscious, that on the defeat of their fleet, they immediately set fire to the houses, and destroyed every thing which they could

not carry off at Crown Point, then evacuated the place, and retired to Ticonderoga. General Carleton took possession of the ruins of the fort, where he was soon joined by the army. As he continued there till towards the end of the month, and frequently sent out reconnoitring parties, little doubt can be entertained that he had it in contemplation to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga; but various reasons determined him to lay aside the design. It was evident that fortification could not be forced in its present state, without a very considerable loss of blood, whilst the benefit resulting even from conquest would be comparatively nothing. The season was now too far advanced to admit of a thought of passing Lake George, and exposing the troops to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhospitable and impracticable wilds to the southward; as Ticonderoga could not be kept during the winter, the most that could be hoped from success would be, the destruction of works more indebted to nature than art for their strength, and perhaps the taking of some cannon; the former of which could be restored, and the latter replaced by the rebels before the royal army could interrupt their proceedings, on the return of spring. But if the defence were obstinate, although the army should in the end prevail, it might be thereby so much weakened, that all prospect of success in the next campaign would be totally annihilated. The difficulty, perhaps impossibility, of keeping open the communication with Canada, and subsisting the army during the winter was obvious. General Carleton therefore embarked the troops, without making any attempt upon that important post; and returning to Canada, cantoned his forces in the best manner the country could afford, in full hopes of leading them to the south next summer, and not only driving the rebels from all their strong holds in the neighbourhood of the Lakes, but of penetrating to the coast, and sharing with general Howe the glory of restoring to Great Britain the undisputed empire of North America.

C H A P. V.

The Military Operations in North America continued, from the End of the Campaign 1776 to the Conclusion of the TREATY, EVENTUAL and DEFENSIVE, between the Thirteen rebellious British Colonies, under the Name of the THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and France, on the sixth Day of February, 1778.

THOUGH an account of the whole success of the royal arms, during the late campaign in America, did not arrive in England till the beginning of the year, the victory obtained over the provincial army on Long Island, and the expulsion of the rebels out of Canada, were sufficient to revive the spirits of the minister, and make him meet the parliament with confidence. Other circumstances contributed to that end, by rousing the resentment of the nation against the Americans. The declaration of independency had removed every doubt in

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regard to the real views of the Congress, and invalidated all their specious professions of attachment to the mother-country, as well as the arguments of their friends, either secret or open, in Great Britain: the American privateers, to the ruin of the merchant and the planter, had not only greatly distressed our trade in the West Indies; they had even ventured into the European seas, taken our ships in the mouth of our harbours, and dared to insult the coasts of England: the American agents were negotiating, though long unsuccessfully, with our natural enemies, an alliance against the parent-state; while the rebel emissaries, in conjunction, or with the approbation of those agents, assuming the office of incendiaries, in the proper sense of that word, had attempted to destroy our naval strength, as well as our commercial riches, by setting fire to the royal dock-yards, and to the ships and warehouses in our principal sea-ports.

At such a season it gave little surprise, that the speech from the throne was warmed with a mixture of indignation. "Nothing could have given me so much satisfaction," said his majesty, "as to have been able to inform you, at the opening of this session, that the troubles, which have so long distracted my colonies in North America, were at an end; and that my unhappy people recovered from their delusion, had delivered themselves from the oppression of their leaders. But so daring and desperate is the spirit of those leaders, whose object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country: they have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of our commission, and have presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. If their treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it, to the safety of my loyal colonies, to the commerce of my kingdoms, and indeed to the present system of all Europe." He therefore proceeded to inform the parliament, that, notwithstanding the success of the royal arms, and the fair prospect of the most decisive consequences, it was necessary to "prepare for another campaign;" in order to restore the misguided colonists, (the only object, his majesty declared, which he could have in this arduous contest) "to the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they had fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

This was the general sense of the nation: and therefore, though the address, in answer to the speech, was opposed by those members who make it their business, right or wrong, to contest the measures of the court, and to shew their temper, even when they know that opposition will be ineffectual, forty-five thousand seamen, and the most liberal supplies for the land service were voted almost without a debate. But as a powerful navy was not judged sufficient, in all cases, for protecting our trade and annoying the enemy, nor a powerful army for effectually suppressing rebellion, a motion was made for bringing in two bills, in aid of the other means of security and chastisement. The one was "a bill for enabling the admiralty to grant commissions, or letters of marque and reprisal, as they were usually called, to the owners or captains of

private merchant ships, authorising them to take and make prize of all vessels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the Thirteen revolted American colonies." The necessity of such a permission was so evident, from the devastations committed by the American privateers, that the bill passed without much difficulty; but the other bill "to enable his majesty to secure and detain, persons charged with, or suspected of high treason, committed in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy," was violently opposed. The zeal with which it was combated, was indeed enough to create a suspicion, that some of the members thought themselves or their friends in danger. It was, however, at length passed; and his majesty, after a variety of other business, concluded the session, with a trust in the Divine Providence, that the ensuing campaign by sea and land would be blessed with such success, as might most effectually tend to the suppression of the rebellion in America, and to the re-establishment of "that constitutional obedience, which all the subjects of a free state owe to the authority of law."

In America unhappily, notwithstanding some fortunate incidents, the general aspect of things was not so promising on the return of the season of action, as at the close of the campaign. We have already seen lord Cornwallis over-run the Jerseys, and had occasion to observe, that the Delaware was the only obstacle which seemed capable of opposing the progress of his army, in the reduction of Philadelphia and the adjoining counties, as the Provincial army was in a manner dissolved. The greatest number, it is said, that remained embodied, did not exceed three thousand men; and the support to be derived from new levies, not yet formed, was too remote and precarious to afford much present consolation to the rebels. In this critical state of their affairs, the capture of general Lee seemed to render their condition still more hopeless. That officer, at the head of all the men that he could collect or keep together, being on his march to join general Washington, who had assembled the Pennsylvania militia to defend the banks of the Delaware, was betrayed into a fatal security, by the distance of the British cantonments. In crossing the upper part of New Jersey, from the North River, he fixed his quarters, and lay carelessly guarded, at some distance from the main body. Colonel Harcourt, who commanded the light horse, and had then made a desultory incursion, at the head of a small detachment, to observe the motions of the enemy, being apprised of the situation of the Provincial general, conducted his measures with such address and activity, and they were so well seconded by the boldness and rapidity of motion which distinguishes that corps, that the guard was evaded, the sentinels seized without noise, the quarters forced, and Lee carried off in triumph; though all that part of the country was hostile to the king's troops, and though several guarded posts, and armed patrols lay in the route of the detachment, which consisted only of thirty horse.

The capture of a single officer, in other circumstances, would have been a matter of little moment; but in the present state of the raw American forces, where a general deficiency of military skill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers was even a greater disadvantage than the lack of discipline in the soldiers,

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Feb. 1,
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foldiers, the loss of a commander whose spirit of enterprize was directed by great knowledge in his profession acquired by actual service, was of the utmost importance; and what made it the more distressing was, the little reason there remained to hope it could be soon supplied. Meantime the rejoicing in Great Britain at this event, was equal at least to the dejection of the Americans. But the capture of general Lee, whatever other effect it might have, was attended with a circumstance which has since been productive of much inconvenience to both sides, and of much calamity to individuals. A cartel, or something of that nature, had some time before been established for the exchange of prisoners between the generals Howe and Washington; which had hitherto been carried into execution, so far as time and other circumstances would admit: but as Lee was a deserter from his majesty's service, he could not, it was said, come within the conditions of the cartel, or be entitled to any of its benefits. He was accordingly confined in the closest manner, and guarded as a state criminal. This conduct, however reasonable, not only suspended the operation of the cartel, but induced the provincials, by way of retaliation, to treat such British officers as were in their power with the most unfeeling and even barbarous severity. They were abridged of their parole liberty, deprived of every comfort and satisfaction, and thrown into loathsome dungeons; and it was boldly declared by the Congress, that the persons of those officers should be answerable, in the utmost extent, for any violence that might be offered to general Lee.

Nor was this the only instance in which the Congress manifested a firm and undaunted spirit. Amid all the dangers with which they were environed, far from giving way to any thing like unconditional submission, they made no overtures towards any kind of accommodation; and as, on the other side, none were made to them, they prepared to renew the war, and to repair their shattered forces, with all diligence. They were now convinced of the inefficacy of temporary armies, engaged only for a short term, and calculated merely to repel a sudden invasion, when opposed to the continued operations of a standing army, and the incessant efforts of regular forces. It could never be hoped with raw soldiers, thus changed every year, to make any effectual stand against veteran troops; and the present critical situation of the Provincials, afforded too alarming an experience of the fatal consequences which might attend that period of utter imbecillity, between the dissolution of the old army and the establishment of the new, not to give birth to some plan for preventing such inconvenience in future. Orders were accordingly issued by the Congress for levying eighty-eight battalions on a new footing, the soldiers being bound by the terms of enlistment to serve during the continuance of the war.

These terms were highly advantageous. Besides a bounty of twenty dollars to every soldier at the time of enlisting, lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the survivors, and to the representatives of all who were slain in action, in different stated proportions, from five hundred acres, the allotment of a colonel, to one hundred and fifty, which was that of an ensign, the private men and non-commissioned officers being to have one hundred each; and as a bar to the thoughtless prodigality

prodigality common to soldiers, as well as to prevent the worthless and undeferving from obtaining for trifles, those rewards due to the brave for their services and their blood, all these allotted lands were rendered unalienable during the war*. The Congress had before, as an encouragement to their forces by sea and land, decreed that all officers, soldiers, and seamen, who were or might be disabled in action, should receive during life, one half of the monthly pay to which they were entitled by their rank in the service at the time of meeting with such misfortune. But notwithstanding so many allurements, the condition of serving during the indefinite term of the continuance of the war, was so little agreeable to men unaccustomed to any kind of subordination or restraint, that the Congress soon saw the necessity of admitting another mode of enlisting for the term of three years; the soldiers under this compact receiving the same bounty-money, and being entitled to the same privileges with the others, but excluded from any allotment of lands.

With all these incitements to enter into the provincial service, the business of recruiting went on but heavily; and it is confidently affirmed, that the army actually raised, did at no time bear any common proportion, in effective men, to the number voted. Meantime the annual supplies raised in the different colonies, by their respective assemblies, being judged insufficient to provide for the extraordinary expences of the war, the Congress found it necessary to negotiate a loan to make up the deficiency. They accordingly passed a resolution to borrow one million of dollars, at the interest of four per cent. on the faith of the United States; and as the situation of their affairs became extremely critical, and the preservation of Philadelphia to all appearance hopeless, at the time that Cornwallis had over-run the Jerseys, and when the British forces had taken possession of the towns and posts on the Delaware, the Congress published an address to the people in general, but more particularly to those of Pennsylvania and the adjacent provinces. The main object of this address was, to awaken the attention of the colonists; to remove their despondency, revive their hopes and spirits, and confirm them in the purpose of supporting the war, by shewing that no other means were left for the preservation of those rights and liberties for which they had originally contended: but it was particularly and immediately designed to forward the completion of the new army, and to call out the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries for the defence of Philadelphia.

The critical situation of that city, which a night or two of continued frost would have laid open to the royal army, obliged the Congress, towards the close of the year, to consult their own safety by retiring to Baltimore, in Maryland. In this state of external danger, dissensions no less alarming sprung up among the

* The holding out a promise of lands, as an inducement to fill up the rebel armies, was probably intended to counteract the effect of a similar measure, which had some time before been adopted on the side of the crown; large grants of vacant lands, to be distributed at the close of the troubles, having been promised to the Highland emigrants, and some other new troops raised in America, as a reward for their zeal and loyalty in the expected reduction of the rebellious colonies.

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Americans. The declaration of independency, as we have already had occasion to notice, met with a strong opposition in Pennsylvania; and the carrying of the question by a majority of the people, was far from changing the sentiments of those who had opposed it; among whom were most of the quakers, a great and powerful body in that province. Many who had formerly persecuted the loyalists, and considered them as betrayers of their country, now joined them. The whole composed a very formidable party; and besides those who had fled to the commissioners at New York, to claim the benefit of the general pardon, the remainder were sufficiently strong to prevent an order for fortifying Philadelphia on the approach of the British forces to the Delaware, from being carried into execution.

This alarming influence of an inimical body, in the very seat of life and action, obliged general Washington, weak as he was, to detach three regiments under the command of lord Stirling*, effectually to quell the opposition of the loyal party, and to give efficacy to the measure for fortifying the city. The loyalists were overawed, but the design of fortifying the city seems to have been abandoned as not practicable, or not necessary at that time; and as the season grew too severe to keep the field, though the frosts were not yet sufficiently set in for the passage of the Delaware, it became necessary about the middle of December, to put the king's forces under cover. They were accordingly thrown into great cantonments, forming an extensive chain, from Brunswick on the Rariton, to the Delaware; occupying not only the towns, posts, and villages, which came within a liberal description of that line, but also those on the banks of the Delaware for several miles; so that the latter composed a front at the end of the line, which looked over to Pennsylvania.

Affairs were now in such a situation, that there seemed to be as little probability of interrupting the designs, or endangering the security on the one side, as of reviving the spirit or retrieving the losses on the other. But the vicissitudes of war are numberless; and the most extraordinary effects are often produced by small events, originating from inconsiderable and unforeseen causes. In the present seemingly stable and decided state of things, a bold and spirited enterprise, though at first attended with no remarkable success, was followed by the most momentous consequences, and may be said to have entirely changed the fortune of the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies.

Colonel Rall, a brave and experienced officer, was stationed with a brigade of Hessians, consisting of three battalions, with a few British light-horse, and fifty chasseurs, amounting in the whole to about fifteen hundred men, at Trenton upon the Delaware, being the highest post which the royal army occupied on that river. Colonel Donop, with another brigade, lay at Bordentown, a few miles lower on the river; and at Burlington, still lower, and within twenty miles of

* A gentleman of the name of Alexander, remotely descended from the first earl of Stirling, and complimented by his American countrymen with the title. His claim was rejected by the House of Peers; and he was forbid to assume the title, under the penalty of being led round Westminster-Hall, labelled as an impostor.

Philadelphia, a third body was posted. The brigade at Trenton, as well as the others, partly from the knowledge which they had of the weakness of the enemy, and partly from the contempt in which they held the Provincials, considered themselves as in a state of perfect security, equal to that of the most profound peace. Of this security general Washington was informed. He saw, and comprehended in its full extent, the danger to which Philadelphia and the whole province of Pennsylvania would be inevitably exposed, as soon as the Delaware was thoroughly covered with ice, if the king's troops, by retaining possession of the opposite shore, were at hand to take advantage of that circumstance, whilst he was utterly incapable of opposing them. In order to ward off this danger, he with equal boldness and ability, formed a design of disappointing the enemy by beating up their quarters; hoping to remedy his deficiency in force by the manner of applying it, by bringing it nearer to a point, and attacking unexpectedly and separately those different bodies, which he could not venture to engage when united.

If the design succeeded only in part, it might probably induce the enemy to contract their cantonments, and to quit the vicinity of the river, when they found that it was not a sufficient barrier to protect their quarters from insult and danger; and even in that case, the present security of Philadelphia would be obtained, which was the immediate design of the enterprise. With this view, general Washington took the measures necessary for assembling his forces, which consisted chiefly of drafts from the militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and formed them into three divisions; each of which was to arrive at its appointed station on the Delaware, as soon after the close of day, and with as little noise as possible, on Christmas evening. Two of these divisions were under the command of the generals Erwing and Cadwallader; the first of whom was to pass the river at Trenton-Ferry, about a mile below the town, and the other still lower, towards Bordentown. The principal division, or main body, was commanded by general Washington in person, assisted by the generals Sullivan and Green, and consisted of about two thousand five hundred men, provided with a train of twenty small brass field pieces.

With this body Washington arrived at M'Kenky's Ferry, about nine miles from Trenton, at the time appointed; hoping to be able to pass the troops and artillery over by midnight, and that he would find no difficulty to reach that place long before day-break, and effectually to surprise Kall's brigade. The river was, however, so encumbered with ice, that it was with great difficulty the boats could make their way; which circumstance, together with the extreme severity of the season, rendered the passage so difficult that it was near four o'clock in the morning before it was completed. The Provincials were further incommoded in their march by a violent storm of snow and hail, which rendered the road so slippery, that it was with difficulty they reached the place of destination by eight o'clock. The detachment had been formed in two divisions immediately after passing the river; one of which turning to the right took the lower road to Trenton, while general Washington with the other proceeded along
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the upper, or Pennington road. Notwithstanding these various delays, and the advanced state of day-light, the Hessians had no knowledge of their approach, until an advanced post, at some small distance from the town, was attacked by the upper division, the lower division about the same time driving in the outguards on the opposite side. The regiment of Rall having been detached to support the piquet which was first attacked, was thrown into disorder by the retreat of that party, and obliged to join the main body. Colonel Rall now bravely charged the Provincials; but being soon mortally wounded, the troops under his command were broken, and almost instantly driven from their artillery. Thus overpowered, and nearly surrounded, the three regiments of Rall, Loiffberg, and Knyphausen, after an ineffectual attempt to retreat to Prince Town, found themselves under the unfortunate necessity of surrendering prisoners of war.

As the road along the river side to Bordentown, led from that part of Trenton most remote from the enemy, the light horse, chafleurs, and a considerable number of the private men, with some officers, made their escape that way. The loss of the Hessians in killed and wounded was very inconsiderable, not exceeding thirty or forty at most: the prisoners amounted to nine hundred and eighteen. The loss on the side of the Provincials was too trifling to be mentioned. Thus was one part of general Washington's project crowned with success, but the two others failed in the execution. The quantity of ice was so great, that the divisions under Erwing and Cadwallader found the river impassable, where they directed their attempts. If this had not been the case, Erwing by taking possession of the bridge at Trenton Creek, in pursuance of his instructions, would have effectually cut off the retreat to Bordentown; and if the design had taken effect in all its parts, and the three divisions had joined after the route at Trenton, it seems probable that they would have swept before them all the posts on the Delaware. As things turned out, Washington could not proceed any farther in the execution of his plan: the force he had with him was far from being able even to maintain its ground at Trenton, there being a strong body of light infantry at Prince Town, within a few miles of that place, and which with the junction of Donop's brigade, or other bodies from the nearest cantonments, would soon have overwhelmed his little army. He therefore repassed the Delaware on the evening of his victory, carrying with him in triumph the prisoners; who, with their colours and artillery, afforded a new and elating spectacle at Philadelphia.

The surprisè at Trenton did not excite less amazement in the royal army, than joy among the rebels, whom it seemed to inspire with new souls. The Hessians had hitherto been very terrible to the Americans; and the taking a whole brigade of them prisoners, appeared so incredible, that at the very time they were marching into Philadelphia, people were contending in different parts of the town, that the account of it was certainly a fiction, and could not possibly be true. The prisoners appeared: the fact was confirmed; and the Hessians not only ceased to inspire terror, but the Provincials thought nothing too great now for their prowess, and that they had only to exert themselves to be every where victorious.

On the other hand, that three old established regiments of a people who make war their profession, should lay down their arms to a ragged and undisciplined militia, and that without scarcely any loss on either side, appeared an event of to extraordinary a nature to the British officers, that it afforded full scope to the operation of conjecture, suspicion, censure, and malignity, as different tempers were differently disposed, or affected by the intelligence. General Howe was blamed for laying so extensive a chain of cantonments*; Colonel Rall was condemned for marching out of the town to meet the enemy †; and the character of the Hessians in general did not rise in the opinion of their allies.

The alarm spread by this disaster, induced the British and auxiliary troops immediately to assemble. General Grant with the forces at Brunswick, and in that neighbourhood, advanced speedily to Prince Town; whilst Lord Cornwallis, who was at New York on his way to England, found it necessary to defer his voyage, and return with all possible haste to the defence of the Jerseys. They were not now without an enemy to encounter; for general Washington, reinforced by several regiments from Virginia and Maryland, as well as with some new bodies of Pennsylvania militia, had again passed the Delaware, and was with his whole force at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis marched immediately to attack the rebels, whom he found formed in a strong position, at the back of Trenton Creek; they being in possession of the bridge and other passages, which were well guarded with artillery. After several skirmishes in the approach, a cannonade ensued, which continued till darkness put a stop to the din, rather than the execution on either side.

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That night a brigade of British troops lay at Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton; and another, upon its march from Brunswick, consisting of the seven-

* General Howe, it has been said by his friends, depended upon the weakness of the provincial army, the good disposition of the inhabitants of the Jerseys, and the considerable force that was stationed in the advanced posts. He was likewise, it is added, influenced by a desire to cover and protect the county of Monmouth, where a great number of the people were well affected to the royal cause. Lord Cornwallis has further told us, that "the disaster that happened could not be foreseen, and therefore not guarded against." But we will take the liberty to tell his lordship, that this is rather the language of a logician, than of a soldier. An army in an enemy's country is every moment liable to dangers and misfortunes, which no human wisdom can foresee, but which it is notwithstanding the business of military sagacity to defeat and prevent. The complete general does not proceed upon the doctrine of certainties, but of contingencies; and the perfection of his character lies, in guarding against the most distant possible attempts to annoy him, and in accomplishing his ends by the least probable means. By the first he repels or discomfits his enemies, while resting in their own craft, they hope to cut him off: by the second, like Washington, he surprises the posts and counteracts the designs of an inferior commander, whose genius had not taught him to guard against such remote consequences and unexpected movements.

† Colonel Rall's misconduct sprung from an error very prevalent among the officers and men, both of the British and Hessian troops; namely, too great a contempt of the Americans, inspired by the successes of the preceding campaign, and the vast superiority which they perceived in themselves in every action. They have since had occasion to learn respect, if misfortunes and disappointments can teach it.

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teenth, the fortieth, and fifty-fifth regiments, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, was at Prince Town, about the same distance beyond Maidenhead. While things were in this critical situation on both sides, general Washington, who had no intention to hazard a battle, having taken the necessary precaution of keeping up the fires, and every other appearance of still occupying the camp, withdrew his forces at the dead of night, and with the most profound silence. Small parties being left to go the rounds, and to guard the bridge and the fords, the main body marched with such expedition towards Prince Town, the immediate object of their arms, that though they took a large circuit, in order to avoid the brigade which lay at Maidenhead, their van fell in at sunrise next morning with colonel Mawhood, who had just begun his march. That officer having no idea of the enemy's strength, which the fogginess of the morning and the irregularity of the ground prevented him from distinctly seeing, considered Washington's army only as the attempt of some flying detachment to interrupt his march; and having easily dispersed those by whom he was first attacked, pushed boldly forwards without farther apprehension. But in a little time, he not only found that the seventeenth regiment, which he led, was attacked on all sides by a superior force, but that it was separated and cut off from the rest of the brigade, at the same time that he discovered by the continued distant firing, that the fifty-fifth regiment which immediately followed, was not in better circumstances.

In this trying and dangerous situation, the brave colonel, and his equally brave regiment, behaved in such a manner as to acquire immortal honour. After a violent conflict, and the greatest repeated exertions of courage and discipline, they at length, by dint of bayonet, forced their way through the thickest ranks of the enemy, and pursued unmolested their march to Maidenhead. The fifty-fifth regiment was little less pressed; and finding it impossible to continue its march, with great resolution made good its retreat, and returned by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick. The fortieth regiment, which was still at Prince Town when the action began, also retired to Brunswick by another road, and suffered less than either of the other two. The loss on the whole was, indeed, much less than might have been expected from the nature and warmth of the engagements.

This spirited and unexpected movement, with its dangerous consequences, immediately recalled lord Cornwallis from the Delaware. He was alarmed, and not without reason, for the safety of the troops and magazines at Brunswick. The Provincials, however, still avoided a general action: satisfied with their present advantages, they crossed the Millstone river, without any farther attempt; but in a few days after, they over-ran both East and West Jersey, spreading themselves over the Rariton, even into Essex county, where by seizing Newark, Elizabeth Town, and Woodbridge, they became masters of the coast opposite to Staten Island; and their principal posts were taken and strengthened with so much judgment, that it was not practicable to dislodge them.—Thus by a few intrepid, and well-conducted efforts, was Philadelphia saved; Pennsylvania freed from danger; the Jerseys nearly recovered; and a victorious and far superior

army reduced to act upon the defensive, and for some months restrained within very narrow and inconvenient limits. These efforts, and the sudden recovery of the provincials from the lowest state of weakness and distress, to become a formidable enemy in the field, raised the character of general Washington as a commander, very high both in Europe and America.

As the season opened, and enlarged the field of enterprise, the British commanders did not, however, neglect seizing those advantages which nature and their naval superiority presented, in a country deeply intersected with navigable rivers, and continually laid open in other parts by the numberless inlets and channels, which the peculiar construction of the islands and coasts admit in their junction with the ocean and those rivers. In the meantime, a body of provincial troops was formed under the auspices of Sir William Howe, amounting to several thousand men; and which, under the denomination of Loyalists, included not only American refugees, but also British and Irish adventurers from the rebellious colonies. The officers of this corps consisted entirely of those gentlemen, who on account of their attachment to the royal cause had been obliged to abandon their respective provinces, or by those who lived under the protection of the commissioners in the New York islands. These troops were placed, during the time of their service, on the same footing as to pay, subsistence, and cloathing, with the established national bodies of the royal army; with this further advantage to the private men and non-commissioned officers, that they were entitled to considerable allotments of vacant lands at the end of the troubles.

That measure, besides its utility in point of strength, afforded some present provision to those, who having lost every thing through their attachment to the royal cause, had been thrown upon the crown, as their only refuge, for support; whereas now, instead of being an heavy and unprofitable burden to government, they were placed in a condition which enabled them to become active and useful instruments in effecting its purposes. At the same time such an acquisition of strength, derived from and growing in the country, carried with it a most flattering appearance, as it seemed to indicate resources for the prosecution of the war in the very theatre of action; and as all new forces must, from the nature of things be much fitter for defence, than for active service in the field, it added further to the apparent utility of the measure, that the loyal Provincials could immediately be disposed of to the greatest advantage in the protection of New York and the adjacent islands, — supplying thereby the place of veteran troops, and affording a free scope to the distant operations of the grand army. In order to render this defensive system for the islands still more complete, governor Tryon, who already in his civil capacity commanded the militia, and who had taken the utmost pains for its establishment, was now placed by the commander in chief at the head of the new corps, under the title and rank of major-general of the Provincial Loyalists; by which means he was enabled effectually to combine and bring into action the joint force of these separate bodies.

The great natural strength of the country, the vicinity of the North River, with its convenience in regard to the seat of war, had induced the Americans, during

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during the winter, to erect mills and establish their principal magazines, in that rough and mountainous tract called the Manor of Courtland. It accordingly became their grand repository. Trusting to the security of this rugged citadel, neither industry was wanting nor expence spared in abundantly providing it with immense supplies of provisions, forage, and stores of all sorts; and a place otherwise of no importance, called Peek's Kill, which lies about fifty miles up the North River from New York, served as a kind of port to Courtland Manor, by which it both received provisions and dispensed supplies. Sir William Howe was well aware of these particulars, and fully convinced of the decisive consequences which must ensue from cutting off those resources, which the enemy had with such labour and expence accumulated for the support and prosecution of the war. A general attempt upon Courtland Manor, however, would not only be dangerous from the strength of the country, and the impracticability of the ground; a variety of other circumstances would conspire to render it abortive: the Provincials would even have time to remove their magazines, before the necessary preparations could be made. But Peek's Kill was within reach, a circumstance of which the general determined to take advantage.

Colonel Bird, with a detachment of about five hundred men, under the conduct of a frigate, and other armed vessels, was sent on board some transports up the North River, for that purpose. On his approach to Peek's Kill, the enemy finding themselves unequal to the defence of the place, and being convinced that there was no time left to remove any thing but their arms and persons, set fire to the barracks and principal store-houses, and retired to a strong pass at about two miles distance. That pass commanded the entrance into the mountains, and covered a road which led to some of the mills and other depositories; and the British troops, on landing, finding that they could neither penetrate into the country, nor have leisure and opportunity safely to bring off the provisions or other articles, completed the conflagration. This service being performed, the troops reembarked; and the ships, after destroying some small craft laden with provisions, returned to New York.

So far the general's design was completed. But the magazines at Peek's Kill were not of that importance and magnitude which he had been led to expect: something, if possible, must be farther done to weaken the enemy by cutting off their resources; and as he was informed, that the Provincials had deposited large quantities of stores and provisions in the town or village of Danbury, and other places on the borders of Connecticut, which lay contiguous to Courtland Manor, an expedition was resolved upon to that quarter. The charge of this expedition was committed to governor Tryon, assisted by those active and able officers, brigadier general Agnew and Sir William Erskine. The detachment under their command consisted of eighteen hundred men, who being conducted through the Sound by a proper naval force, were landed near Norwalk in Connecticut, about twenty miles to the southward of Danbury. As the country was in no state of preparation, nor under any apprehension of the design, the troops advanced without interruption towards the object of their enterprise, and arrived at Danbury

next day. Here they perceived that the militia were assembling to intercept their return; and as no carriages could be procured, though the aspect of things had been less hostile, to bring off the stores and provisions, they immediately proceeded to the destruction of the magazine.

This prompt service being performed, (in the execution of which the town was unavoidably burnt,) the detachment returned by the way of Ridgefield. Meanwhile the provincial generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, having hastily arrived from different quarters, and collected such militia as were within their reach, endeavoured by every possible means to interrupt the march of the British troops, until a sufficient force could assemble to cut off their retreat. Wooster hung upon the rear of the detachment, while Arnold by crossing the country, gained their front, in order to dispute the passage through Ridgefield. Nor could the excellent order, and formidable appearance of the British troops, who had large covering parties well furnished with field pieces on their flanks and rear, prevent the Provincials from making bold attempts to interrupt their progress. In one of these rencounters Wooster was killed; but Arnold immediately appeared at the head of another party of the rebels, and threw himself into Ridgefield. The courage and discipline of the British troops, however, triumphed over all opposition: the village was forced, and the Provincials driven back on all sides.

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At this place governor Tryon halted all night, and renewed his march next morning, in spite of every obstacle. At length the detachment, after disputing each inch of ground, gained the Hill of Campo, within cannon shot of the ships. It was then evening, and the British troops had exhausted all their ammunition. They immediately formed, however, upon the high ground, where the rebels seemed more determined and resolute in their attacks, than at any time before. In this situation, the troops were ordered to advance, and to charge with their bayonets; a command which was executed with such impetuosity, that the enemy were totally broken, and every thing being prepared at the shore for the reception of the detachment, it embarked without farther molestation. Large quantities of corn, flour, and salt provisions; a great number of tents, with various military stores and necessaries were destroyed in this expedition, with a very inconsiderable loss of men; the whole in killed, wounded, and missing, amounting to only one hundred and seventy-two. The loss on the side of the rebels, was more than double.

But after all, it may be questioned whether the enterprise answered the expectations which had been formed in regard to it. Though much mischief was done, it did not seem in the least to distress the enemy; and the Connecticut men, in revenge of the insult that had been offered them, made an attack upon a port called Sagg's Harbour, on the east end of Long Island, where a great quantity of forage, grain, and other necessaries were deposited for the use of the royal army. Colonel Meigs, an enterprising officer, who had attended Arnold in the expedition to Quebec, and had been taken prisoner in the attempt to storm that city, conducted this enterprise. Having passed his detachment over the Sound in whale-boats, he proceeded to Sagg's Harbour, which was only defended by a

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single company of foot, and an armed schooner of twelve guns. The rebels arrived at the place before day-break; and notwithstanding the resistance which they met with from the guards and the crews of the vessels, besides the vigorous efforts of the schooner, which kept up a continued fire of round and grape shot, at only an hundred and fifty yards distance, they completed their design; burnt twelve brigs and sloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely destroyed every thing on shore.

The season for action was now advanced; but the royal army, we are told, was prevented from taking the field through the want of tents and field equipage, which did not arrive from England till the beginning of June. This delay was of the utmost consequence to the Americans. The winter campaign had been chiefly carried on by detachments from the militia, the greater part of whom returned home, when the term of their service was expired; and the business of recruiting under an engagement of serving during the war, or even for three years, went on but slowly for a long time. The return of fine weather, however, brought reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerseys. Encouraged by such an increase of strength, general Washington quitted his camp in the neighbourhood of Morris Town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunswick, took possession of the strong country along Middle Brook. On this single movement hung a great part of the future events of the war in the Jerseys. The Provincial general turned the advantages of his new situation to the greatest possible account: he strongly fortified his camp, winding along the course of the hills; and which, equally secured by nature and art, commanded a view of the British encampment in the neighbourhood of Brunswick, and of great part of the country between that place and Amboy.

The chief object of the campaign, on the side of New York, seems to have been, that Sir William Howe should penetrate thro' the Jerseys to the Delaware, driving Washington before him, so as to clear those provinces entirely of the enemy, and at the same time reducing the inhabitants to so effectual a state of subjection, as to establish a safe and open communication between that city and the army. If in counteracting this design, the rebels should be induced to hazard a battle, nothing was more to be wished, as little doubt could be entertained of success; or if they constantly retired, which was more likely to be their conduct, the consequences with regard to the general objects would be nearly the same; and the army having, by the reduction of the Jerseys, left every thing safe in its rear, and secured the passage of the Delaware, would of course get possession of Philadelphia; which, from its situation, not being capable of any effectual defence, could only be protected by Washington, at the risk of a battle. On the other hand, if the obstacles in the Jerseys were found so great that they could not be overcome without much loss of time and expence of blood, it was thought advisable in such circumstances, to profit of the strong naval force, and the infinite number of transports and vessels of all kinds which lay at New York; to combine this powerful auxiliary with the land forces, and by convey-
 ing

ing the army by sea to the place of its destination, elude all those difficulties with which the passage through the Jerseys might be clogged.

In this alternative, the object was still the same, the means of obtaining it being only changed. Philadelphia was the immediate point in view. If that object was properly chosen, (which is much to be questioned, especially before the junction of the northern army, and perhaps the reduction of Boston) the passage by sea seemed the most sure of its effect, though undoubtedly the slowest in the operation. The Delaware, or the great bay of Chesapeake, would open the way into the heart of the richest and best of the central colonies; and lead either directly, or by crossing a country of no great extent, to the possession of Philadelphia. This point gained, that city was to become the place of arms, and centre of action, whilst every part of the three hostile and flourishing provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, from their deep bays and navigable rivers, would be exposed to the combined and continual operation of the land and marine force.

But the operations in the southern or central provinces, however efficacious or extensive, did not by any means include all the great objects of the campaign. Something was to be expected on the side of Canada, where a very considerable army had been collected, and by the success of the last campaign on the Lakes, had a passage opened for it to penetrate into the back parts of New York and the New England provinces. The command in this expedition was committed to general Burgoyne, an officer of a bold and enterprising genius, who is said to have formed the plan. That plan was eagerly embraced by the minister for the American department, who founded the greatest hopes upon its success, and took every means to realize them. All the advantages that had ever been expected from the complete possession of Hudson's river; the establishment of a communication between the two armies; the cutting off all intercourse between the northern and southern colonies, with the consequent opportunity of crushing the former, detached and cut off from all assistance, would now, it was presumed, infallibly be obtained.

The tents and field equipage, with a body of Anspach troops, and a number of British and German recruits, having at length arrived at New York, general Howe passed over to the Jerseys, and collected his army about the middle of June. The enemy were now in a strong state of defence. Washington's army, besides the advantages which it derived from the inaccessible posts which it occupied, was become very considerable both as to number and force. Several bodies of the New England troops, under the generals Gates, Parsons, and Arnold, advanced to the borders of the North River, where they were ready to pass over to the Jerseys, whenever opportunity invited, or the necessity of their friends demanded their assistance. At the same time the Jersey militia assembled from all quarters with the greatest alacrity; so that in every position it took, and every motion it made, the royal army was watched and environed with enemies.

Sir William Howe, whatever error he might have committed in not taking the field sooner, (for a whole fortnight, at least, is said have been lost, even after

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the arrival of the camp-equipage) now left nothing untried that could provoke Washington to action, nor was any measure omitted that could induce him to quit his position. The British general pushed on detachments, and made movements, as if he intended to pass the Provincial army and advance to the Delaware. This manœuvre proving ineffectual, he advanced in the front of Washington's lines, where he continued four days, exploring the approaches to the rebel camp, and accurately examining the situation of their posts, in hopes that some weak or unguarded part might be found, on which an attack might be made with some probability of success, or that some accidental circumstance would open the way to a general engagement. But all these hopes were frustrated: Washington knew the full value of his situation; and as he had too much temper to be provoked or surpris'd into a dereliction of his advantages, he had also too much penetration to lose them through circumvention or flight. He had too long profited by that rule of conduct, from which he had not once deviated during the course of the war, of never committing the fate of America to the hazard of a single battle, to depart from it upon this occasion, when it was not even demanded by any urgent necessity.

June 19.

Whether Sir William Howe had now abandoned his design of enticing Washington to quit his fastnesses, is uncertain; but he suddenly retreated, and not without some apparent marks of precipitation, from his position in the front of the enemy, and withdrawing his troops from Brunswick, returned with the whole army towards Amboy. The king's forces were eagerly pursued, by several large bodies of the American regular troops, as well as of the Jersey militia, under the command of the generals Maxwell, Conway, and lord Stirling. Meantime the bridge intended for the Delaware, was thrown over the channel which separates the continent from Staten Island, and the heavy baggage with all the encumbrances were pass'd over. Some of the troops followed; and every thing was in immediate preparation for the passage of the rest of the army, when the British general perceived, that the vanity natural to mankind had induced the Americans to believe that this retreat proceeded from a knowledge of their superiority, and a dread of their power; that even Washington himself, with all his caution and penetration, had quitted his secure posts upon the hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble Town, to be the nearer at hand for the protection or support of his advanced parties.

This was a discovery of no small importance, and Sir William Howe lost no time in endeavouring to profit by those favourable circumstances which it afforded. He immediately march'd the royal army back by different routes, and with great expedition from Amboy. He had three objects in view; namely, to cut off some of the principal advanced parties of the enemy; to come up with and bring them to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Quibble Town; or if this design failed, through the celerity of their motion, it was intended that lord Cornwallis, by turning to the enemy's left, should take possession of some passes in the mountains, which would reduce them to the necessity of abandoning that strong camp

which had hitherto afforded them so perfect a security. Having dispersed the smaller advanced parties of the enemy, lord Cornwallis fell in at length with lord Stirling, who with about three thousand men, strongly posted in a woody country, and well covered with artillery judiciously disposed, not only lay full in his way, but shewed a resolution to dispute his passage with vigour and firmness. The ardour exerted on this occasion by an emulation between the British and Hessian troops was conspicuous and irresistible: every obstacle gave way before their impetuosity in pressing forward, to try who should have the honour of coming first to close fight with the enemy. The rebels, unable to withstand the shock, were soon routed on all quarters; and besides no inconsiderable loss in men, they were obliged to relinquish three pieces of brass ordnance, which were taken by the British guards and the Hessian grenadiers. The pursuit was continued as far as Westfield; but the woods, and the intense heat of the weather, rendered it in a great measure fruitless.

In the meantime general Washington having perceived his error, withdrew his army from the plains, and again recovered his strong camp upon the hills. Penetrating at the same time into lord Cornwallis's further design, he secured those passes in the mountains, which, if possessed by the British troops, would have exposed him to the necessity of a critical change of position, that could not have been executed without danger. Thus was every hope of bringing the enemy to an action, or at least of withdrawing them from their strong holds, rendered abortive by the caution and prudence of the Provincial general; and Sir William Howe being now convinced, that Washington was too fully attached to his defensive plan of conducting the war, to be induced to depart from it, or to hazard a general engagement, by any thing less than a clear and decided advantage, perceived that nothing could be done in the Jerseys. To advance to the Delaware, through a country entirely hostile, and with such a force as the rebels possessed in his rear, appeared to the British commander little better than madness: all delay, in these circumstances, was not only fruitless, but a waste of time and season, which might be employed to advantage elsewhere; general Howe therefore returned with the royal army to Amboy, and passed it over the next day to Staten Island, whence the embarkation was intended to take place.

June 28.

The preparations for this grand naval expedition excited a general alarm throughout North America. Boston, Hudson's River, the Delaware, Chesapeake Bay, and even Charles Town were alternately held to be its objects*. General Washington accordingly sent off dispatches, at different times, in pursuance of the intelligence which he continually received from New York and the neighbouring islands, to

* As the success of the campaign was universally understood to depend upon the junction of the armies under Sir William Howe and General Burgoyne, both nature and reason seem to point out Hudson's River as the means of effecting that junction. After it was formed, Washington might have been crushed, and both Boston and Philadelphia reduced before the close of the season of action. If Sir William Howe, instead of wasting his time in the Jerseys, had proceeded up Hudson's River, immediately on receiving his camp equipage, he might have reached Albany as soon as general Burgoyne arrived at Ticonderoga. By such a movement the force in the north would have been distracted and divided, and the disaster that followed entirely avoided.

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put those places on their guard, against which he had reason to believe the storm would be first directed. But the British commanders had one manifest advantage in proceeding by sea; namely, that it was not possible for the provincial general to know exactly the destination of the armament: he must therefore keep his position, while the king's forces might make considerable progress towards their object, before he could be in a condition to resist them; and such progress would not leave him that choice of posts, by which he had hitherto avoided a general action.

July 10. During the cessation procured by preparation on one side, and apprehension on the other, a spirited adventure on the quarter of Rhode Island, not only retaliated the surprise of general Lee, but seemed to procure an indemnity for his person. Colonel Barten, a provincial officer, with several other officers and volunteers, proceeded by night from Providence Plantation to Rhode Island; and though they had a long passage by water, they eluded the vigilance of the ships of war and guard-boats, which surrounded the island, and conducted their enterprise with such silence, boldness, and dexterity, that they surprised general Pretcot, who there commanded in chief, in his quarters, and brought him and his aid-de-camp, through all those perils, safe to the continent. This little expedition produced much exultation among the rebels, and more regret in the royal army than it seemed to deserve, from the influence which it must necessarily have on the fate of general Lee, as well as the means by which it was accomplished.

The season of action was now far advanced; but notwithstanding the preparations which had been made for the intended embarkation, and the assistance afforded by the crews of near three hundred vessels, the fleet and army were not ready to leave Sandy Hook before the twenty-third of July. In order more effectually to perplex and deceive the enemy, general Howe ordered some transports, with a ship cut down to act as a floating battery, to pass up the North River, a little before the embarkation was completed; a feint which succeeded so far as to induce Washington to detach a considerable body of his army to cross that river. The force that actually embarked in the grand expedition consisted of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery; a New York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light-horse. Seventeen battalions, with a regiment of light-horse, and the remainder of the new Provincial corps, were left with general Clinton, for the protection of New York and the adjacent islands. Rhode Island was occupied by seven battalions: so much was the active force of the royal army diminished, by the possession, which it was nevertheless indispensably necessary to hold, of those important posts!

The voyage was far from being favourable to the progress of the expedition. It was more than a week before the fleet could gain the Capes of Delaware. In consequence of information received by the British commanders of the measures taken by the enemy for obstructing the navigation of that river, it was judged impracticable; and the winds were so contrary, that it was past the middle of August when the armament entered Chesapeake Bay, where it was now resolved to land the forces. The winds fortunately proved fair in the Bay;

so

fo that the fleet soon safely gained the mouth of the river Elk, near its extremity. Having proceeded up the Elk, as far as it was capable of admitting the transports, the troops were disembarked without any opposition at Elk Ferry, in a degree of health and spirits, which could scarcely have been expected, after so long and tiresome a confinement. Whilst one part of the army advanced to the head of Elk, the other continued at the landing place, to protect and forward the artillery, stores, provisions, and other necessaries. At the same time Sir William Howe, in order to quiet and conciliate the minds of the people in Pennsylvania, the Delaware Counties, and the adjacent parts of Maryland, and to prevent a total desertion of the country in the front of the royal army, published a declaration, promising that the strictest regularity should be observed by the forces under his command, and the most perfect security and effectual protection afforded to all his majesty's peaceable and well disposed subjects. The same security and protection was extended to such persons, who not having been guilty of assuming legislative or judicial authority, might otherwise have acted illegally in subordinate stations, provided they would immediately return to their habitations, and demean themselves properly in future; and a free and general pardon was offered to all rebel officers and soldiers in arms, who should immediately surrender themselves to the royal army.

Meanwhile general Washington, with the Provincial army from the Jerseys, had returned to the defence of Philadelphia; and upon advice of the descent at Elk Ferry, advanced to the Brandywine Creek or River, which crossing the country about halfway to that city, falls into the Delaware. The rebel force, including the militia, amounted to about fifteen thousand men; which was probably about the number, making the necessary allowance for posts and communications, that the royal army could bring into the field*. As eight days elapsed before Sir William Howe was enabled to quit the head of Elk, and pursue his march towards Philadelphia, Washington had advanced during that interval from the Brandywine, and taken post on Red Clay Creek, whence he pushed detachments forward to occupy difficult passes in the woods, and interrupt the march of the royal army. The British general, from prudence as well as his

* It must fill the discerning reader with surprise and astonishment, that the royal army, consisting of the best troops in the world, never met the raw and undisciplined Provincials, from the beginning of the year 1776 to the end of the campaign of 1777, but with an equal, if not a superior force, and yet no decisive advantage was gained. Who was in fault?—The generals have refused to tell us. Every one sensible that he is liable to error and misconduct, has declined to blame the conduct of his predecessor, or that of the commander in chief; and the result of their information seems to be, that America is unconquerable, and that the ministers are wrong in wasting the national treasure in such a fruitless attempt. But would it not have been more generous in those gentlemen to have made this discovery before they had ate the bread of the nation so long? Surely the trifling sum of an hundred pounds a-day could not influence men of liberal minds to betray their country. But if this is true, they have betrayed it. Even the sanguine Burgoyne seems to have turned accuser. Broken by misfortunes, he ascribes his disgrace to the minister who called him forth to action, in preference to a successful commander, who furnished him with every instrument of destruction that human imagination can devise, as well as with the force that he desired for the accomplishment of his enterprise.

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natural disposition, was sparing of his troops. This caution, however, could not prevent some skirmishes, in which the king's forces were always victorious; and after several movements on both sides, the rebels retired beyond the Brandywine, where they took possession of the heights, and covered the fords, with an evident intention of disputing the passage of that river.

Sept. 11.

While things were in this situation, the royal army advanced, at day-break, in two columns towards the enemy. The right, under the command of general Knyphausen, marched directly to Chad's Ford, which lay in the centre of the enemy's line, where they expected and were prepared for the principal attack; their right and left covering other less practicable fords, for some miles on each hand. A heavy cannonade on both sides began about ten o'clock, and was well supported during the day. Meantime the general, to amuse and deceive the enemy, made repeated dispositions for forcing the ford; the passage of the river at that place, seeming to be his immediate and determined object. In order to impede or frustrate this design, they had passed several detachments to the other side; which, after a course of skirmishes, sometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, were at length finally, and with eager pursuit, driven over the river. Thus the noise and semblance of battle was preserved, and the expectation of the Provincials kept continually alive to the most immediate and decisive consequences, as they supposed the whole royal force was in their front, while lord Cornwallis, at the head of the second column, took a long circuitous march to the left; crossed the Forks of the Brandywine, about two o'clock in the afternoon, without opposition or difficulty, at Jeffery's Ford, where the division of the river rendered it of course more practicable, and then turning short down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to fall upon the enemy's right wing.

General Washington having however, about noon, received intelligence of this movement, endeavoured to provide against it as well as his circumstances would admit, by detaching general Sullivan with all the force he could venture to withdraw from the main body, to oppose lord Cornwallis. That officer shewed a considerable share of judgment in the execution of his instructions. He took a very strong position on the commanding grounds above Birmingham church, with his left extending towards the Brandywine: his artillery was advantageously disposed, and both flanks were covered with thick woods. As this position obliged lord Cornwallis to form a line of battle, it was almost four o'clock before the action began. Then, as on all former occasions, the superiority of disciplined valour was soon conspicuous. Neither the masterly disposition of the enemy, the advantages of situation, nor a heavy and well supported fire of small arms and artillery, were at all sufficient to restrain the impetuous, yet steady courage, of the British and Hessian troops. The light infantry, chasseurs, grenadiers, and guards, bearing down all obstacles, and rushing through all dangers, drove the enemy from their posts, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, and pursued them, without once allowing them to breathe, into the woods on their rear. Several of those corps that were first engaged, got indeed

to deeply entangled in the woods through the eagerness of pursuit, that they were not able to rejoin the army before night. In the meantime, as the main and collected body continued advancing, it came upon a party of the enemy which had not yet been engaged, and which had taken possession of a strong post, to cover the retreat of the defeated wing of their army. Here a warm action ensued; and as it was dark before the post could be forced, this obstruction, together with the uncertainty of ground, and of general Knyphausen's situation, prevented Lord Cornwallis from pursuing his advantage farther.

The Hessian general, after successfully amusing the enemy during the whole day with the apprehension of an attack which he did not intend, made his passage good in the evening, when he found that they were deeply engaged on the right. He carried the entrenchment, and took the battery and cannon, which defended and covered Chad's Ford. At this instant the approach of some of the British troops, who had been entangled in, and had penetrated through the woods, threw the Provincials into such consternation, that an immediate retreat, or rather flight, took place in all quarters; but the lateness of the evening, or some other circumstance with which we are unacquainted, prevented a pursuit here, as in the former instance, otherwise the force of the Americans would have been finally broken. Their loss, as things happened, was very considerable; three hundred men, according to computation, being killed on the spot, six hundred wounded, and four hundred taken prisoners. The loss in the royal army was, on the whole, small below proportion, the slain not amounting to one hundred; but the officers suffered severely, though no one of higher rank than a captain was killed.

Notwithstanding this victory, and the precipitate flight of the rebels, the royal army proceeded with caution and circumspection, which did not seem altogether unnecessary; for the enemy were not disheartened, and Washington exerted himself with uncommon ability, to repair a defeat which it was not in his power to prevent. The body of the royal army was posted in the neighbourhood of Concord and Ashetown, whilst a detachment was sent to seize on Wilmington, which was made a receptacle for the sick and wounded. On a movement towards Goshen, general Howe received intelligence, that the rebel army had quitted Philadelphia, and was advanced upon the Lancaster road, a few miles above that place. On this advice, he took such effectual measures, it is said, for bringing them to an immediate engagement, that nothing but the event which followed, or something of a similar nature, could have frustrated his design. An excessive fall of rain, which continued for four and twenty hours, rendered both parties totally incapable of action. But though a general engagement was prevented by this accident and the address of Washington, very essential service was performed by a detachment under major-general Grey, in consequence of information that general Wayne, with fifteen hundred Provincials, was lying in the woods, to watch an opportunity of harrassing the rear of the royal army. General Grey, with two regiments and a body of light infantry, surprised and forced the enemy's outposts, about one in the morning; and guided by the light of their fires, rushed

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in upon the encampment, where a severe and silent execution by the bayonet took place, not a shot being fired. Three hundred Americans were killed or wounded, and a great number of prisoners taken, besides baggage, arms, and stores.

There being nothing now to oppose his progress, general Howe passed the Schuylkill, and advanced to German Town; and lord Cornwallis next morning took possession of the rich and flourishing city of Philadelphia, lately the seat of the general Congress, and the fountain of the rebel power. A number of the quakers, and some others of the principal inhabitants, who had justly been considered as strongly attached to the royal cause, and violently inimical to the present ruling powers, had been taken into custody on the immediate danger of an invasion. These gentlemen positively refused to acknowledge the government of the Congress: they even refused to confine themselves to their respective dwelling-houses; and boldly appealing to the laws for redress and security to their persons, strongly reproached those, who under pretence of asserting and protecting the liberties of the subject, had involved the whole continent in slavery, contention, and civil war. For this unconquerable loyalty, they were all sent off to Staunton, in Virginia, on the approach of the royal army to Philadelphia.

As soon as lord Howe received intelligence of the success at the Brandywine, and the progress of the king's forces towards the capital of Pennsylvania, he took the most speedy and effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round to the Delaware; not only to be at hand, in order to concur in the active operations of the campaign, but to supply the army with those provisions, stores, and necessaries which he knew must soon be wanted. He accomplished the voyage without much loss, notwithstanding the prodigious number of ships, of different kinds, which he had to conduct; but as the passage to Philadelphia was yet impracticable, the fleet drew up and anchored along the Western or Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle. Some introductory particulars will here be necessary.

When the British troops had taken possession of Philadelphia, their first object was the erecting of batteries to command the river, as well to prevent the intercourse of the American vessels between their upper and lower posts, as to secure the city from any insult by water. The necessity of this measure soon became obvious. The very day after the arrival of the forces, an American frigate named the Delaware, mounting thirty-two guns, anchored within five hundred yards of the unfinished batteries; and being seconded by another frigate, with some smaller vessels, they commenced and supported for some hours a very heavy cannonade both upon the batteries and the town. They did not, however, display that judgment which their knowledge of the river might be supposed to afford. On the fall of the tide the Delaware grounded so effectually that she could not be got off: she was therefore obliged to strike her colours; and the other vessels were compelled to retire with the loss of a schooner, which was driven on shore.

But much was yet to be done, before the passage of the Delaware up to Philadelphia could be rendered practicable, or the enemy expelled from the great
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and numerous works, which they had constructed with wonderful labour and industry. Their chief fortification was on a low marshy island, or rather a bank of mud and sand, which had been accumulated in the Delaware near the junction of the Schuylkill, which from its nature was denominated Mud Island. On the opposite shore of New Jersey, at a place called Red Bank, they had also constructed a fort or redoubt, well covered with heavy artillery. In the deep navigable channel between, or under the cover of these batteries, they had sunk several ranges of frames or machines, to which from a resemblance in the construction, they gave the name of *chevaux de frize*. They were composed of traverse beams, firmly united, pointing in various directions, and strongly headed with iron; and they were of such weight and strength, and sunk in such depth of water, as rendered them equally difficult to be weighed or cut through, and destructive to any ship which had the misfortune of striking against them: nor could any attempt for raising them, or opening the channel of the river be made, until the command of the shores on each side was fully obtained.

About three miles lower down the river, the Provincials had sunk another range of these machines, and were constructing for their protection some strong and extensive works; which, though not yet finished, were in such forwardness as to be provided with artillery, and to command their object, at a place on the Jersey side called Billing's Point. These works and machines were farther supported by several galleys mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed vessels of different sizes, and some fire ships. On the representation of captain Hammond, who had been sent to examine the river, general Howe detached two regiments, consisting of three battalions, under colonel Stirling, to dislodge the enemy from Billing's Point. This service was performed without loss or opposition; the rebels on hearing of the approach of the troops, having spiked their cannon, set fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with the greatest precipitation:—and captain Hammond, by firmness and perseverance, in spite of a vigorous opposition from the marine force of the enemy, was enabled to carry the principal object of the enterprise into effect, by cutting away and weighing up, with incredible difficulty, so much of the *chevaux de-frize*, as opened a narrow passage for ships through this lower barrier.

On the return of the troops from Billing's Point, another regiment was sent to meet them at Chester, in order that they might altogether form a sufficient escort for a large convoy of provisions to the camp. The main army still lay at German Town, a very long and considerable village about six miles from Philadelphia, and lord Cornwallis occupied that city with four battalions of grenadiers. The rebels were encamped at Skippack Creek, about sixteen miles from German Town: they had received some reinforcements; and they were not ignorant that the royal army was weakened, by the detachments it had made to Philadelphia and Chester. These circumstances encouraged an enterprise little expected, and seemingly as little suited to the general caution and supposed disposition of Washington. The Provincial army, instead of shunning, as usual, every thing that might lead to an action, quitted its strong post at Skippack Creek at six in the

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the evening, and marched all night to surprize and attack the royal army in its camp at German Town.

About three o'clock in the morning, the approach of the enemy was discovered by the patrols, and the troops were immediately called to arms. The rebels began their attack upon the fortieth regiment, and a battalion of light infantry, which were posted at the head of the village. These corps being over powered by numbers, after a vigorous resistance, were obliged to give way. In this exigency, a measure upon which the fortune of the day perhaps depended, was instantly and happily adopted by lieutenant-colonel Muirgrave; who, with six companies of the fortieth regiment, threw himself into a strong stone house, which lay full in the front of the enemy. By this measure they were checked in their forward hope of gaining complete and immediate possession of the village; which among other obvious advantages, would have enabled them effectually to separate the right and left wings of the royal army, as the line of encampment crossed German Town at right angles about the centre. The colonel and his brave party, though surrounded by a whole brigade, and attacked on every side with great impetuosity, defended the house with the most unshaken courage; and though the enemy at length brought cannon up to the assault, he still maintained his post with the same intrepid resolution, pouring a dreadful and unceasing fire through the windows, until affairs had taken such a turn as afforded him relief.

That change was accomplished by major-general Grey; who bringing the front of a considerable part of the left wing by a timely movement to the village, led on three battalions of the third brigade, and attacked the enemy with great vigour: and he was as bravely supported and seconded, by brigadier general Agnew, at the head of the fourth brigade. The engagement was now for some time very warm; but the enemy being attacked on the opposite side of the village by two regiments of the right wing, were thrown into total disorder, and driven out of the place with considerable slaughter. Meanwhile the light infantry, and piquets of the right wing, supported by the fourth, and seconded by the forty-ninth regiment, were closely engaged with the enemy's left. General Grey, however, after breaking their force in the village fortunately passed it, and was bringing forward the left wing, when all execution was prevented by flight. The rebels now fled on all sides, and were pursued for some miles; but the country being woody and stony, the pursuit was attended with so little effect, that they carried their cannon clear off.

The loss of the royal army in this action, including the wounded and a few prisoners, rather exceeded that at the Brandywine, the whole amounting to five hundred and thirty-five; but the proportion of slain was still smaller than in the former engagement, and did not exceed seventy. Among the last number, however, were unhappily some very brave and distinguished officers, particularly brigadier-general Agnew, and lieutenant-colonel Bird. The number of officers wounded was considerable. The loss of the Provincials was estimated by general Howe, in his dispatches*, at between two and three hundred slain, six hun-

* The Provincials never published any account of their loss at the Brandywine or German Town.

dred wounded, and above four hundred prisoners. Among the slain was general Nash, with several other officers of all ranks, and fifty-four officers were taken prisoners.

Various have been the reasonings on this battle: the following reflections, however, naturally present themselves. The Americans here, and here only, acted on the offensive; their force was superior to that of the royal army; if they had not all, they had still many of the advantages of surprise: they were repulsed and routed, though led by their most able commander. The obvious conclusion therefore is, That a fair action, or what appears to be the same thing, a victory pursued, would at any time, during this or the former campaign, have terminated in the utter dispersion of the rebels. The difficulty of bringing them to a fair action, in such a country as North America must however be admitted; and the danger of pursuing an advantage, as well as the impracticability, in many instances, of improving it in that country, is acknowledged by all military men who have served in the present war.

In consequence of these peculiar circumstances, and partly perhaps through a want of enterprise in the British commander, the rebel army, though repeatedly defeated, still kept the field. It was even evident, that until the Delaware could be cleared, the royal army could not support itself in Philadelphia during the winter; and therefore, as the whole fruits of the campaign depended upon that operation, about a fortnight after the battle, the king's troops removed from German Town to the capital, as being a more convenient situation for the reduction of Mud Island, as well as for co-operating with the naval force in opening the navigation of the river. To relate particularly all the steps taken by the admiral and general for that purpose, would be equally tedious and uninteresting: it will therefore be sufficient to observe, that a strong body of the Hessians under colonel Donop, were repulsed in attempting to force the redoubt at Red Bank, and that the ships failed in an attack upon Mud Island, as they could not bring their fire to bear with sufficient effect upon the works, by reason of the obstructions in the channel. The brave colonel Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; several of his best officers were killed or disabled, and the loss of the Hessians in private men was very considerable. The Augusta frigate and Merlin sloop of war were destroyed, in consequence of their being grounded: the first took fire in the engagement, and the latter was blown up, in order to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The ill success of this enterprise did not, however, damp the resolution of the commanders, in the prosecution of the absolutely necessary undertaking of opening the navigation of the Delaware. New measures were adopted, and every preparation made that could insure success to the design. Nor were the enemy idle on their side: they well understood the great importance of keeping the naval forces separated from the army, and of rendering the communication between them tedious and difficult. They accordingly left nothing undone to strengthen their defences: but the officers and sailors of the fleet being continually employed in conveying heavy artillery, provisions, and stores up the river, by

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a narrow channel on the west side, to a small morassy island, where they erected batteries, which greatly incommoded the enemy's works on Mud Island; and the Isis and Somerset men of war, having passed up the east channel, such a vigorous attack was made upon that place by the ships in front, and by two armed vessels and the batteries in other quarters, that the rebel artillery was soon silenced, and the fortifications were abandoned in the night. The enemy's works at Red Bank were also abandoned on the approach of lord Cornwallis, with a powerful detachment; and their shipping having now lost all protection on either side of the river, was all destroyed, except a few vessels, which took the advantage of a foggy night to pass the batteries at Philadelphia, and escape to places of security farther up.

But though the Delaware was now so far opened as to admit the passage of transports, and ships of moderate burden, with provisions and necessaries, for the use of the army at Philadelphia, the season of the year, and other impediments, made the perfect clearing of the river impracticable. Meanwhile Washington, being reinforced with four thousand men from the northern army, advanced within fourteen miles of that capital, to a place called White Marsh, where he encamped in a very strong position. As this movement seemed to indicate a design to hazard a new engagement, general Howe marched the royal army from Philadelphia on the fourth of December at night, and took post next morning on Chestnut Hill, in front of the enemy's right wing. Finding that this quarter afforded no opening for an attack, he took a new position opposite to their centre and left. Here he was no more successful; and therefore, after continuing three days constantly in their sight, and finding their camp as impracticable, as his attempts to induce them to leave it were ineffectual, he returned to Philadelphia without being pursued or incommoded. To fight when attacked or opposed, and to oblige an enemy to fight, when they are not inclined to it, or only on their own terms, require very different degrees of talents.

As the season was now too far advanced to admit of any other attention on our part, except what related to the accommodation of the army, a grand detachment was sent out to procure forage for the winter. This expedition was successfully performed, and with it the campaign upon the Delaware may be said to have been closed; a campaign which affords room for the most serious reflections. The British arms were, in every action, crowned with success; two very considerable victories were obtained; and in every attempt, except the first attack on Red Bank, they equally triumphed: yet with all this tide of success, the only fruit of Sir William Howe's victories, was a good winter lodging for himself and his army in Philadelphia. What was still more discouraging, general Washington had given repeated proofs, that though he might engage the royal army, when he thought it to be his advantage, it was beyond the power of the British commander to bring him to action against his will. These considerations gave occasion to much uneasiness in England, where the news of the first successes had caused the greatest exultation; and that uneasiness was heightened into the deepest melancholy, and most poignant affliction, when the mortifying

intelligence, long in compassion withheld, was received of the final miscarriage of the northern expedition, and the utter ruin of the army under general Burgoyne.

We have already had occasion to observe, that the noble lord at the head of the American department had founded the most sanguine hopes on the success of the northern expedition. Accordingly nothing was left undone, on his side, that could give efficacy to the operations of the number of regular troops which could be spared for that service. Besides Canada, it was expected, would supply a war-like though undisciplined militia, well calculated for, and acquainted both with the nature of the service and the country; nor were means neglected to bring several nations of savages into the field. In order to strengthen this irregular but necessary aid, arms and accoutrements were amply provided; and general Carleton, though justly disgusted, that an expedition within his government, should be committed to an officer, in an independent capacity, who had lately acted under his direction, omitted nothing in his power to forward the preparations*. The regular force consisted of four thousand British, and three thousand German troops, exclusive of the artillery corps. A powerful artillery may indeed be considered as the great and effective arm in an American war, where a numerous and undisciplined enemy is to be continually attacked in different posts, and driven out of woods and fastnesses: that part of the service was therefore particularly attended to by the ministry; and the brass train that was sent out upon this expedition, was perhaps the finest, and probably the most excellently supplied with officers and private men, that had been allotted to second the operations of any army, which did not far exceed the present in numbers. The number of Indians and Canadians in actual service is not distinctly known, but may be computed at full three thousand; namely, two thousand of the latter, and one thousand of the former.

General Burgoyne was seconded in this expedition by able and experienced officers. Of these major general Philips of the artillery, who had gained such distinguished reputation during the late war in Germany deserves to be particularly mentioned. He was also assisted by the brigadier-generals Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton, all eminent officers; by the Brunswick major general, baron Reidesel, and brigadier-general Specht. The army was, in every respect, in the best condition that could possibly be expected or wished; the troops being in high spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy. Besides the principal expedition, a detachment of seven or eight hundred men under colonel St. Leger, proceeded by the way of Oswego to the Mohawk River, in order to co-operate with the main army. This detachment was joined by a strong body of

* That general Carleton was disgusted, sufficiently appeared from the complaints of his friends in England, as well as from the immediate resignation of his government. He was not even consulted, it is said, as to the number or nature of the troops that were to remain in his hands for the defence or security of Canada; and he had the mortification to see the army which he had lately commanded, and twice led to victory, placed under the direction of officers then obedient to his controul, and this when he expected to lead it to still greater success.

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savages. The regular forces left in Canada, after the departure of these two armaments, amounted to about three thousand seven hundred men, including under this description the Highland emigrants.

June 21.

The principal army being at length arrived, and encamped near the river Boquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain, and at no great distance to the northward of Crown Point, general Burgoyne there met the Indians in congress; and afterwards, in compliance with the custom of those savages, gave them a war feast. The speech which he made to them on this occasion has been published: it was calculated to excite their ardour in the common cause, and at the same time to repress their barbarity. They were told, that they should only kill those who were opposed to them in arms; that old men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they should only scalp those whom they had slain in fair opposition; that under no pretence or colour of provocation should they scalp the wounded, or even the dying, much less kill persons in that condition, by way of evading the injunction. They were promised a compensation for prisoners, and informed that they should be called to account for scalps; but though these injunctions did in some measure mitigate, they were not of force wholly to restrain their ferocity, of which some unhappy instances afterwards appeared.

General Burgoyne soon after dispersed a manifesto, calculated to spread terror among the contumacious, and particularly to raise in their minds every latent impression of fear, derived from the knowledge or information of the cruel operations of the savages, whose numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose upon their prey described with uncommon energy. The force of that great power, which was now spread by sea and land, to embrace or to crush every part of North America, was displayed in full, lofty, and expressive language; the rebellion with its effects, and the conduct of the present seditious leaders, were charged with the highest colouring, and exhibited a most hideous picture of unparalleled injustice, cruelty, persecution, and tyranny; encouragement and employment were assured to those, who with a disposition and ability suited to the purpose, should actually assist in redeeming their countrymen from slavery, and in the re-establishment of legal government; protection and security were held out to the peaceable and industrious, who should continue in their habitations; and all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who should persevere in their hostility.

The army having made a short stay at Crown Point, for the establishment of magazines, an hospital, and other necessary services, proceeded in concert with the naval armament, to invest Ticonderoga, which was the first object of their enterprise. This fort, as we have already had occasion to observe, lies on the western shore, and only a few miles to the northward of the commencement of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain, and is seated on an angle of land, three sides of which are surrounded by water covered with rocks. Great part of the fourth side is protected by a deep morass; and where that fails, on

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the north-west quarter, the old French lines still continued as a defence. These lines the Provincials had strengthened with additional works and a block house. They had other posts with works, on the left, towards Lake George; and to the right of the French lines, they had two new block houses, with other works. On the eastern shore of the inlet, and opposite to Ticonderoga, they had taken still more pains in fortifying an high circular hill, to which they gave the name of Mount Independence. On the summit of this hill they had erected a star fort enclosing a large square of barracks, well fortified and supplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the west side projected into the water, was strongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchment well lined with heavy artillery: a battery about half way up the mount, sustained and covered these lower works; and the Americans with their usual industry, had joined those two posts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This bridge was supported by twenty-two funken piers of very large timber, placed at nearly equal distances. The spaces between these were filled with separate floats, each about fifty feet long, and twelve wide, strongly fastened together with chains and rivets, and fixed in the same manner to the funken pillars. On the Lake Champlain side, the bridge was defended by a boom composed of very large pieces of timber, fastened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and half square. Thus not only a communication was maintained between these two posts, but all access by water from the northern side was totally cut off.

But notwithstanding the apparent strength of Ticonderoga, it was entirely overlooked, and its works effectually commanded, by a mountain called Sugar Hill. This circumstance occasioned a consultation among the rebel officers, in regard to the fortifying of that eminence; but their works were already too extensive for their powers of defence, and would have required, to man them completely, ten or twelve, whereas they had only between five and six thousand men. Besides, it was hoped, that the difficulty of ascending Sugar Hill, and the savage inequality of its surface, would prevent the king's forces from attempting to profit by its elevation. Meantime the royal army approached to the object of its destination with equal caution and order, on both sides of the Lake, the naval force keeping its station in the centre. The frigates and gun boats cast anchor, just out of cannon shot from the enemy's works; and on the approach of the right wing on the Ticonderoga side, the rebels immediately abandoned and set fire to their works, block-houses, and saw mills, towards Lake George, and permitted major-general Phillips to take possession of the very important post of Mount Hope; which besides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with that lake.

This unexpected advantage being gained, the royal army proceeded with such expedition in the construction of its works, the bringing up of artillery, stores, and provisions, and the establishment of its posts and communications, that matters were so far advanced in a few days, as to require little more time for completely investing the Provincial posts on both sides of the lake. Sugar Hill was also examined; and the advantages it presented were found to be so im-

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portant, that considerable progress was made in cutting a road to its top, through very rough ground, and constructing a level there for a battery, when a hasty council of war held in the fort, by the rebel officers, rendered any farther preparations for a siege unnecessary. In that council it was represented, that their whole effective numbers were not sufficient to man one half of the works; and that as the British batteries were ready to open, and the place would be invested on all sides within twenty-four hours, nothing could save the troops but an immediate evacuation of the fortifications. This determination was unanimously agreed to by the council, and the place was accordingly evacuated that night.

The baggage of the rebel army, with such artillery, stores, and provisions, as the necessity of the occasion would permit, were embarked with a strong detachment on board of above two hundred bateaux, and dispatched under convoy of five armed galleys, on the South River, (or what nearer its source is called Wood Creek) in their way to Skeneborough. The principal army took its route by the way of Castletown, with a view of reaching the same place by land. But they were not suffered to proceed unmolested. No sooner did the first light of the morning discover the flight of the enemy, than their main body was eagerly pursued by general Frazer, at the head of his brigade; consisting of the light troops, grenadiers, and some other corps. Major-general Reidesel was also ordered to join in the pursuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunswick troops, either to support general Frazer, or to act separately as circumstances should direct. The provincials left a prodigious artillery behind them, amounting to upwards of an hundred pieces of cannon. They likewise left some military stores of different forts, and no inconsiderable stock of provisions, at Ticonderoga.

July 6.

General Burgoyne conducted the pursuit by water in person; and that bridge and those works which the Americans had laboured hard for ten months to render impenetrable, were cut through in less time by the British seamen and artificers, than it would have taken them to examine their structure. In a word, they did their business with such incredible speed and effect, that not only the gun-boats, but the Royal George and Inflexible frigates, had passed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the vessels, and the pursuit up the river was supported with such vigour, that by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremost division of the gun-boats was closely engaged with the Provincial galleys near Skeneborough Falls. Meanwhile three regiments that had been landed at South Bay, ascended and passed a mountain with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the Falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. But their speedy flight prevented the execution of that design; and on the approach of the frigates, the galleys, which were already over-powered by the gun-boats, became an easy prey. Two of them were taken, and three blown up. Now losing all spirit, and giving way entirely to despair, the rebels set fire to their works, stockaded fort, mills, and bateaux, after which they escaped as well as they could up the Wood Creek. This stroke seemed to complete the ruin of the detachment, as the fugitives

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were left naked in the woods, without provisions, or any other means of defence except what they derived from the arms in their hands.

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Confusion and dismay equally attended the main body of the Provincials, who retreated by land. General Frazer continued and supported the chase throughout the vehement heat of a burning day, with his usual activity and vigour; and having received intelligence that the enemy's rear, commanded by colonel Francis, one of their best and bravest officers, was at no great distance, his troops lay that night on their arms. About five o'clock next morning he came up with the rebels, whom he found strongly posted, with great advantage of ground, and a still greater superiority in point of numbers. He did not, however, hesitate to begin the attack, as he hoped soon to be joined by general Reidesel, and was apprehensive that the enemy might escape, if he delayed. But Frazer's brigade was not supported so soon as he had reason to expect: the Provincials, encouraged by the advantages they possessed, made a vigorous defence; and though the light infantry and grenadiers gave several distinguished proofs of their valour and address, the dispute remained undecided when the Germans arrived, and put an end to the struggle. The enemy now fled on all sides, leaving their brave commander with many other officers, and above two hundred men dead on the field. About the same number, besides a colonel, seven captains, and ten subalterns, were taken prisoners. Above six hundred are supposed to have been wounded, many of whom perished miserably in the woods. The principal loss on the side of the royal army was that of major Grant, a gallant officer, who was killed.

July 7.

On receiving an account of this disaster, and of the more fatal stroke at Skeneborough, St. Clair, who had commanded in Ticonderoga, and was now with the van of the Provincial army at Castletown, about six miles farther on, struck into the woods on his left. He was apprehensive of being intercepted at Fort Anne, and perhaps doubtful whither he should direct his course. Meantime colonel Hill was dispatched with the ninth regiment from Skeneborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives that fled along the Wood Creek; whilst another party of the army was employed in carrying bateaux over the Falls, in order to facilitate their movement to dislodge the enemy from that post. In this expedition the colonel was attacked by a body of the rebels consisting, as he conjectured, of six times the number of his detachment. After finding all their efforts in front ineffectual, to force the judicious position he had taken, they attempted to surround the regiment. This alarming attempt put him under the necessity of changing his ground in the heat of action. Nothing less than the most perfect discipline, supported by the coolest intrepidity, could have enabled the regiment to execute so critical a movement in the face of the enemy in such circumstances: it was however performed, with such steadiness and effect, that the rebels, after an attack of three hours, were totally repulsed, and with such loss, that having set fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmost precipitation towards Fort Edward, on Hudson's River. The loss of the royal army in all this service, and in so many different engagements, some of which

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were warm, was very small; the whole in killed and wounded, scarce exceeding two hundred men.

Such was the rapid torrent of success, which, for a time, swept away every thing before the northern army in its progress. It is therefore little to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their good fortune, and deemed their prowess to be irresistible: if they regarded their enemy with contempt, considered their toils to be nearly at an end, and Albany already in their power; if the reduction of the northern provinces appeared to them rather a work of time, by reason of the extent of the country, which could not be traversed in a day, than an arduous task full of difficulty and danger. Nor was this opinion confined to America. The joy and exultation of the court party in England was extreme. All the contemptuous and degrading charges which had been brought against the Provincials as wanting the resolution and abilities of men, even in the defence of whatever was most dear to them, were now confidently repeated and believed. Nay, those who had most zealously asserted the cause of the colonies, could not help feeling on this occasion, that the Americans sunk not a little in their estimation. An opinion became general, that the war in effect was over; and that, after the loss of those great keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the Lakes, all further resistance would prove in vain, and could only serve to render more severe the terms to be imposed upon the rebels.

General Burgoyne, whose hopes of future success were sanguine in proportion to the ardour of his zeal to command it, continued for some days with the troops at Skenesborough, where they were under the necessity of waiting for the arrival of their tents, baggage, and provisions. In the meantime no labour was spared in opening roads by the way of Fort Anne, for advancing against the enemy. Equal industry was used in clearing the Wood Creek from the obstacles of fallen trees, sunken stones, and other impediments (which had been laid in the way by the enemy) in order to open a passage for bateaux, for the conveyance of artillery, stores, provisions, and camp-equipage. Nor was less diligence used at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, provision-vessels, and bateaux, over land into Lake George. These were all laborious works; but the spirit of the army was, at that time, superior to danger or toil.

The Provincials, on their part, were not idle. General Schuyler was at Fort Edward, where he was endeavouring to collect the militia. He had been joined by St. Clair, with the wretched remains of his army. This officer had taken a round about march of seven days through the woods; in which from the exceeding badness of the weather, with the want of covering, provisions, and all manner of necessaries, the troops under his command had suffered the most extreme misery. Many others of the fugitives had also arrived; but so totally broken down, that they were nearly as destitute of arms, ammunition, and all the materials of war, as they were of vigour, hope, and spirit, to use them with effect. They had leisure, however, to repair the one, and to recruit the other, before either was again called into exercise.

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Although the direct distance from Fort Anne, where the bateaux navigation on Wood-Creek terminates, or even from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, is only between twenty and thirty miles, yet such is the savage face and impracticable nature of the country, that the march of the king's forces thither was a work of much labour and time. It will scarcely be credited in after ages, and may well now find difficulty in obtaining belief in any other part of the world, except in England and her unhappy colonies, that it cost an active and vigorous army, without any enemy to oppose its progress, nearly as many days in passing from one part of a country to another, as the distance in a straight line would have measured miles!—yet such, however extraordinary, is the fact, which certainly has no parallel in history sacred or profane, since the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert. But what is still more extraordinary, the road from Ticonderoga to Fort Edward, and even to Albany, is almost as well known as that from London to York.

The unraveling of this mystery, however, is very simple. By returning down the South River to Ticonderoga, after the defeat of the rebels, general Burgoyne might again have embarked his army on Lake George, and proceeded to the fort of the same name, at the head of the lake, from which there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. But he was afraid that a retrograde motion in the height of victory, would tend to abate that panic by which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed; and that it would even cool the ardour, and check the animation of the troops, to call them off from the prosecution of their success to a cold and spiritless voyage. These arguments are not without their force; though, on a close examination, it will be found, that they owed their influence, as well as their existence, chiefly to a spirit naturally fervid, and to a mind intoxicated with prosperity. If the ardour of the troops had cooled in the voyage, they would have been fresh and alert for action, when they landed; and what is of the utmost importance, while thus fresh, they would have been near the final object of their enterprise. They would have been irresistible: whereas by marching, for three weeks, through an impracticable wilderness, where the face of the country was so broken with creeks and marshes, that they had more than forty bridges to construct, the strength and spirits of the army must have been much exhausted.

But all these toils and difficulties, which the troops encountered with their usual patience and alacrity, were at length overcome; and hope brightened on the general's crest, at the prospect of the promised land. On the approach of the royal army, the enemy abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga. The enthusiasm of both officers and soldiers, when they reached Hudson's River, which had so long been the object of their eager wishes, may be better imagined than described; and an event in itself so desirable, was rendered still more propitious by other circumstances. As the enemy, by previously abandoning Fort George, and burning their vessels, had left the Lake entirely open, a great embarkation of provisions, stores, and necessaries, was already arrived at that fort from Ticonderoga. The army was accordingly immediately, and fully employed in transporting these ar-

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ticles, with artillery, bateaux, and such other materials as were judged necessary for the prosecution of their future measures, from Fort George to Hudson's River.

Let us now take a view of the condition of the Americans. Though nothing could exceed the astonishment and terror which the loss of Ticonderoga and its immediate consequences spread through the New England provinces, no disposition to submit appeared in any quarter. On the contrary, the New England governments, as well as the Congress, acted with vigour and firmness in their efforts to repel the common danger. Arnold was sent, with a considerable body of troops, to reinforce the routed army under St. Clair. He carried also with him a train of artillery which he received from Washington. On his arrival he drew the provincial forces back from Saratoga to Still Water; a central situation between that place and the mouth of the Mohawk river, where it falls into Hudson's, or the great North River. This movement was made with a view to check the progress of colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing upon the former of those rivers. Arnold's forces were daily increased through the outrages of the savages; who notwithstanding the regulations and endeavours of general Burgoyne, were too prone to the exercise of their usual cruelties to be effectually restrained; and the friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, were equally victims to their undistinguishing rage.

Occasion was taken from these excesses, which were exaggerated in publications for the purpose, to blacken the royal party and army, and to place in one point of view the barbarities of the Indians, and the cause in which they were exerted. The terror excited by those savage auxiliaries, instead of being productive of the advantages expected from it, therefore, in its consequences, not only counteracted its own immediate influence, but operated in favour of the rebels. The inhabitants of the open and frontier countries had no choice of acting: they had no means of security left, but by abandoning their habitations and taking up arms. Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection of those connexions, those ties of kindred and affection, of nature and of blood, which are dearer than life itself*. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and morasses; which, in this part of the continent, were thickly sown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage; and when their regular army seemed to be annihilated, the spirit of the country produced a greater and more formidable force.

In the meantime the royal army, under general Burgoyne, in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, began to experience those difficulties, which increased as it advanced, and at length overwhelmed it. From the beginning to the middle of August, the troops were continually employed in bringing forward bateaux, provisions, and ammunition, from Fort George to the nearest navigable part of

* The murder of Miss M'Crea, in particular, struck every breast with horror. This young lady is represented to have been in all the innocence of youth and bloom of beauty. Her father is said to have been deeply engaged in the royal cause, and the youth who shared her affections, a British officer, to whom she was to have been married on the very day that she was massacred.

Hudson's river, a distance of about eighteen miles. The toil was excessive in this service, and the effect in no degree equivalent to the expence of labour and time. The roads are in some parts steep, and in others they required great repairs. Of the horses that had been supplied by contract in Canada, (through the various delays and accidents attending so long and intricate a combination of passage by land and water) not more than one third were yet arrived. The industry of the general had been able to collect no more than fifty team of oxen, in all the country through which he had marched. These resources were totally inadequate to the purposes of supplying the army with provisions for its current consumption, and to the establishment, at the same time, of such a magazine as would enable it to prosecute the further operations of the campaign. Exceeding heavy rains added to all these difficulties impeded the service so much, that after the utmost exertions for fifteen successive days, there was not a week's provision in store, nor above ten bateaux in Hudson's River!

While in these embarrassing circumstances, general Burgoyne received intelligence that colonel St. Leger had arrived before Fort Stanwix, and was concerting measures for the reduction of that place. He instantly conceived, that a rapid movement forward, at this critical juncture, would be of great importance. The propriety of such a measure was indeed evident; but the difficulty lay in finding means to carry the design into execution. To maintain such a communication with Fort George, during the whole progress of so extensive a movement, as would afford a daily supply of provisions for the army, was obviously impracticable. Some other source of supply was therefore to be sought, or the design dropped. The enemy received large supplies of cattle from the New England provinces; which passing the upper part of Connecticut River, took the route of Manchester, Arlington, and other parts of the New Hampshire Grants, until they were at length deposited at Bennington; an obscure place, about twenty miles to the eastward of Hudson's River, and which nothing but the present troubles could have called into notice. Bennington was however, at this time, not only a store for cattle, but a magazine for large quantities of corn and other necessaries; and what rendered it peculiarly an object to the royal army, a large number of wheel-carriages, of which they were in great want, was also laid up there. It was guarded by a body of militia, whose force was uncertain and fluctuating.

The British general saw that the possession of this depository, would at once remove all the impediments that restrained the operations of the army, and enable him to proceed directly in the prosecution of his design of co-operating with St. Leger. He accordingly laid a scheme to surprize the place, and entrusted the execution of it to the German lieutenant-colonel Baum, who had been already selected, and was then preparing to conduct an expedition which had similar objects in view, towards the borders of Connecticut River. The force allotted to this service amounted to at least five hundred men; consisting of about two hundred of Reidesel's dismounted German dragoons, captain Frazer's marksmen, the Canada volunteers, a party of loyal Provincials, who were perfectly acquainted

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with

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 furnished with two pieces of artillery.

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In order to facilitate the operations of this detachment, and to be ready to take advantage of its success, the army moved up the east shore of Hudson's River, and encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga; having at the same time thrown a bridge of rafts over, by which the advanced parties were passed to that place. Meanwhile lieutenant-colonel Breyman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs, were posted at Batten Kill, in order, if necessary to support Baum; who, in his march, fell in with a party of the army escorting some cattle and provisions, both of which he took with little difficulty and sent back to the camp. But the same fatal impediment which retarded all the operations of the army, namely the want of hories and carriages, concurred with the badness of the roads, in rendering the advances of this officer so slow, that the enemy were well informed of his design, and had time to prepare for his reception before his arrival. Having received intelligence on his approach, that the rebels were too strong to be attacked by his present force, he took post near Santcoick Mills, on the nearer branch of a stream which becomes afterwards the Hoesick River, but which is there called Walloon Creek, and about four miles distant from Bennington; sending at the same time an express to the British general with an account of his situation.

This notice was not neglected. Colonel Breyman was instantly dispatched from Batten Kill to reinforce the detachment under Baum; but that evil fortune now began to appear, which henceforth, like an over-ruling fatality, continued to persecute the unfortunate, though now high-spirited Burgoyne, and his brave but distressed army. Breyman was so obstructed by bad weather and bad roads, that he was two days in marching twenty-four miles*; and general Starke, who commanded the militia at Bennington, advanced on the morning of the second day, to attack Baum in his post, which he had entrenched, and rendered as defensible as time and its nature would admit. The colonel made a brave defence; but his small works being at length carried on every side, and his two pieces of cannon taken, the Indians, Canadians, and British marksmen, fought refuge in the woods. The German dragoons being less able to escape, still kept together; and when their ammunition was all spent, were bravely led by their commander to charge with their swords. The effort was however ineffectual: they were overpowered by numbers; and the survivors, among whom was the wounded colonel, were made prisoners.

August 16.

Breyman, who was so unfortunate as not to receive the smallest intimation of this disaster, arrived near the same ground about four o'clock in the afternoon; where, instead of meeting his friends, he found his detachment attacked on all sides by the enemy. Notwithstanding the severe fatigue they had undergone, his

* M. Burgoyne, who brings a heavy charge against the Germans in general, on account of the slowness of their motions, affirms that the disaster at Bennington would have been prevented, if the detachment under colonel Breyman had marched at the rate of two miles in the hour.

troops

troops behaved with great spirit and resolution, and drove the rebels in the beginning of the action, from two or three different hills where they had posts: but they were at length overwhelmed by a multitude of enemies, and obliged to seek their safety in flight; a circumstance to which the lateness of the evening was very favourable. The loss of men sustained by these two engagements could not be less than five or six hundred; of whom, however, the greater part were prisoners. But this was not the only, nor indeed the greatest loss: the confidence and courage communicated to the militia by their success—to find that they were able to defeat regular forces, and that neither Englishmen nor Germans were invincible, nor invulnerable to their impression, was of much greater consequence. Their exultation was accordingly excessive: nor could the royal army help feeling some damp to that eagerness of hope, which an unmixed series of fortunate events naturally excites even in the most moderate minds.

Meantime St. Leger carried on his operations against Fort Stanwix, and had been favoured with such signal success, as seemed to render its fate inevitable. Understanding that general Harkimer, a leading man in that country, was marching with nine hundred militia, to the relief of the place, he judiciously dispatched Sir John Johnson, son of the famous Sir William, with some regulars, the whole of his own regiment of loyal Provincials, and a party of Indians, to lie in ambush in the woods, and intercept the enemy on their march. The unsuspecting Americans rushed blindly into the trap that was laid for them; and being thrown into a sudden and inevitable confusion, by a near and heavy fire on almost all sides, it was completed by the savages, who instantly pursuing their fire, broke in upon the disordered ranks of the enemy, and made dreadful havoc among them, with their spears and hatchets. In the midst of such extreme danger, and so bloody an execution, the rebels, however, so far recollected themselves, as to recover an advantageous ground, which enabled them afterwards to maintain a kind of running fight. Their loss notwithstanding was great, being computed at four hundred killed, and two hundred prisoners. The rest escaped into the woods.

August 6.

On the day, and probably during the time of this engagement, the provincial garrison in Fort Stanwix, having received intelligence of the approach of their friends, endeavoured to make a diversion in their favour, by a vigorous and well conducted sally, under the direction of colonel Willet, the second in command. Willet executed his business with ability and spirit: he did considerable mischief in the camp, brought off some trophies, no inconsiderable spoil, and a few prisoners. Encouraged by this success, he afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, a much more perilous enterprise: they passed by night through the works of the besiegers, in contempt of the vigilance and cruelty of the savages, and made their way for fifty miles through pathless woods and unexplored morasses, in order to raise the country, and bring relief to the fort.

Colonel St. Leger was sensible of the danger, as well as of the probability of such relief arriving, and therefore left no means untried to profit of his victory, by intimidating the garrison. He sent verbal and written messages stating their

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hopeless condition, the utter destruction of their friends, and the impossibility of their obtaining any relief, as general Burgoyne was now at Albany receiving the submissions of the neighbouring countries: he magnified his own force; and he particularly dwelt on the pains he had taken in softening the rage of the Indians, while he related their bitter execrations, in case of longer resistance, and the impossibility of restraining them, if irritated by a fruitless obstinacy, from massacring not only the garrison, but every man and woman in the Mohawk country. Colonel Ganlevort, the governor, was not intimidated by these threats. He replied with great firmness and good sense, that he had been entrusted with the charge of that fort by the United States of America; that he would defend it to the last extremity; and that, as he did not think himself accountable for, he should give himself no concern about the consequences which might attend the discharge of his duty.

This determined tone was not assumed without reason. The fort was stronger, in better condition, and more powerfully defended than St. Leger imagined. After great labour in his approaches, he found that his artillery was not of sufficient weight to make any considerable impression. In order to remedy this defect, he with the greatest diligence set about bringing his approaches nearer, that his fire might be more fully felt. But when the operations for that purpose were almost completed, the Indians, who had for some time been sullen and untractable, received a flying report, that Arnold was coming with a thousand men to relieve Fort Stanwix. The British commander endeavoured to hearten them, by promising to head them himself, to bring his best troops into action, and by calling their leaders out to mark a field of battle. All this flattery, however, was not sufficient to rouse their flagging spirits: the rumour, partly circulated by themselves, not only gained ground, but first doubled and then trebled the number of the enemy, with this comfortable addition, that Burgoyne's army was entirely cut to pieces. St. Leger returned to the camp, and called a council of their chiefs, hoping that through the influence of Sir John Johnson, and that which the superintendants Claus and Butler had over them, they might still be induced to make a stand; but he was disappointed. A body of the Indians decamped while the council was sitting, and the remainder threatened to abandon him, if he did not immediately retreat. He was under the necessity of complying; and it should seem that the rest of his troops were seized with the same panic, as the tents, with most of the artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the garrison.

August 27.

Nothing could have been more untoward in the present state of affairs, than the unfortunate issue of this secondary expedition. The Provincials were again elated, and filled with new confidence. The northern militia began now to look high, and to forget all distinctions between themselves and regular troops; and as this confidence and pride increased, the apprehension of general Burgoyne's army of course declined, until it soon came to be talked of with indifference and contempt, and even its fortune to be publicly prognosticated. In the meantime general Gates, on whose conduct and ability it appears the Americans placed much reliance, had arrived in the camp near Still Water, to take upon

upon him the command of the rebel army. This circumstance enabled Arnold, then second in command, to fit out on an expedition to Fort Stanwix with two thousand men; though for the greater expedition, he quitted the main body, and proceeded by forced marches through the woods with a detachment of nine hundred chosen troops, with which he reached the place only two days after the siege had been raised. So that the fears of the Indians, it appears, were not altogether ill-founded; and that their untractable temper, and watchful apprehension of danger, probably saved them from a severe chastisement, and perhaps St. Leger's whole army from utter ruin.

During these transactions general Burgoyne continued in his camp, on the eastern shore of Hudson's River, nearly opposite to Saratoga, where he exerted the most unremitting industry and persevering efforts in bringing stores and provisions forward from Fort George. As a swell of the water, occasioned by heavy rains, had carried away his bridge of rafts, he threw another of boats over the river at the same place; and having at length, by indefatigable labour, brought forward about thirty days provision, with other necessary stores, he took the resolution of passing Hudson's River with the army*. This he accomplished towards the middle of September, and encamped on the heights and in the plains of Saratoga, the enemy remaining in the neighbourhood of Still Water.

As the king's forces advanced along the river towards the rebels, they found the country very impracticable; but being at length arrived in the front of the enemy, some woods only of no great extent intervening, the general put himself at the head of the British line, which composed the right wing of the royal army. That wing was covered by general Frazer and colonel Breyman, with

Sept. 19.

* This measure has not only been a subject of much discussion among military men, but of parliamentary inquiry. That inquiry is not yet closed; but as far as it has gone, it appears, that if general Burgoyne had not passed Hudson's River, he might have made his way back to Ticonderoga; that his orders were however express to proceed to Albany; and he tells us, that whenever he entertained a doubt on this head, the propriety of devoting the army under his command, in order to facilitate the operations of Sir William Howe, always turned the scale, and prompted him to persevere: he therefore did not think it necessary to call a council of war in regard to the measure of passing Hudson's River, as the peremptory tenor of his orders and the season of the year admitted of no alternative. It appears nevertheless, that his principal officers did not disapprove of that measure; and that the subsequent misfortunes of the army arose from circumstances which we shall have occasion to develop, not from any misconduct in the general. But it also appears, at the same time, to the author of this work, (who is not yet acquainted with lord George Germain's defence) that the general's charge against the American minister is the effect of spleen, disappointment, and ill-humour: for after conversing with Americans, soldiers, and politicians on the subject, He cannot find that the liberty of falling down upon the New England provinces, which the general complains was denied him, would have afforded any greater prospect of success to the king's forces under Mr. Burgoyne, than the route which he was directed to pursue; and how express so ever the general's orders may have been, they could never oblige him to proceed farther than he was able, or be meant to prevent him from taking the most prudent measures for saving his troops. The notion therefore of devoting his army, or that it was meant to be devoted, as he insinuates in his whining letter to the minister, in order to facilitate the operations of Sir William Howe, is an idea too extravagant to deserve a moment's serious consideration.

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the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, who kept along some high grounds that commanded its right flank; being themselves covered by the Indians, loyal Provincials, and Canadians, in the front and flanks. The left wing and artillery, under the major-generals Phillips and Reidefel, kept along the great road and meadows by the river side. Incapable from the nature of the country of perceiving the different combinations of the march, the enemy issued from their camp in great force, with a view of turning the right wing, and taking the British line on the flank; but being unexpectedly checked in their design, by the strong position of general Frazer, they immediately countermarched; and the same peculiarity of country which had occasioned their mistake, now operating as effectually to prevent the discovery of their subsequent movement, and consequently the taking any means to obstruct it, they directed their principal effort to the left of the same wing.

The British troops were not a little surpris'd at the boldness with which the Provincials began the attack, and the vigour and obstinacy with which it was sustained, from three o'clock in the afternoon, till past sun set. Arnold led on the rebel forces, and sought danger with that eagerness and intrepidity, which had long distinguished his character. Though often obliged to give ground, he as often rallied them, and returned to the charge with fresh ardour. It must be observed, however, that the Americans were continually supplied with fresh troops, whilst the action, on the side of the royal army, lay for a long time principally upon the twentieth, the twenty-first, and sixty-second regiments, which were engaged for near four hours without intermission, and behaved with great firmness and gallantry. The twenty-fourth regiment, which belonged to Frazer's brigade, with the grenadiers and part of the light infantry, were indeed for a while brought into action; and Breyman's riflemen, with some other parts of his corps, also did good service: but these troops only acted partially and occasionally, as the heights on which they had been originally posted were of too great importance to be totally evacuated. Major-general Phillips upon first hearing the firing, made his way with major Williams and part of the artillery, through a very difficult part of the wood, and from the time of his arrival rendered most essential service. Major-general Reidefel likewise exerted himself to bring up part of the left wing, and arrived in time to charge the enemy with bravery and effect; yet the rebels did not give up the contest, till the close of day. Then they left the royal army masters of the field, but darkness equally prevented pursuit and prisoners; so that nothing but honour was gained by this hard fought battle, which, notwithstanding their defeat, was to the Americans a kind of victory.

The king's forces had now grappled with such an enemy, as they had never before encountered in America; and such as they were too apt to imagine it could not produce. The delusive idea, that the Provincials could only fight under the cover of walls, hedges, or entrenchments, and were utterly incapable of sustaining a fair and open conflict in the field, was now at an end; an opinion which, as we have already seen, had also in some measure been shaken in

in the fourth. Here they met with an antagonist who seemed as eager for action, as careless of danger, and as indifferent in respect to ground or cover as themselves*. The royal army lost many brave men in this conflict, and it was but a poor consolation to troops in their circumstances, that the rebels lost a greater number. The king's forces lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and in the morning took a position nearly within cannon shot of the enemy's camp; fortifying their right wing, and extending their left, so as to cover those meadows through which the river runs, and where their bateaux and hospitals were placed. The enemy's right, it is said, was unapproachable, and their left too strongly fortified to be intuled †.

The zeal and alacrity of the Indians began now to slacken: such close and dangerous service was by no means suited to their disposition, and the hopes of plunder were narrowed almost to nothing. They were also disgusted by some checks which they had received, on account of their barbarities; and fidelity and honour being principles for which their language has no terms, and of which they could frame no ideas, they deserted the royal army in the season of its danger and distress, when their aid would have been more particularly useful; affording a second instance, within a short time, of the little reliance that should be placed in such auxiliaries. A great desertion also prevailed among the Canadians and loyal Provincials; nor does it appear, that the services of those who remained were much to be depended upon.

General Burgoyne had from the beginning, nor did it, he declares, entirely forsake him at this time, a firm hope of being powerfully succoured, if necessary, or at least of being met and joined at Albany by a strong force from the army at New York ‡. He now received, with great difficulty, a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, informing him of his intention to make a diversion on the North River, by attacking Fort Montgomery, and some other fortresses which the rebels had erected, in order to guard the passage up that river to Albany. Though this diversion fell far short of the aid which Burgoyne expected, or at least wished for, he flattered himself that it would yet afford essential service, by obliging Gates to divide his forces. He accordingly returned the messenger, and afterwards dispatched two officers in disguise, with other confidential persons, all

* General Burgoyne declared before the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into his conduct, that he never saw more active or fit soldiers than the American regulars, or continental battalions, and that even the militia refused to fight; but that he had served against the Provincials, that he would engage to march from one end of North America to the other with only ten thousand men. His officers vary in their opinions as to this, what wonder that ministers should find themselves deceived in a matter so important as this!

† The most respectable officers evinced in regard to the probability of improving the advantage gained over the rebels on the 10th of September, some to leave the matter in doubt; and when this is the case, it would become a historical difficulty.

‡ That hope however, it appears, though natural and reasonable at first, ought now to have been considerably abated, as general Burgoyne had long before this time received a letter from Sir William Howe, informing him of his expedition to the northward, and of the moderate force left with Sir Henry Clinton.

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separately and by different routes, to acquaint general Clinton with the exact state, situation, and condition of the army under his command; to press him urgently to the immediate prosecution of his design, and to inform him that the northern army was enabled in point of provision, and the general fixed in his determination, to hold his present position, in the hope of favourable events, until the twelfth of the following month, or about three weeks from the departure of the messengers. In the meantime, every exertion of military skill was employed in fortifying the camp, and strong redoubts were erected for the protection of the magazines and hospitals; not only to guard against a sudden attack, but for their security in any future movement which the army might make, in order to turn the enemy's flank:—and the strictest watch on the motions of the enemy, as well as attention to their own security, became every day more necessary for the king's troops, as the rebel army was continually increasing in force, by the accession of fresh bodies of the militia.

The spirit of exertion and enterprise which was now roused in the New England provinces, was indeed become too general, and was too much animated by success, to be easily withstood at once in all the different points of its direction. Whilst general Burgoyne was fully engaged with Gates and Arnold, and found himself already involved in circumstances sufficiently perplexing, all his difficulties were increased, and his situation was rendered much more critical and precarious, by an unexpected enterprise of the militia, from the upper parts of New Hampshire and the head of Connecticut, totally to cut off all communication with Canada. This expedition was conducted under the direction of general Lincoln, and the immediate execution was committed to the colonels Brown, Johnston, and Woodbury, with detachments of about five hundred men each; and they conducted their operations with such secrecy and address, that they effectually surpris'd all the out-posts between the landing-place at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortress of Ticonderoga. Mount Desance, Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-house, with two hundred bateaux, an armed sloop, and several gun-boats, were almost instantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Canadians, and many of the officers and crews of the vessels, were made prisoners. They brought the cannon out of the armed vessels, and planted them against the fortifications: they repeatedly summoned brigadier Powell, who gallantly rejected all their proposals to surrender the place intrusted to his care, and made reiterated attacks, for four days, on the works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; but finding that they were repulsed in every assault, and totally unequal to the service, they abandoned the design.

Sept. 21.

General Burgoyne thought it necessary, about the beginning of October, from the uncertainty of his situation, to lessen the soldiers rations of provisions; a measure which, however disagreeable to an army, was now submitted to with a cheerfulness that does the greatest honour to the troops. In this state things continued until the seventh of the month, when there being no appearance of intelligence of the expected co operation, and the time limited for the stay of the royal

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royal army in its present camp being drawn near a close, it was judged advisable to make a movement to the enemy's left; not only to discover whether there was any possibility of forcing a passage, should it be necessary to advance, or to dislodge them for the conveniency of a retreat, but also to cover a foraging party sent out for the relief of the army, which was exceedingly distressed by the present scarcity. A detachment of fifteen hundred regulars was accordingly ordered to move, being commanded by the general in person, seconded by those excellent officers, Phillips, Reidesel, and Frazer. No equal number of men was ever better commanded, nor were fifteen hundred braver men perhaps ever led to action. The guard of the camp upon the high grounds was committed to the brigadiers Hamilton and Specht; and that of the redoubts and the plain near the river, to brigadier Goll.

The force of the enemy immediately in the front of the lines, was so much superior to that of the royal army, that it was not thought safe to augment the detachment beyond the number already stated. The troops were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and the irregulars were pushed on through bye-ways, to appear as a check to their rear; but the intended operations of the detachment were prevented, by a very sudden, impetuous, and unexpected attack of the enemy upon the British grenadiers, who were posted to defend the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, sustained this fierce attack with great resolution; but the numbers of the enemy enabling them, in a few minutes, to extend their attack against the whole front of the Germans, who were posted immediately on the right of the grenadiers, and who shamefully deserted their ground*, it not only became impracticable to form a second line, but the great weight of the enemy's fire, still fell upon the left flank. The right wing was yet unengaged, but its danger was not less. It was soon perceived, that the enemy were marching a strong body of troops round the right flank, in order to cut off its retreat. On purpose to oppose that bold attempt, the light infantry, with part of the twenty-fourth regiment, were thrown into a second line, in order to cover the retreat of the king's troops into the camp. But before this movement was completed, the enemy pushed a fresh and strong reinforcement to decide the action on the left wing; which being totally overpowered by so great a superiority, was compelled by dint of force to give way. On that occasion the light infantry and twenty-fourth regiment were obliged, by a new and very quick movement, to endeavour to save the left wing from final destruction. It was in this movement, that the gallant general Frazer was mortally wounded †; an

* Captain Money declared before the committee of the House of Commons, that he observed a battalion of Brunswickers dispersed, without the loss of a man; and that, in his opinion, the misbehaviour of the Germans was the cause of the loss of a victory, if not of the captivity of the whole army, which was the consequence of that loss. He also declared, that the attack on the 7th of October was made by Arnold, without the order of Gates, from a confidence that certain high lands that ought to have been occupied by the Brunswickers were left unguarded; and that he heard the British troops cry, "Shame! shame!" when the Brunswickers ran.

† Open, familiar, candid, and ready to declare his sentiments on ordinary occasions, but close and consequential in matters of importance, Frazer seems to have possessed all the qualities that

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an officer whose loss was afterwards severely felt, and whose place it would have been difficult to supply in the best appointed European army.

The situation of the detachment was now exceeding critical; but the danger to which the lines were exposed, was still more alarming. The major-generals Mifflins and DeKalb, were ordered to cover the retreat, and those troops which were nearest, or most disengaged, returned as fast as possible for their defence. The king's forces in general retreated in good order, though hard pressed, and the enemy pursued their advantage with great eagerness. The troops had scarcely entered the camp, when the rebels stormed it in different parts with uncommon rapidity and resolution; rushing to the lines, with the utmost fury, through a severe fire of grape-shot and small arms. Arnold led on the attack with his usual impetuosity, against a part of the entrenchments into which the light infantry, under lord Balcarras, with a part of the line, had thrown themselves, by orders. He there met with a brave and obstinate resistance; and the action continued for some time very warm, each side seeming to vie with the other in ardour and perseverance. In this critical season of glory and danger, Arnold, who had been frequently repulsed, but who had as often returned to the charge, was grievously wounded, as he was attempting to force his way into the works; and his party, after long and repeated efforts, were finally beat back, and obliged to withdraw.

Fortune was less favourable to the royal army in another quarter. Colonel Breyman, who commanded the German reserve, being killed, the entrenchments defended by that body were carried sword in hand; and the troops were routed, with the loss of their baggage, tents, and artillery. This misfortune was not retrieved, although orders for the recovery of the post were dispatched by the general. Night only put an end to the engagement, in which many brave men fell. The British officers suffered exceedingly. Among those of greater note, or who were distinguished by higher rank, besides general Frazer and colonel Breyman, already mentioned, Sir James Clarke, aid-de-camp to general Burgoyne, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; major Williams of the artillery, and major Ackland of the grenadiers, were also taken, the latter being wounded; and the list of inferior officers, killed and wounded, was long and melancholy. On the side of the Americans the loss was yet greater, though they lost no officer of note; but general Lincoln as well as Arnold was dangerously wounded.

It should seem that nothing could exceed the distress and calamity of the royal army after this battle. They bore their condition, however, with that excellency of temper, and that unconquerable firmness of spirit, which are peculiar to British

and confidence or cordiate affection, as well as those that are more intimately connected with high command; and it will not perhaps be so much to say, that he only wanted time and opportunity to have finished one of the most illustrious military characters in the present age. On entering his tent, he inquired if his wound was mortal, as he had some family affairs to settle; and on receiving a consolatory answer from the surgeon, he sat down and wrote a long letter to his wife, with as much composure as if he had been in the most perfect ease and safety. Before it was finished an inflammation was begun, and he expired soon after. His wound was across the lower part of the belly.

troops. It was evidently impossible to continue in their present situation, without submitting to a certainty of destruction on the ensuing day. A total change of position was therefore undertaken; and as it seems to have been conceived with great judgment, it was carried into execution during the night with a degree of coolness, silence, order, and intrepidity, which has seldom been equalled, and never exceeded. It was not the movement of a wing or a part, it was a general remove of the whole army—of the camp and artillery, from its late ground to the heights above the hospital; and thus, by an entire change of front, to reduce the enemy to the necessity of forming an entirely new disposition. All this was accomplished in darkness, and under the doubt and apprehension inseparable from a night so fatally ushered in, and accompanied throughout with circumstances of such uncommon peril, as were sufficient to disturb the best formed mind, and to shake the firmest resolution; accomplished without loss, and, what is still more, without disorder.

During the course of next day, the royal army, sensible that nothing less than a successful and decisive action could extricate them from their present difficulties, offered battle repeatedly to the enemy. But the rebels were preparing, with great coolness, the carrying of measures into execution, which were less dangerous than engaging a brave and desperate army, and which promised to answer their end as effectually. A continued succession of skirmishes were, however, carried on; and these did not pass without loss on both sides. In the meantime general Burgoyne discovered, that the rebels had pushed a strong body forward to turn his right; a movement, which if effected, would have enabled them to enclose him on every side. Nothing was left to prevent this fatal consequence, but an immediate retreat to Saratoga. The army accordingly began to move at nine o'clock at night; and though the movement was made within musket shot of the enemy, and the army encumbered with all its baggage, the retreat was effected without loss.

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Through various impediments in the march, the royal army did not pass the fords of Fish Kill Creek, which lie a little to the northward of Saratoga, until the second morning after their departure. They found a body of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up entrenchments on the heights before them. This party retired, at the approach of the King's troops, over a ford of Hudson's River, and joined on the other side a greater force, which was stationed to obstruct the passage of that river. No hope now remained to the army, but that of effecting a retreat, at least as far as Fort George, on its way to Canada. For this purpose a detachment of artificers under a strong escort, was sent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward; but they were not long departed from the camp, when the sudden appearance of the enemy, in great force, on the opposite heights, with a seeming intention to bring on an engagement, rendered it necessary to recall the greater part of the escort; and the remainder proved insufficient to protect the workmen, who were left to shift for themselves before they had repaired the first bridge.

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Nor was this the only inconveniency. The farther shore of Hudson's River being every where lined with detachments of the enemy, it was found necessary to land the provisions from the bateaux, which had attended the motions of the army since its departure from the neighbourhood of Still Water, and bring them up the hill to the camp; a labour which was accomplished under a heavy fire with difficulty and loss. In these deplorable circumstances, councils of war were held, one after another, to consider of the possibility of a farther retreat. The only measure, that carried even the appearance of practicability was, by a night march to reach Fort Edward, the troops carrying their provisions on their backs, and to force the fords near that place. While preparations were making for carrying this forlorn and desperate resolve into execution, intelligence was received, that the enemy had already, with great foresight, provided against every possible measure that could be adopted for an escape; that besides being strongly entrenched opposite to the fords which it was intended to pass, they had a camp in force, and provided with artillery, on the high and strong grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George; and that their parties were, at the same time, to watchrul along the river, and their posts so close, that not the smallest movement could be made without discovery.

Nothing could be more deplorably calamitous than the present state of the royal army: worn out by long toil, incessant effort, and stubborn action; abandoned in its utmost necessity and distress by the Indians; weakened as well as discouraged, by the desertion and timidity of the Canadians and loyal Provincials; and the regular troops reduced by repeated and heavy losses, of many of their best soldiers and most distinguished officers, to the number of only three thousand five hundred effective fighting men, of whom not above two thousand were British!—In these distressing circumstances, and in this state of weakness, without a possibility of retreat, and their provisions near exhausted, the king's forces were invested by an army of four times their own number, and whose position extended three parts in four of a circle round them; which refused to fight from a knowledge of their condition, and which, from the nature of the grounds, could not be attacked in any part. But though in this helpless condition, and obliged to lie constantly on their arms, while a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape-shot fell in every part of the lines, the British troops retained their constancy, temper, and fortitude, in a wonderful manner; and as true courage submits with difficulty to despair, they still flattered themselves with the hopes of succour from their friends on the New York side; or perhaps with no less fervent wishes of an attack from the enemy, thereby to quit all scores at once, and either have an opportunity of dying gallantly, or to extricate themselves with honour.

Meanwhile the rebel force was hourly increased, by the pouring in of the militia from all parts. Every one was eager to partake of the glory, the spoil, or the pleasure of beholding the degradation of those whom they had so long dreaded, and whom they regarded as their most implacable and dangerous enemies. At length no succour appearing, and no rational ground of hope remaining to the royal

royal army, an exact account of the provisions was taken on the evening of the thirteenth of October, when it was found that the whole stock in hand would not afford the troops more than three days bare subsistence. This was an alarming circumstance, and shewed the necessity of some immediate resolution. A council was accordingly called; and the general thinking it just and proper, in a deliberation so momentous to individuals as well as the whole, to obtain the general sense of the army, so far as it could with decency be collected, invited besides the field officers, all the captains commanding corps or divisions, to assist at the council. The result was, an unanimous determination to open a treaty, and enter into a convention with general Gates.

The Provincial commander shewed no marks of arrogance, nor betrayed any signs of being carried away by the present extraordinary torrent of success. The terms were moderate considering the ruined state, and irretrievable circumstances of the royal army. The grand difficulty related to a point of military honour, in which the British general and troops were peremptory, and Gates by no means obstinate; namely, the grounding of their arms in the camp. Sooner than submit to this indignity, they declared that they would rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter. The principal articles of the convention, as at last settled, (exclusive of those which related to the provision and accommodation of the troops in their way to Boston, and during their stay at that place) were, That the army should march out of the camp with all the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, to a fixed place, where the arms and artillery should be deposited; that the troops should be allowed a free passage to Europe from the port of Boston, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the present contest; that the officers should not be separated from their men; that roll-calls, and other duties of regularity, should be admitted; that the officers should be permitted to wear their side arms, and allowed the privilege of their parole; that all private property should be sacred, and the public delivered upon honour; that all persons, of whatever country, appertaining to or following the camp, should be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation; and that the Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, should be permitted to return home; be supplied with provisions for that purpose, conducted to the first British post on Lake George, and bound by the common condition of not serving in North America during the war.

General Gates fulfilled all the conditions, so far as he was, or could be concerned in them, with the utmost punctuality. His humanity and politeness, in every part of this humiliating transaction, have indeed been deservedly celebrated by the officers of the royal army. It is even said, that he paid so nice and delicate an attention to the British military honour, and to the character and feelings of those brave troops, who now experienced so deplorable a reverse of fortune, that he kept his army close within their lines, and did not suffer a rebel soldier to be witness to the degrading spectacle of the king's forces piling their arms, though at the command of their own officers. The Americans state the whole number who thus submitted at five thousand, seven hundred, and sixty-

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two men; but in this number is undoubtedly included, not only the Canadians, loyal Provincials, and volunteers, but all the artificers, labourers, and followers of the camp. They also got a fine train of brass artillery, amounting to thirty-five pieces*.

During these unfortunate transactions, general Clinton conducted his expedition up the North River with great success. He embarked about three thousand men for that service, accompanied by a suitable naval force; consisting of ships of war, armed galleys, and smaller vessels, under the direction of commodore Hotham. The general's first object was the reduction of the forts Montgomery and Clinton; which, though of considerable strength, were left in such an unguarded state, that it was resolved to attempt them by surprise. They were situated on the opposite sides of a creek, which descends from the mountains to Hudson's River, and their communication was preserved by a bridge. Several motions, necessary to mask the real design, being made, the troops were landed in two divisions, at such a distance from their object, as occasioned a march of some length and much difficulty through the mountains. It was calculated, however, with such judgment, and conducted with so much precision, that the two detachments arrived on the opposite sides of the creek, and began their separate attack on the forts, at nearly the same time. The terror and consternation of the garrisons were increased by the appearance of the ships of war, and the arrival and near fire of the galleys, which approached so close as to strike the walls with their oars. The assault on both sides of the creek was exceedingly vigorous, and the impetuosity of the troops so great, that, notwithstanding a bold defence, both the forts were carried by storm; and as the soldiers were much irritated, as well by the fatigue they had undergone, and the opposition they met with, as by the loss of some brave and favourite officers, the slaughter of the enemy was considerable.

On the loss of these two forts, the rebels set fire to two fine new frigates, and to some smaller vessels, which with their artillery and stores, were all consumed. Another fort, called Constitution, was precipitantly set on fire a day or two after, on the approach of the land and naval force. General Tryon, at the head of a detachment, also destroyed a new and thriving settlement, called Continental Village, which contained barracks for fifteen hundred men, with valuable stores. The artillery found in the three forts amounted to sixty-seven pieces, of different sizes. A large quantity of artillery and stores, with ammunition and provisions, were likewise taken; and a great boom and chain, the making of which is supposed to have cost seventy thousand pounds, and the construction of which was considered as an extraordinary proof of American labour, industry, and skill, were partly destroyed, and partly carried away. Upon the whole,

* Whether this train was too large for the service, is a question of much difficulty: but it was certainly the occasion of great delay; and may therefore be considered as the remote cause of the loss of the army, as well as of the failure of the expedition. If general Burgoyne, after defeating the rebels at Skeneborough, could have marched to Albany in the usual time, he would not have met a single enemy to oppose his progress.

the loss of the rebels in value, was probably greater than on any particular occasion since the commencement of hostilities. The loss of the king's troops in killed and wounded was inconsiderable, as to number, but some distinguished and much-lamented officers fell. Among these, lieutenant colonel Campbell, who commanded the attack on Fort Montgomery, and major Sill, were universally regretted, as they had formerly been esteemed for their many excellent and amiable qualities. Major Grant, of the New York volunteers, and count Grabowski, a Polish nobleman, and aid-de-camp to general Clinton, were also slain in the attack on those forts.

The operations on the North River did not end here. Sir James Wallace with a flying squadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan with a considerable detachment of troops, continued for several days an excursion farther up, carrying terror and destruction wherever they appeared; and at the very time that the king's forces under general Burgoyne were piling their arms, the fine village or town of Esopus, at no great distance, was reduced to ashes. But on the approach of the victorious Gates, the troops and vessels retired to New York; and this expedition, though conducted with vigour and ability, was of little moment in the general account. It was no balance for the loss of the northern army, and the utter failure of the campaign.

This truth was severely felt in England; where, as an arch wit has observed, the spirits of the people are always either in the garret or the cellar: they are elevated to an extravagant height by prosperity, and depressed in a proportional degree by adversity; and between these two extremes, they seem to know no medium. The reduction of the revolted colonies, which had lately been considered as certain, was now believed to be impracticable. The attempt was execrated, and its advisers stigmatized. The torrent of dissatisfaction swelled from the city to the country, from the country up to the House of Commons: the minister yielded to the tide, which he was no longer able to stem; and a conciliatory treaty with America was proposed, from which every idea of taxation was excluded, and nothing reserved to the parent-state, except the commercial advantages of the colonies. But before the necessary steps could be taken for that purpose, a dangerous stab was given to the prosperity of Great Britain: a treaty, *EVENTUAL* and *DEFENSIVE*, was at length concluded between Lewis XVI. and the thirteen revolted English provinces, under the name of the United States of America, which has entirely changed the nature of the war. The dispute is no longer between the colonies and the mother-country, but between France and England. That ancient animosity which has so frequently roused the two rival nations to arms, is now inflamed, on our part, by domestic aggravations: by the ambitious and selfish interposition of our natural enemies in a quarrel between subjects and their sovereign; and it is now in the bosom of fate, whether France or Great Britain shall give law to America.

Feb. 6.
A. D. 1778

E R R A T A.

V O L. I.

Advertisement, page iv. l. 4, for *ever* read *even*. Text, p. 4, l. 18, dele *indeed*; p. 5, l. 4, from the bottom of the page, for *void* read *arid*; p. 9, l. 4, from the bottom, dele *in that city*; p. 19, l. 22, for *appearance* read *variation*; p. 53, l. 19, for *received* read *paid*, and dele *with* in the same line; p. 55, l. 19, for *repair* read *cone*; p. 60, l. 26, for *excursion* read *expedition*; p. 66, l. 27, for *honour* read *interest*; p. 77, l. 3 from the bottom, for *presence* read *person*; p. 120, l. 30, for *produced* read *abounded*; p. 121, l. 29, for *confidence* read *friendship*; p. 185, l. 6, for *indignities* read *indignation*; p. 248, l. 4 from the bottom, dele *and*; p. 256, l. 33, for *in* read *from*; p. 282, l. 3, for *Frilus* read *Bikas*; p. 287, l. 5 from the bottom, for *honours* read *honour*; p. 323, l. 14, for *of* read *as*; p. 315, l. 8, for *perished* read *he perished however*; p. 351, l. 21, for *ideas* read *idea*; p. 364, l. 26, for *prejunt* read *parent-state*; p. 386, l. 23, for *here* read *thither*; p. 389, l. 20, for *expected*, read *been expected from*; p. 392, l. 29, for *drawn* read *arising*; p. 507, l. 22, after *Mesquitos* read *properly so called*, and dele the same words after *country*, in l. 24; p. 416, l. 29, for *John* read *Howy*; p. 436, l. 3 from the bottom, for *chefe* read *chufe*; p. 440, l. 29, for *silver* read *that metal*; p. 499, last line, before *distinguished* insert *sub: kare*; p. 521, l. 5, for the read *that*; p. 514, l. 3 from the bottom for *were* read *are*; p. 528, l. 23, for *into* read *to*; p. 529, l. 6, for *declining* *ambition of France*, read *declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition of France*; p. 539, l. 19, for *Charcas* read *Cavaccas*; p. 553, l. 7, from the bottom, for *by* read *pay to*; p. 561, l. 3, for *reason* read *means*; p. 562, l. 9, for *reign* read *strike*; p. 564, l. 5, from the bottom, before *among* dele *that*.

V O L. II.

Page 35, l. 19, for *coast* read *main*; p. 62, l. 15, for *adepted* read *adopted*; p. 108, l. 27, for *the northern* read *its northern*; p. 111, l. 17, for *or* read *nor*; p. 115, l. 3, for *they* read *any*, and dele *in l. 7*; p. 120, l. 15, before the insert *and*; p. 121, l. 1, after *find* insert *examples of*; p. 125, l. 2 from the bottom of the text, for *prevents* read *prevents*; p. 130, last line of the last note, for *boats* read *boat*; p. 142, l. 8 in the notes, for *preceptor* read *preceptors*; p. 159, l. 21, for *up* in *read open*; p. 165, l. 10, for *his* read *the*; p. 173, l. 9 from the bottom, for *vestment* read *vestments*; p. 174, l. 27, after *rapturous* insert *and*; p. 304, l. 1, for *keep*-*others*; *in* read *keep*; *others* in; p. 220, l. 2 from the bottom, for *left* read *last*; p. 232, l. 4, from the bottom, for *There* read *Thene*; p. 244, l. 8 from the bottom, for *the new* read *their new*; p. 285, l. 25, for *to the mercy* read *a prey to*; p. 287, l. 27, for *took advantage* read *availed himself*; p. 302, l. 1, for *multe d m s*; p. 320, l. 7 from the bottom, for *supposed* read *supreme*; p. 366, l. 16, for *legs* read *teps*, and for *tejs* read *maintains* in the following line; p. 370, l. 15, after *was* read *to be*; p. 417, l. 6, for *would* read *would*; p. 420, l. 29, after *creates*, insert *and new* *bell*; p. 488, l. 29, for *methods* read *method*; p. 469, l. 11, for *operations* read *operation*; same page, l. 6 from the bottom, for *mercy* read *mercy*; p. 575, l. 22, after *Clinton* dele *and*; p. 577, l. 2 from the bottom, for *given* read *regular*; p. 578, l. 31, for *with* read *and*; p. 579, l. 1, after *besides* insert *their*; p. 681, l. 11, before *es* insert *and*; p. 582, last line, for *were* read *are*; p. 586, l. 28, for *be* read *the*; p. 590, l. 13 in the note, before *who* insert *and*; p. 604, l. 35, for *sted* read *gave* *they*; p. 607, l. 23, after *had* insert *over*; p. 626, l. 30, for *grounds* read *ground*.

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