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THE

HISTORY OF ILLINOIS,

FROM ITS

FIRST DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT,

TO

THE PRESENT TIME.

BY HENRY BROWN,

COUNSELLOR AT LAW.

> "—— Here exiles meet from every clime,
> And speak in friendship every distant tongue;
> Men from the blood of warring Europe sprung,
> Are here divided by the running brook."
>
> "Ah! need I paint the deeds that dyed with gore
> Wild Rassin's water's or Chicago's shore."

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TO THE

MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN

OF THE

STATE OF ILLINOIS,

PRESENT AND FUTURE,

IN HOPES THAT THE SAME MAY BE USEFUL TO THEM, OR TO SOME OF THEM,

The following Work is respectfully Dedicated

BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT AND HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR

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PREFACE.

The position now occupied by the State of Illinois, in the American Confederacy—its present importance—its future hopes, and ultimate consequence—render an excuse unnecessary for attempting its history. Whether the attempt shall succeed or not, remains to be seen.

Many have supposed, that a State so young can furnish nothing of interest deserving the historian. They seem, however, not to consider, that Illinois was settled at an early day—that the Spaniards once claimed—that the French once occupied—that the English once conquered—and the Americans afterward held "this proud domain" by right of conquest; that the Gaul, the Saxon, and the savage—the Protestant, the Jesuit, and the Pagan—for more than a century here struggled for mastery. They have also forgotten, or never knew, that John Law and his associates, in "the Mississippi Scheme," once claimed the whole territory as theirs—that Fort Chartres was built by them at an expense of several millions, and that a portion of its soil is now held and occupied, under titles derived from that "eminent speculator."

Considerations, growing out of the above circumstances, will explain the reason in part, why the author has introduced some *apparently* irrelevant matter into his narrative. It will be discovered, however, upon reflection, that no such irrelevant matter has found a place in the volume now offered to the public; but, on the contrary, that the History of Illinois (as Sterne says in the middle of some one of his interminable digressions in Tristam Shandy,) has "all the while been progressing."

Should our explanation be thought defective, we, in that case, assure our readers, as the Roman pontiff did Bonaparte, the young conqueror of Italy, when the former was about to give the latter his blessing—on perceiving an air of incredulity lurking in "the young conqueror's eye," he at once changed his discourse, and dexterously observed; "the blessing of an old man can do you no harm." It is just so with our book. These digressions are not intended for the perusal of those who read merely to criticise, but for those who read for information. Such will derive "no harm," and may, perhaps, derive some benefit from their perusal. By beginning however at the end, and reading backward, (as the lobster travels,) the whole difficulty will be obviated, and the connection between all its parts distinctly perceived.

There is, in Illinois proper, much good historical matter. Some of the most thrilling scenes in the history of our race have occurred in Illinois. Its early settlement by the French—the narratives of their first Missionaries thither—the expedition of Colonel Clarke to Kaskaskia, and afterward to Vincennes—the account given by him of the savages, and of his mode and manner of treating them, are nowhere else surpassed. The massacre at Chicago—the Black Hawk war—the Mormon Prophet—the history of the Illinois Banks—its Canal and internal improvements—and lastly, of its credit, cannot fail (if properly told,) to interest both the citizen and the stranger.

The author regrets his inability to do them more ample justice. He also regrets, that in the hurry of the moment, he has not more frequently given credit; and on some occasions, done better justice to those from whose works he has so liberally extracted. Professional avocations, and the hurry and confusion incident thereto, together with the necessity imposed on him of employing others to transcribe his manuscripts for the press, are the only apologies he can offer. A poor excuse is better than none. The following work was written at a distance from well-assorted libraries. The means of information, at his disposal, were defective upon many subjects of which he treats. He has endeavored, however, to avail himself of all the resources in his power; and although he is aware of its defects, the work, he hopes, will be thought by some worthy of perusal.

In order to make it *readable,* he has now and then *borrowed* an Indian massacre from some of the adjacent States. This license is, perhaps, more poetical than historical. Inasmuch, however, as it has been taken for the sole benefit of the reader, "the theft," he apprehends, "will not be deemed profane."

CHICAGO, Illinois, May 22nd, 1844.

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PROBLEMS, incapable once of being solved by the aid of science, are now easily explained. Knowledge, which gave formerly to its possessor the rank of a philosopher, is now the common property of school-boys—and experiments that, in the last century, would have brought their operator to the stake for witchcraft, are now mere juvenile recreations.

Some curious phenomena, exhibited by a piece of iron ore, before our nation had an existence, led a philosopher of Amalfi, in Italy, to inquire into the cause. Particles of the same kind he perceived were mutually attracted. In one of his experiments, he saw it, when suspended by a thread, point directly to the northern star, and being turned in another direction and set free, it resumed its former position. The result of his experiment was sent to the academicians of Florence, and their curiosity was aroused. They tried similar experiments, and it was finally discovered that its magnetic properties were transferable to hardened steel. Hence the mariner's compass, which guided Columbus across the ocean, and led to the discovery of another world. Our nation now extends its arms from the St. Croix to the Capes of Florida, and from the Atlantic, westward, to the Rocky mountains and the Columbia river, embracing in its ample folds, a large portion of the American Continent. Eighteen millions of people, governed by similar laws, and speaking the language of Shakespere and Milton, are a part only, of its fruit. Were we permitted to lift the curtain, and unfold the glories that await the future, a population equal to the whole of Europe at no very distant period, would in all probability meet our view. With such speculations, however, we have nothing at present to do:—facts, and facts only, become the historic page.

Although recent discoveries in South America conclusively show, that a living multitude of civilized inhabitants thronged this Western world, when the British Isles were unknown; that the arts and sciences were here taught in great perfection, when our ancestors were wandering in the woods; those discoveries have not as yet been sufficiently developed, to make them the basis of an historic record. We will, therefore, for the present pursue the accustomed track; and suppose, what is generally believed, that the Eastern and Western Continents, till recently, were strangers, and that the latter, at the time of its first discovery, was of but little or no importance.

If facts, says Mr. Irving, in his life of Columbus, are to be inferred from no other than authentic records, the Eastern and Western hemispheres, previous to the fifteenth century, were strangers to each other. Some wandering bark, driven by tempests, without compass, across the ocean, may have reached by accident the opposing shore. It revealed, however, if such was the fact, no secrets of the deep, and no one ventured to spread a sail in pursuit of land, wrapped in mystery and peril. The wide waste of waters that intervened was regarded as before, with awe and wonder, and bound the world as with a chaos, which conjecture sought not to penetrate, and enterprise feared to adventure.

Not far from the little town of Palos, in Spain, containing at the present time, about four hundred inhabitants, which subsist chiefly by labor in its neighboring vineyards; there was in 1485, and still is, an ancient convent dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida. A stranger on foot, in humble guise, but of a distinguished air, accompanied by a small boy, stopped one day at its gate, and asked of the porter a little bread and water for his child. That stranger was Columbus. He had fled from Portugal for debt, whither he had been to tender its monarch the discovery of a world.

To trace the progress of the illustrious stranger in quest of a patron, from the quiet cloisters of La Rabida to the palace of Castile's haughty queen, or to the "ancient and warlike city of Cordova, where prelates and friars mingled in martial conflict, and cardinals and bishops in helm and corslet, laying aside the crozier for the lance, sought new and hitherto untrodden paths to Heaven through heaps of the slain," is not consistent with our design.

His story, however, though oft-repeated, has still its charms. The force of talents—the effect of perseverance, and the result of moral and political integrity, are so strikingly exhibited in the life and conduct of this daring adventurer, at courts, in palaces, in tempests and in chains, that its relation interests alike the student and the philosopher.

Excluded at Cordova from the brilliant crowd which filled every avenue to the throne, in consequence of the humble garb in which his poverty compelled him to appear, and driven by necessity to the making of maps and charts for a subsistence, he felt, notwithstanding, the dignity of his race, and the importance of his errand; and at last, by some happy efforts, found his way into the presence of the king. He there plead the cause of a hitherto undiscovered world. The sincerity of his conversation, the elevation of his views, and the practical shrewdness of his arguments, commanded the respect of Ferdinand, though failing to produce conviction. The subject matter, however, of his singular enterprise, was referred to the ablest and most learned men in the realm; and as the treasures of human wisdom were at that time locked up principally in monasteries, and the university of Salamanca was its principal residence, a council of clerical sages composed of its professors, with various dignitaries of the church and learned friars, was convened in its convent by order of the king.

Before this council Columbus appeared. An obscure navigator, destitute of those circumstances which make dullness somewhat oracular, it could hardly be expected would produce a serious or lasting impression on such a mass of inert bigotry and learned pride, as was there assembled. His theory, we need not therefore remark, was of course rejected.

When Columbus had a fair opportunity of being heard, his commanding person, (as we are informed,) his elevated demeanor, his air of authority, his kindling eye, and the persuasive intonations of his voice, gave power to his words; and when the doctrinal objections of his adversaries were set in battle-array against him in the council at Salamanca, his visionary spirit it is said took fire, and casting aside his maps and charts, and discarding for a time his practical and scientific lore, he met them upon their own grounds, and pouring forth "those magnificent texts of Scripture, and those mysterious predictions of the prophets, which in his enthusiastic moments he considered as types and annunciations of the sublime discovery he proposed," he overwhelmed his learned and prejudiced examiners, with a torrent of words and arguments, which nothing save bigotry could resist.

Ignorance and stupidity, however, for a while prevailed. Other military movements succeeded, and Columbus was forgotten. Regarded by many as a lunatic, the children, we are told, pointed to their foreheads as he passed by, and his theory being at last rejected by the king and queen, he turned his back on Seville, (where the court then resided,) regretting that he had wasted so many years of his life in useless solicitations.

Having sought in vain the patronage of dukes and princes, who had possessions on the coasts, and ports and ships at their command, he returned at last to the humble convent of La Rabida, to take from thence his son, (where, during his absence, its worthy prior had kindly entertained him,) and repair to France, whose king had invited him thither.

The good friar, Juan Perez, was exceedingly moved at Columbus's return, and sent, as he had done before, for his friend, Garcia Fernandez, the physician, and Martin Alonzo Pinzon, a wealthy and distinguished navigator of Palos, (whose subsequent destiny no one can fail to regret,) by whom a council was held. The latter offered to engage in the expedition, and to defray Columbus's expenses to court, for the purpose of renewing, under the auspices of Juan Perez, an application which had just been rejected. This was the first, and at that time, the only pecuniary assistance received by the latter in aid of his great and glorious undertaking. Juan Perez hastened himself to Grenada, whither the royal court had then removed, and had an interview with the queen. The latter, after several years' solicitations, bethinking herself, for the first time, of Columbus's poverty, sent him twenty thousand maravedis, in florins, (equal to seventy-two silver dollars,) to bear his travelling expenses to Grenada, to provide him with a mule for his journey, and decent apparel to appear at court.

Animated by hope, he set out at once to meet his patron, and arrived at Grenada just in time to witness its surrender. "He saw the last of the Moorish kings sally forth from the Alhambra, and yield up to his conqueror the keys of that favorite residence of Moslem power." The war which had now raged for seven hundred years between the Christian and the Moor, had ceased; the crescent was prostrate, the cross was exalted, and the standard of Spain floating on its ramparts.

A negotiation was thereupon immediately opened. Unexpected difficulties, however, arose; Columbus would listen to none but princely conditions, and these were inadmissible. Others were proposed, and being rejected by the latter, the negotiation was, of course, terminated, and to all appearance, for ever.

The loftiness of spirit displayed by Columbus on this occasion, cannot be sufficiently admired. Eighteen years had elapsed since he first published to the world his theory, and announced his intention, by some voyage of discovery, to test its correctness; that period had been spent in painful but ineffectual efforts, and nothing but necessity could for a moment shake his purpose, or induce him to accept of terms beneath his dignity. He seemed to forget his own obscurity, to overlook his present indigence, and to negotiate, as it were, for empire.

These negotiations, however, being closed, he took leave of his friends at Grenada, early in February, 1492, and mounting his mule, started for Cordova, intending to abandon a country which had made him her sport, and in which he thought he had been treated with indignity. Having pursued his lonely way across the Vega, and passed the bridge of Pinos, about two leagues from Grenada, and begun to ascend the mountain of Elvira, a pass famous in Moorish story, he was overtaken by a messenger from the queen, who informed him that Isabella had espoused his cause, and pledged her jewels to raise the necessary funds.

After hesitating for a moment, he turned the reins of his mule, and sought her presence. Articles of agreement were immediately drawn up by the royal secretary, and signed on the 17th of April, 1492. The sum of seventeen thousand florins, or about three thousand dollars, was afterward advanced, to defray its expenses.

Columbus was now in the fifty-sixth year of his age; disappointments that would have reduced an ordinary man to despair, had hitherto been his lot. His wishes, however, were now attained, and, on the 12th of May, 1492, he set out joyfully for Palos.

The difficulties attending his expedition were now about to commence. The little town of Palos, on the announcement of his mission thither, was filled with consternation; the ships demanded by the royal edict, were regarded in the light of sacrifices, and their crews as so many victims. The order of the sovereign was, therefore, ineffectual; a more absolute mandate, sent thither by an officer of the royal household, fared no better; and, but for the exertions of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the whole expedition at that time, unquestionably would have failed. The example of the latter was, however, contagious; and in less than four weeks after he had tendered his services and agreed to accompany it, the whole armament was equipped and ready for sea.

It consisted of three small vessels; two of them light barques, or caravals, open and without decks in the centre, high at the prow and stern, with forecastles and cabins for the crew—the other was entirely decked. The largest vessel was of less than a hundred tons burden, and would compare, though imperfectly, with one of the second-rate schooners that navigate our inland seas—the other two would suffer in comparison with the humble craft that bring lumber to Chicago. They were manned with ninety men, and victualled for a year.

Such was the armament provided by a once powerful nation and the most accomplished princess in Europe, for the discovery of a world.

Columbus, having confessed himself and partaken of the sacrament, in which his officers and crew participated, on Friday the 13th day of August, 1492, about half an hour before sunrise, committed himself and his little armament, under the guidance and direction of Heaven, to the open sea.

On arriving at the Canaries, three weeks and upward were consumed in repairs. From thence he embarked, on the 6th of September, when the voyage of discovery in fact was commenced.

On the 9th, the heights of Farro vanished from their view, and everything dear to them on earth was left behind—friends, country, and home. Chaos, mystery, and peril, were alone before them.

Of Columbus's difficulties with his crew—the means to which he had recourse, in order to allay their fears, and his numerous perplexities on the voyage, and afterward, by sea and land, we forbear to speak. They have all been frequently told, and are, or ought to be, familiar to our readers.

Suffice it then, to remark, that on the evening of the 11th of October, 1492, thirty-five days only after leaving the Canaries, when the mariners had sung their usual hymn to the Virgin, indications of land were so apparent, that Columbus ordered his sails to be furled, and a strict watch to be kept—and when the shades of evening had set in, he took his station on the top of the forecastle or cabin, from whence, at about 10 o'clock, he thought he beheld a light. His suspicions were afterward confirmed, and continuing on his course until about two in the morning, a gun from the Pinta (one of the vessels in his little fleet) announced the signal of land.

In spite of every obstacle, he had now accomplished his object. The mystery of the ocean was at once revealed. The truth of his theory, which had been the sport even of sages, was confirmed, and he was immortal.

As the morning dawned, an island of surpassing beauty,* verdant with forests, and loaded with fruits of a tempting hue, spread its treasures before him. Its inhabitants, issuing from the woods and running to all parts of the shore, were seen gazing on his fleet, and from their attitudes and gestures, appeared to be amazed. They had seen his vessels with their sails spread, hovering on their coast, and advancing in solemn majesty to their shores, and "had an army of Milton's celestial angels, robed in light, sporting in the bright beams of the sun, redoubling their splendor, and making divine harmony with their golden harps," issued from the deep, it would have excited no other or greater surprise.

On the 11th of October, 1492—a day ever memorable in the annals of our race—Columbus landed, with a drawn sword in his hand, (the fit emblem, though at that time undesigned, of what succeeded,) and took possession of the country in the names of Ferdinand and Isabella. Supposing he had landed on an island at the extremity of India, he called the inhabitants by the appellation of Indians, which has since universally been adopted, and extended to the aboriginal inhabitants of the whole Western Continent.

In contemplating the effects of this discovery, the human imagination is perfectly bewildered. The emotions it created, no language can express. The consequences which followed, no pen can describe. Its original inhabitants have not been the only parties in interest. The inhabitants of other realms, and of other continents, sometimes with, and sometimes without their consent, have participated therein, either for weal or for wo.

The character and habits, origin and destination, of the aborigines, being at all times subjects of interest, and especially at the present time, demand, and of course will next receive, our attention.

NOTE.

Mr. Irving, in his biography of Columbus, having taken him up in boyhood, or as soon as he could find him—having sailed with him to the uttermost parts of the earth—having watched over him at sea, and messed with him on shore—having stood by him through all his crosses and losses, perplexities and achievements, great and small, even to his dying day—having also witnessed his last will and testament, and attended to all the ceremonies of his funeral, like an affectionate brother, or, as Grattan once said of Ireland, having "sat by its cradle, and followed its hearse:"—The American reader who has perused Mr. Irving's admirable work, who feels, or ought to feel a deep interest in all that appertains to Columbus's buffeting, toiling, and begging his way to success and glory, may desire, perhaps, to know something further in relation to the family and descendants of the great "Discoverer."

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* St. Salvador, one of the Bahama islands.

Columbus, broken down by age and infirmity, worn out by toil and hardship, and having, as he says himself, "no place to resort to but an inn, and frequently, not wherewithal to pay his bill," died a "broken down and shipwrecked man," at Valladolid, in Spain, on the 20th of May, 1506, in the seventieth year of his age, ignorant of the real grandeur of his discovery.

His body was deposited in the convent of Saint Francisco, and his obsequies celebrated with funeral pomp, at Valladolid, in the parochial church of Santa Maria de la Antiqua. His remains were afterward, in 1513, conveyed to the Carthusian monastery of La Cuevas of Seville; and in 1536, they were removed from thence to Hispaniola, and interred in the principal chapel of the Cathedral, of the city of St. Domingo.

The island of Hispaniola having been ceded to France in 1795, the Duke of Veragua, the lineal successor of Columbus, on the 20th of December, in that year, caused his remains to be removed from thence, with military pomp, to the Island of Cuba, and deposited with reverence in the wall, on the right side of the grand altar in the Cathedral church, at Havana.

"When we reflect," says Mr. Irving, "that it was from this very port, Columbus was carried off in his life-time, loaded with ignominious chains, blasted apparently in fame and fortune, and followed by the revilings and hootings of a fickle populace, we cannot fail to perceive, how triumphantly merit outlives detraction, and to observe that the removal of his remains, as national relics, after an interval of more than two hundred years, with civil and military pomp, (the most dignified and illustrious men, vieing with each other in manifestations of reverence,) speaks comfort to the illustrious, yet slandered and persecuted living."

The latter part of his life was full of peril. His last voyage, in particular, had shattered a frame, worn out by hardships in the service of an ungrateful king. The suspension of his honors—the violation of the articles of agreement between him and his sovereign—the enmity of his adversaries—the envy to which he was exposed, and the defamation which followed him at every turn, threw a dark and impenetrable shadow over that glory which had for years been the object of his ambition. Well might the most illustrious man of the age,

"Ask from a thankless world a peaceful tomb."

On the death of Columbus, his son Diego succeeded, nominally, to his rights as viceroy and governor of the New World. Don Diego urged the restitution of the family offices and privileges which, during the latter part of his father's life, had been suspended. Ferdinand, however, turned a deaf ear to his solicitations. The young admiral, finding all appeals to equity and generosity unavailing, sought permission to pursue his claims in a court of law. This, the king could not reasonably deny. A suit was therefore commenced by Diego Columbus, against the king, before the council for the Indies. This memorable action was brought in 1508, and continued for several years. A unanimous decision of the court was at length obtained in favor of Columbus; still, the wily monarch sought and found a pretext for refusing to carry it into execution, and the young admiral was finally indebted for success in this suit, to success in another suit of a different character. Donna Maria de Toledo, a young lady of rank and fortune, niece of the celebrated Duke of Alva, afterward so distinguished in the reign of Charles V., and cousin german of the king, was at that time a favorite at the Spanish court. The glory which Columbus the elder, had acquired, rested upon his son. The claims of Don Diego, confirmed by the council of the Indies, raised him to a level with the proudest aristocracy in the land—he sought and obtained this lady in marriage, and the family of Columbus was thus ingrafted on one of the oldest and most respectable families in Spain. Diego, having in this manner secured that magical power, called "connections," the imperial favor withheld from the son of Columbus, fell in showers upon a relative of the Duke of Alva. In 1509, the young admiral embarked with his bride and a numerous retinue of cavaliers, for Hispaniola. The vice-queen, who was a lady of extraordinary intelligence, on her arrival thither, established a sort of court, which threw a degree of lustre over this then, semi-barbarous island, and contributed materially to soften the rude manners which had grown up in a state of society destitute of those salutary restraints which are produced by female influence.

Don Diego, however, inherited not only the rank, but the troubles of his father. Involved in difficulties with the fiscal, he repaired to court in 1515, and was received with great honor by the king. On the 23rd of January, 1516, Ferdinand died, and was succeeded by his grandson, the celebrated Charles V. The emperor, after considerable delay, acknowledged Don Diego's right to exercise the office of viceroy and governor of Hispaniola, and in 1520 he returned thither, found its affairs in confusion, and in 1523, was informed that his presence was necessary in Spain. He repaired again to court, and plead his cause so well, that the sovereign and council acknowledged at once his innocence. The dispute, however, between the admiral and the fiscal, was protracted to such a length, that he, like his father, died in the pursuit. He left Toledo in a litter on the 21st of Feb. 1526, for Seville, and on the 23rd died at Montalvan, "worn out by following up his claims, and defending himself from the calumnies of his competitors, who, with stratagems and devices, sought to obscure the glory of the father, and the virtue of the son."

At the time of his death, his wife and family were at St. Domingo. He left two sons, Louis and Christopher, and three daughters.

After the death of Diego, his noble-spirited vice-queen, left with a number of young children, determined to assert and maintain the rights of the family. She demanded a licence from the royal audience of Hispaniola, to recruit men and fit out an armada to colonize the province of Veragua, which she alleged had been discovered by Columbus. Being refused in this request, she appealed to the Emperor, (Charles V.) He directed the vice-queen to be kept in suspense, until the justice of her pretensions could be ascertained. She therefore embarked for Spain, in order to protect the claims of her eldest son, Don Louis, then a child six years old. Charles V. himself was absent, but she was graciously received by the empress, and the title of Admiral of the Indies immediately conferred on her son. Charles could not, however, be prevailed upon to give Don Louis the title of viceroy, although that dignity had been decreed to his father as a hereditary right. The young admiral, Don Louis, therefore instituted proceedings for its recovery, which were afterward settled by arbitration, and Don Louis, finding all his dignities and privileges sources of mere vexation, finally entered into a compromise. By this compromise he gave up all his pretensions to the viceroyalty of the New World, and received in its stead the titles of Duke of Veragua, and Marquis of Jamaica, and a pension of 1000 doubloons in gold. Don Louis soon after died, leaving two daughters, Philippa and Maria. He was succeeded by Diego his nephew, a son of his brother Christopher. His daughter, however, laid claim to his titles, and a law-suit took place between the nephew and daughter, which threatening to prove tedious and expensive, was compromised by their intermarriage. Their union, though happy, was not fruitful; and on Diego's death in 1578, the legitimate male line of Columbus became extinct.

Another law-suit now arose, for the estates and dignities descended from the "great discoverer," which was finally decided by the council of the Indies, on the 2nd of December, 1608, in favor of Don Nuno Gelves de Portugallo, who became Duke of Veragua. He was grandson of Isabella, third daughter of Don Diego, son of the discoverer, by his vice-queen Donna Maria de Toledo. The Isabella above-named, had married Don George of Portugal, Count of Gelves. Thus the dignities and wealth of Columbus, passed into a branch of the Portuguese house of Braganza, established in Spain. It was a lineal descendant of this Duke of Veragua, who caused the remains of Columbus, the admiral, to be removed from St. Domingo to Cuba, in 1795, as before related.

CHAPTER II.

Spirit of adventure excited—Colonization—Natives of this country—Difficulty in obtaining correct information—Ancient Britons—Indians unacquainted with iron—Unused to animal labor—Unacquainted with any but the simplest arts—Skilled in hunting and fishing—No legal tribunals—Limited ideas of property—Are revengeful—Skilled in war—At times, eloquent—Sometimes torture their prisoners, sometimes receive and adopt them into their tribe—Savage warrior and Christian martyr compared—Hooper—Are fond of gambling—Are addicted to drunkenness—Are fond of dancing—War-dance described—His personal independence—His social relations—His religion—Is superstitious—Is eloquent—Logan—Philip—Tecumseh—Red Jacket—Reason why they refuse to become civilized.

INTELLIGENCE of the great discovery achieved by Columbus, was soon spread from court to court, from city to city, and from nation to nation, till the whole of Europe, in a short time, resounded with his fame.

It was like the accession of wealth to a miser. "Our minds," says Peter Martyr, a cotemporary of Columbus, "soiled and debased by the common concerns of life, were elevated by its contemplation." "It was," said others, "a thing more divine than human." Every one rejoiced in the occurrence, as one in which he was personally interested. To some it presented an unbounded field of inquiry, to others an immense theatre for enterprise; and all awaited with intense eagerness, a further development of the new and unexplored regions still covered with mystery, the first glimpses of which filled every eye with wonder.

The spirit of adventure was at once roused to its highest pitch, and all Europe became enchanted.

Portugal, distinguished for her nautical enterprise, was mortified by the prospect which dawned upon her rival. England, which as yet had been a maritime power of inferior importance, heard the glad tidings from a distant shore, and awoke to enterprise and glory. France followed in her train. Holland and Sweden imitated their example, and in a short time, voyages of discovery were the theme of every tongue.

To rob and plunder the natives, and afterward to colonize these newly discovered realms, engrossed for a while the attention of Europe; and, to effect the latter, its prison-doors were unbarred, its felons were let loose—its population, high and low, rich and poor, bond and free—the accomplished cavalier who had triumphed in every field of battle—the patriot soldier who had trampled crowns beneath his feet—the vagrant, the miser, the debtor, the adventurer, the enthusiast, the loafer, (a term till recently unknown,) and also, the patriot and Christian, embarked, in vast multitudes, for this fairy land; some in pursuit of fortune, others in pursuit of fame—some to avoid punishment, and some to avoid their creditors—some to rob the natives, some to enslave and some to convert them—some to plant colonies, and some to destroy them—some to avoid persecution, and some to persecute. A large portion, it must however be conceded, came hither to acquire, in this newly-discovered world, a country and a home, where religion, pure and undefiled, and patriotism without blemish—where science and the arts—where industry and economy, truth and sobriety, with all their kindred virtues, might flourish in immortal youth.

The present inhabitants of Illinois, deriving their origin from almost every nation under heaven, their history, of course, becomes partially our own; should we, therefore, in our narrative, recapitulate some portions of their eventful story—should we, in its course, inquire into their motives, and sometimes trace their progress from year to year, we shall not by so doing travel out of the record, or exceed the bounds of legitimate history.

When Æneas fled from the conflagration of Troy, and was driven by the tempest upon a strange, inhospitable shore, his first object was to learn upon what coast he had been driven, and who were its inhabitants, whether men or wild beasts:

> At puis Æneas, per noctem, plurima volvens,
> Ut primum lux alma, data est exire locosque
> Explorare novos quas vento accesserat oras;
> Qui teneant (nam inculta videt) homines ne feræ ne,
> Quirire constituit sociisque exacta referre.

Although his celebrated voyage, by many is considered fabulous, (a question we have no intention here to discuss,) it bears no comparison with that of Columbus; nor do Virgil's celebrated heroes equal Cortez or Pizarro, or Smith of James Town, or other pilgrim warriors of New England. Nor do his native champions equal Philip of Pokanoket, or a multitude of Indian heroes, who have gone down to their graves unhonored and unsung.

The early history of this Continent is wrapt in mystery; its native inhabitants, when Columbus first landed on its shores, had no authentic records; the information, therefore, we possess in relation to their antiquities, is derived principally from strangers, and that information, scanty as it is, has not always been impartial. Nations advanced in knowledge, conscious of their own superiority, view untutored savages with scorn, and seldom acknowledge their occupations or their pleasures to be worthy of men. Communities, in their early and unpolished state, have not frequently been observed with care, by men endowed with minds superior to vulgar prejudices, nor by persons capable of contemplating man, under whatever aspect he may appear, with a candid or discerning eye. The conquerors of South America were illiterate adventurers, in whom avarice and zeal were curiously blended. Surrounded with danger, and struggling with hardships, they had but little leisure, and less capacity, for speculative inquiry. Eager to enjoy a country abounding in wealth, and happy at finding it possessed by men unable to defend it, they looked upon the natives as upon wretches, fit only for servitude.

The same difficulty, to a certain extent, meets us at the very threshold in contemplating the Indians of North America. Although the first settlers of Virginia and Massachusetts, in a moral point of view, were superior to the mercenary hordes that overrun and subjected to Spanish sway the fertile regions of the South, we have only to peruse their early history to be convinced, that impartiality, respecting the natives, was not among their virtues.

In one particular, however, all agree—that this vast Continent, from one extremity to the other, when the restless foot of European adventure first trod its soil, was inhabited, or more properly speaking, was overrun by a race of men advanced more or less in civilization. There are, it is said, in New-Holland and in Africa at the present day, human beings in a state of nature, entirely ignorant of the most common arts of life. The natives of this country, though barbarous, were not at the time of its discovery, in that predicament. All of them had made more or less progress in civilization, and the Mexicans and Peruvians, if we are to credit Spanish writers, had made considerable progress, not only in the arts, but in science; and were at least on a par in that respect with their conquerors, except in the art or science of human butchery, in which, all admit, the latter excelled. The North American Indians were about on a par with the ancient Britons in the time of Julius Cæsar.

Hume, the English historian, after speaking of the ancient Britons in the southeast part of the island, before the age of Cæsar, observes: "The other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture. They were clothed with the skins of beasts; they dwelt in huts, which they reared in the forests and marshes with which the country was covered; they shifted their habitations when hopes of plunder, or the fear of an enemy, impelled them; the convenience of feeding their cattle was a sufficient motive for moving their seats; and as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and possessions were scanty and limited.

"The Britons were divided into nations or tribes, and being a military people, whose sole property was their arms and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish for liberty, for their princes or their chieftains to establish despotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical, were free, and the common people enjoyed more liberty than among the nations of Gaul, from whom they were descended. Each state was divided into factions within itself—and agitated with jealousy or animosity against the neighboring states. While the arts of peace were yet unknown, war was their chief occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition among the people.

"The Druids were their priests, and possessed great authority among them. Human sacrifices were practiced, and the spoils of war were devoted, in part, to their divinities."

Those acquainted with the character, habits, manners, and religion, of the Indians of Illinois, will recognize in the above a familiar picture, and by referring to Tacitus, the Roman historian, they will discover in the Saxon race, from which we are principally descended, traits of character nearly similar. We must not, however, from thence infer, that the natives of this country are of Celtic or Saxon origin. Men, whose circumstances are alike, by a law of our nature, become assimilated in manners, in habits, and in character. A British poet, in speaking of Julius Cæsar, remarks that he would have been a herdsman, or a great wrestler, had he not been a Roman emperor.

> Great Julius, on the mountain bred,
> A flock, perhaps, or herd had led;
> He that the world subdued, had been
> But the best wrestler on the green.

In some particulars, the natives of this country were vastly inferior to those who are called barbarous by the Europeans. The use of iron to the American savage was unknown. Hence, their inability to accomplish works so easily performed by civilized men. In another particular too, they were also inferior to the barbarians of the Eastern Continent. The savages of this country in no instance availed themselves of animal labor. They were not in fact " lords of the creation." The Tartar follows his prey upon the horse he has reared. The Arab has rendered the camel docile. The Laplander has made the reindeer subservient to his will. The people of Kamptschatka have trained their dogs to labor—and the native of Hindostan has brought the half-reasoning elephant to his aid; but the American savage performs whatever he undertakes, merely by the strength of his own native arm. He is not conscious of any superiority he possesses over brutes. He considers himself their enemy, not their superior. He knows how to waste and to destroy, but not how to multiply or to govern them.

To form an opinion of the North American Indian, as he existed when he was lord of this vast Continent, predicated upon what most of us have seen in the miserable hordes which at the present day infest our borders, and hang on the skirts of civilization, would be doing them and our readers great injustice. It must be considered, that the savage has been exalted by some writers in the scale of existence above his merits; that his state has sometimes been represented as one of perfect happiness. That he is the real "stoic of the woods"—" the man without a tear." Some of this is unquestionably true—most of it, however, is unquestionably false. That the present race are mere remnants of once powerful tribes, we can easily believe; but that those tribes, when in "all their glory," were anything more than mere savages, gaining a precarious existence by wandering over the vast and boundless forests, the majestic rivers, and mighty prairies of this vast Continent, is not equally clear. That they possessed capacities which fitted them for their (then) state of existence;

that they were linked to their fellow-men in civilized life, by more of those sympathies and affections than are usually ascribed to them, is cheerfully admitted. Their wants, however, were few and easily supplied. In the early stages of society, the arts deemed necessary for comfort are so few, that each one is sufficiently master of them all, to gratify his limited desires. To form his bow and point his arrow—to rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, is about the extent of man's early acquisitions, and this he does without calling to his aid any hand but his own. His labor, however, progresses slowly—hence, " the work of an Indian " became, among the Spaniards, a phrase by which they described anything in the execution of which much time had been employed, and much labor thrown away.

The most simple operation was a work of great difficulty. To fell a tree with hatchets of stone, was the employment of a month. To form a canoe into shape and hollow it, was the work of years. Their operations in agriculture were equally defective. The clearing a small field for culture, required the efforts of a tribe ; and the labor of its cultivation was left to the women.

Agriculture, when the strength of man is seconded by that of animals, and his power augmented by the use of instruments, is an undertaking of great labor among civilized nations.

It ought not then to excite surprise, that a people destitute of both, should have made but little progress either in agriculture or the arts.

In hunting and fishing, they excelled. In the latter, it is said, they became so expert in South America " as to infect the water with the juice of certain plants, by which the fish became so intoxicated, that they floated on the surface, and were taken by hand."* A bold and dextrous hunter ranked next in fame to a distinguished warrior. No device which the ingenuity of man ever discovered, for ensnaring and destroying wild beasts, escaped his attention. He discovered, as it were by instinct, the footsteps of animals, which escaped every eye but his own, and followed them with unerring certainty through pathless forests. When he attacked his game openly, his arrow seldom erred ; and when he attempted to circumvent it by art, it was almost impossible to escape his toils. His skill has only been surpassed by " the hunters of Kentucky," who, it is said, are disgraced by drawing blood in the killing of game ; perfection in the art among them consisting in shooting so near, as to stun and bring it to the earth without shedding its blood.

Among several tribes their young men were not permitted to marry, until they had given such evidence of their skill in hunting, as to remove all doubts of their ability to support a family. Nations more civilized than they, might perhaps, in this particular, profit by their example.

Having no legal tribunals to which parties could appeal for the redress of injuries, revenge was of course intrusted to private hands. In case violence had been committed, or blood had been shed, the community did not assume the province either of inflicting, or moderating the punishment. It belonged to the family and friends of the person injured or slain, to avenge the wrong, or accept the reparation offered by the aggressor; and as it was deemed pusillanimous to suffer an offender with impunity to escape, resentment was implacable.

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* Robertson's History of America.

Having no ideas of separate property, avarice and many vices incident to man in a civilized state, were of course unknown. The relation between debtor and creditor being unacknowledged, and their chiefs exercising no criminal jurisdiction, the ties which bound the savage warrior and his clan together, were exceedingly feeble; and without the aid of superstition, by whose fatal influence the human mind is frequently depressed, and its native vigor subdued, would scarcely have existed. Their ideas of separate property were imperfect, and still the rudest tribes were acquainted with the rights of each to its own domains. These were entirely exclusive, and their hunting-grounds, like European parks and forests, were guarded with the utmost care. Their boundaries, however, were uncertain. This led to frequent disputes, which terminated in bloodshed. Hence most of the Indian wars, which for centuries previous to its discovery, converted the whole of this Western Continent into one great charnel-house, and wrapt its forests and prairies in gloom. A community limited in number, and constituting, as in case of an Indian tribe one family, is more sensible of injury than a community of larger dimensions; because the injury of one individual is an injury to the whole, and sentiments of vengeance, like the electric spark, are instantly diffused. As feeble societies enter the field in small parties only, each warrior is conscious of his own importance, and feels, that to his single arm is committed a considerable portion of the public vengeance. War was therefore prosecuted by them, with all the rancor of a private quarrel. One council-fire was sufficient for its discussion. Here all the warriors and sages assembled. Eloquence and superstition inflamed their minds. The orator awoke their martial ardor, and they were wrought up to a kind of religious desperation "by the visions of the prophet and the dreamer."

In going to war, they were never satisfied till they extirpated, in whole or in part, the objects of their vengeance. They sought not to conquer, but to destroy. Revenge was the first, and almost the only principle, which the savage instilled into the minds of his children. Under its baneful influence, he neither pitied nor forgave. When a chief wished to allure a band of warriors to his standard, his most persuasive topics were drawn from revenge, and at times it must be admitted, they were eloquent. Animated by such exhortations, the youth snatched their arms in a transport of fury—raised the war-whoop—mingled in the dance—and burned with impatience to "attack the foe."

Sometimes, however, they were more deliberate, and then an Indian council was one of the most dignified bodies of men on earth. The elders assembled, and delivered their opinions in solemn speeches—weighed, with extreme caution, the nature of the enterprise, and balanced its beneficial or injurious tendencies with great sagacity. Their priests and soothsayers, in such cases, were consulted, and sometimes the women.

If war was declared, they prepared for it deliberately. A leader of renown stepped forth, and offered to conduct the expedition. None but a successful warrior or a skilful hunter, applied for a command, and none were constrained to follow him. The resolution of the community imposed no obligation upon any member to participate in the war. Each individual was master of his own conduct, and his engagement was entirely voluntary. They never took the field in numerous bodies, as it would require more efforts, and greater industry, than usually exists among savages, to provide for their subsistence. Their armies were, therefore, encumbered neither with baggage nor military stores. When at a distance from the enemy, they dispersed themselves through the woods, and lived upon its game; and as they approached the territories of a hostile tribe, they collected their troops and advanced with caution. Their most active hostilities were carried on by stratagem. To set on fire their enemies' huts at midnight, and to massacre men, women and children, as they fled naked and defenceless from the flames, constituted their pride and glory. No applause was attached to force. To surprise and to destroy, was the greatest merit of a commander, and the highest pride of his followers. They traced the footsteps of an enemy with wonderful accuracy through pathless forests—laid in ambush from day to day—and rushed upon their foes when the latter were most secure, and least prepared for resistance. They concealed their approach—crept frequently on their hands and feet through the woods, and to avoid detection, painted their skins of the color of withered leaves. With them it was considered folly to meet an enemy on his guard, or give him battle in open day. The most distinguished success was a disgrace, if purchased with considerable loss; and to fall in battle, instead of being glorious, as among civilized nations, subjected the memory of a warrior to the imputation of rashness. This has frequently been imputed to cowardice. When, however, we consider the fact, now conceded, that at times they made extraordinary efforts—defended themselves often with great resolution—attacked their enemies with daring courage, and rose superior to a sense of danger or fear of death, we are compelled to admit that their caution originated from other and different motives. The number in each tribe was so small, and the difficulty of raising new members so great, that the life of an individual was exceedingly precious, and the preservation of it, a consideration of importance in their policy.

Although they discovered great sagacity, as well in concealing their own motions as in discovering those of an enemy; when they entered the field in large parties, those precautions essential to their security, were seldom observed. Unaccustomed to subordination, unable or unwilling to act in concert, such was their impatience under restraint, and such their caprice and presumption, that they seldom conformed to the counsels or directions of their leaders; never stationed sentinels around their camp, and after marching hundreds of miles to surprise an enemy, were themselves often surprised and cut off in a profound sleep, as if they were not within the reach of danger.

When the battle had been fought, and a victory won, the warriors' return was preceded by messengers, to announce the result—and the prisoners began to feel the wretchedness of their condition. The first thing to be done was to decide the captives' fate; and a barbarous triumph accompanied or followed the decision. Savages, however, are neither singular nor alone in this respect. Such exhibitions were frequent in Ancient Rome. Prisoners were there sold in market, after being exhibited through the streets. The purchaser was vested with the issues of life and death. They were compelled to fight with wild beasts, to make sport for a Roman populace, and with each other as gladiators, for the amusement of Roman matrons. Well might an English monarch, thus exhibited as a spectacle, wonder, that a people possessing so much splendor at home, should envy him a humble cottage in Britain.

In deciding the fate of prisoners, the old men—the aged chiefs, and sometimes the women, had a voice. Some were destined to torture—others to satiate the vengeance of their conquerors, and some to replace those who had fallen in battle. Those reserved for the milder fate, were taken to their cabins, received at the doors with cordiality by the women, and their sufferings ended. They were thenceforward adopted into the family—assumed its name; were enrolled among the tribe, sometimes became its chiefs, and were treated with all the tenderness due to a father, a brother, a husband, or friend.

So long as their fate was undetermined, the prisoners seemed unconcerned—ate, drank, and slept, as if no danger was impending. And when the fatal sentence was announced, they received it with unaltered looks, and prepared to suffer like men.

Their conquerors then assembled, as at a solemn festival, in order to put the endurance of the captive to its utmost proof. A scene followed, the bare description of which fills every heart with horror. The prisoner was bound to a stake—every species of torture was applied that ingenuity could devise, and by avoiding the vital parts, this scene of anguish was frequently prolonged for several days. In spite, however, of all his sufferings, the victim chanted his own death-song—boasted of his exploits—insulted his tormentors for their want of skill in avenging their relations—warned them of the horrors that awaited his agonies—excited their ferocity by reproaches, and rising at last superior to the white man, in his contempt of death under its cruellest inflictions, amid the protracted agonies of fire, "as the flames preyed on his vitals, and the flesh shrunk from the sinews," he repeated in emphatic tones his last song of triumph, breathing in every word the defiance of an unconquered heart, and died without a groan.

Appalling as is the scene, England, "the land of scholars, and the nurse of arms"—civilized Spain, and refined and accomplished France, long after Columbus landed on our shores, presented for contemplation scenes accompanied with greater horrors. England, France and Spain, it is said, too, were enlightened from on high. In the latter, public sacrifices, called the *Auto de Fe*, or Act of Faith, have been exhibited repeatedly upon a stage, erected in the public market-place of the capital; and kings, whose presence in other cases was a harbinger of mercy, have sometimes assisted, seated lower than the inquisitors, and viewed, with apparent transport, their subjects writhing in agony, and expiring by slow and lingering torments. A monarch of France, (Charles IX.) on St. Bartholomew's eve, in 1572, accompanied by his mother, viewed from a window the massacre of his most gallant nobles, and incited the fury of the Catholics, by firing himself upon the Protestants, and crying, "kill! kill!" and solemn thanks were afterward returned to the God of mercy, by the professed followers of a meek and lowly Jesus, to commemorate the sacrifice. In England, many a pious martyr has perished at the stake, without seeking by recantation to escape the flames. The offer of pardon did not induce a Hooper to waver in his faith; nor did the pains of a lingering death subdue his fortitude. He suffered by a slow and lingering fire, and died, says his biographer, "as quietly as a child in his bed." For him, the counsels of the Almighty had chosen a Saviour—for him, the laws of nature had been suspended. The heavens had opened—the earth had quaked—the sun had veiled its face, and Christ, his Redeemer, had died and risen. For him, prophets and apostles had revealed the oracles and the will of God. Viewing himself as an object of favor, and denying all merit of his own, he prostrated himself in dust and ashes before his Maker. He cherished hope, professed faith, and as he walked the earth, his heart was in the skies.* Though spirits of darkness leagued together to tempt him from his allegiance—Angels hovered around his path, to comfort his soul and beckon him to glory. He died as he had lived, not like an Indian warrior, singing his own death-song, but like a saint in bliss, exclaiming amid the flames, as one arm dropped from his half-consumed body, and with the other, he beat his bosom, and bade his heart be still: "Oh, Death! where is thy sting? Oh, Grave! where is thy victory?"

While the perpetrators of these horrid deeds assumed the character of Christians, and professed to be mild and merciful, "the wild man of the woods," at the sound of whose war-whoop the white man had frequently quailed; whose very name was a talisman, by which the mother on the Rhine and the Danube once stilled her babe; for acts less abhorrent to our nature, is branded "a savage." How truly says an eminent author,† "Are we the dupes of circumstances?" How different is virtue, clothed in purple, from virtue naked, destitute, and perishing obscurely in a wilderness!

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* Bancroft.

† Washington Irving.

The extremes of civilized and savage life, it is said, meet on a common level. A state of high refinement and extreme barbarism, we are told, engender similar vices without their corresponding virtues. The American savage is strongly addicted to games of chance, and so is the refined, the accomplished, and *extremely* civilized man. The former, animated with but few desires—indifferent on other occasions, to everything around him—cold, phlegmatic and silent; as soon as he embarks in play, becomes noisy, rapacious, impatient, and almost frantic with eagerness. His furs—his domestic utensils—his clothes—his arms—and indeed everything which he possesses, are at once staked upon its issue; and when all is lost, high as his sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or hope, he risks his very liberty on a single cast. The same is said of the Tartar, the Arab of the desert, and the Negro.

Gambling, without doubt, is natural to every one—however elevated in rank, advanced in years, or blessed by fortune—unaccustomed to the regular pursuits of industry. The man of wealth or leisure, independent of labor, and the savage, who does not feel its necessity, alike unoccupied, seek with eagerness any and every species of excitement. Hence, not unfrequently fashionable vices are, by the civilized, the savage, and the negro, taught and practiced in common. And hence, too, the proverb, that Satan, when he finds a man, or woman either, without occupation, is pretty sure to give them employment.

From causes similar to those which render him fond of play, the savage, like his brother in the front ranks of civilized life, is addicted to drunkenness. The discovery of intoxicating liquors has, in every age, and almost every nation, excited, if not the first, the most extraordinary efforts of human genius; and no nation is so destitute of invention as to have failed in its fatal research. The most barbarous tribes in North America, at an early day, unfortunately attained the art; and those so deficient in knowledge as to be unacquainted with the method of giving it an inebriating quality, accomplished the same ends by different means. The people of California, used for this purpose the smoke of tobacco, drawn up with a certain instrument into the nostrils, the fumes of which, ascending to the brain, accomplished those objects the drunkard so ardently desires. Others possessed the art of extracting liquor from the maize, or the manioc root, which constituted their principal beverage.

Among civilized nations, where a succession of business or pleasure keeps the mind entirely occupied, the desire for intoxicating liquor is regulated, in some measure, by climate, and increases or diminishes according to circumstances. In temperate regions artificial stimulus is not required. In colder climates, the human system, more robust and sluggish, stands more in need of artificial excitement; but among savages, the desire of something that is of power to intoxicate, is in every situation the same. Engaged in hunting or war, the powers of his nature are roused to their utmost vigor. The scenes emanating from thence are succeeded by intervals of repose, and the warrior, meeting with nothing of sufficient dignity or importance to attract his attention, sinks into a kind of stupor, amounting almost to insensibility. The posture of his body is an emblem of his mind. In one climate he cowers over a fire in his wretched cabin, and in another he dozes away his time under the shade, in a state of joyless inactivity; and as intoxicating liquors awaken him from this torpid state, his passion for them is excessive. Whatever may be the occasion or pretext for assembling, a convivial meeting of savages terminates, of course, in a debauch, and continues while a drop of liquor remains. Persons of the greatest eminence, the most distinguished warriors, and chiefs most renowned for their wisdom, sink to a level with the meanest and most obscure. Their eagerness for present enjoyment, renders them blind to its consequences; and their passions, naturally strong, heightened and inflamed by intoxicating liquors, lead them into enormous excesses. Hence, their festivities seldom terminate without violence or bloodshed.

The women are not allowed to participate in these excesses. Their province is to prepare the liquor, and to take care of their husbands and friends while under its influence; and it is not uncommon for the former to conceal their knives, their hatchets, and other instruments of violence, in order to avert the consequences. Alexander, in a fit of drunkenness, it is said, slew his friend. The savage sometimes does the like in imitation of his example.

Dancing is also a favorite amusement in savage, as well as in civilized life. Having nothing to occupy his time, and languishing, as he does, in a state of indolence, the savage rejoices in a pastime which awakens him to existence, and calls the active powers of his nature into exercise.

If war is to be declared, it is by a dance, expressive of the resentment he feels, and the vengeance he meditates. If the wrath of an offended God is to be appeased, or his beneficence to be celebrated—if the birth of a child, or the death of a friend, calls forth his joy or his sorrow, he has his appropriate dance, with sentiments adapted to each. If a person is sick, a dance is prescribed as the means of restoring him to health; and if he cannot endure its fatigue, the physician or conjurer performs it in his name.

The music by which these dances are regulated is simple and monotonous, yet the dances themselves are expressive and animated. Among them the war-dance stands preëminent. It is the representation of a whole campaign. The warrior's departure from his native village—his march into the enemy's country—the caution with which he encamps—the address with which he stations some of his party in ambush—his manner of surprising the enemy—the noise and ferocity of the combat—the scalping of those who are slain—the seizure of prisoners—the conqueror's return, and the torture of his victims, are all successively exhibited. The performer enters with such enthusiastic ardor into its several parts—his gestures, his countenance, and his voice, are so wild and so well adapted to the occasion, that a person unaccustomed to see it can hardly realize therein a mimic scene, or view it without fear and terror.*

In his social relations, the American savage presents nothing worthy of admiration. Whether we regard his deportment, in respect to his superiors, his inferiors, or equals, we recognize the same character; and trace the operations of a mind intent on its own gratifications, regulated by its own caprices, without regard to the sentiments and feelings of those around him. In civilized life, those persons who have but few objects on which their minds incessantly dwell, are sometimes remarkable for the low artifice by which they mature their little projects, mistaken by some for wisdom. With savages, whose views are more limited, and whose attention is equally persevering, these circumstances operate with similar effect, and the savage thus acquires a kind of disingenuous subtlety, which is apparent in all he does. War and the chase being the main purpose of his existence, in both of which he trusts for success principally to stratagem; this subtlety is fostered, and thus ripens into a habit. Hence the cunning of an Indian is proverbial.

One of the strongest, and perhaps the most interesting feature in his character, is a sense of personal independence. He forms his resolutions alone, without consulting his nearest friends. Feeling but little dependence on others, he views them with careless indifference. He pursues his own course, and indulges his own fancy, without inquiring whether his acts are agreeable or offensive; and his mind is scarcely susceptible of gentle, delicate, or tender emotions. Hence, in discharging the several duties of a husband, a father, son, or brother, he is careless and indifferent. No look of sympathy ever beams from his eye—no soothing expressions escape his lips—no officious services contribute, on his part, to alleviate the distress, soften the woes, or meliorate the condition of human existence. In every situation, with but few exceptions, he is the same hard-hearted, taciturn, insensible being.

Regarding woman as a slave, he considers it beneath his dignity to address her with kindness, or even to adorn his person to make himself acceptable. 'T is only when he enters the councils of his nation, or takes the field against his enemies, that he puts on his choicest ornaments and decks his person with the nicest care. His habitation is intended merely for a shelter, with no view to elegance, and less attention to convenience. The door is so low, that it is necessary to bend or to creep, in order to obtain admission. It has no windows, and but one large hole in the middle of the roof, to admit light and carry off the smoke. The fire is built in the centre, and its inmates, without regard to age, sex, or condition, lay in a circle around it. The bark canoe is the only master-piece of art. With this he navigates the stormy lakes, ascends the rapid stream, tempts its floods, crosses the portage, and descends the cataracts.

To despise and degrade the female sex, is the character of the savage in every part of the globe. Exulting in superior strength and courage, the chief marks of preëminence among unpolished nations, he treats woman as his inferior. Marriage itself, instead of being the union of affection and interest between equals, is the unnatural alliance of a master and his slave. In barbarous nations, and among rude and uncivilized people, the functions of domestic economy fall usually to the woman's share; but among savages, her condition is so grievous and her depression so complete, that servitude is a name too mild to describe her wretched condition. A wife is no better than a beast of burden. While the husband loiters out the day in sloth, or spends it in amusement, the wife is condemned to incessant toil. Tasks are imposed upon her without pity, and received without gratitude. Polygamy being tolerated, no affection, or but little, can exist among them. The wife is taught to regard her husband as a superior, and frequently is not permitted to eat in his presence. She cultivates the earth, does all the menial labor, and carries all the burdens; while her husband, with his arms only decked in his best apparel, stalks on before. 'T is civilization and christianity that exalt the female to her appropriate sphere; annihilate them, and woman is the object of sensuality, or a slave.

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* Charlevoix.

The religious tenets, rites, and ceremonies, of the American savage, for a long time have been a subject of interest, and are now but imperfectly understood. The difficulties that attend his progress through life are so numerous, and man in an uncivilized state is so frequently in situations of great perplexity, that his mind, conscious of its weakness, has recourse to other guidance and protection than what is human. Overwhelmed with calamities that oppress him, and exposed to dangers which he cannot repel, the savage has no reliance on himself. He feels his own impotence, and sees no prospect of being extricated other than by an unseen arm. Hence, in all barbarous nations, the first rites which bear any resemblance to religion have reference to evils which men suffer, or dread. The natives of this country had their good and evil spirits. Their homage, however, was principally paid to the latter. Persuaded that the good deities, prompted by the beneficence of their nature, would bestow every blessing in their power, without solicitation or acknowledgment, their only anxiety was to soothe and deprecate the wrath of those whom they regarded as the enemies of human kind. His superstition is generally the offspring of fear; its effects are everywhere the same, and its efforts usually employed, not to solicit blessings, but to avert calamities.

A portion of the North American Indians had a more just conception of the Supreme Being. They denominated him the Great Spirit. They had, however, no established form of worship—no temples—no ministers consecrated to his service.

Among the Natchez and the natives of South America, the sun was the chief object of worship. Temples were erected with considerable magnificence, decorated with some ornaments, and dedicated to its service. A perpetual fire, the purest emblem of divinity, was there preserved, and ministers appointed to watch and feed the sacred flame. The first duty of the great chief of the nation every morning, was an act of obeisance to the sun. This was the most refined species of superstition known or practiced, and probably the most natural. It corresponded in almost every particular with that of the Persians, the most desirable, it is usually conceded, of any people destitute of revelation.

The human mind, when least improved and invigorated by culture, shrinks from the thought of annihilation. and looks forward with hope and expectation to a future existence. This sentiment, resulting from a secret consciousness of its own dignity—from an instinctive longing after immortality, is apparently universal. and may, perhaps, be deemed natural. Upon this are founded the most exalted hopes of man, in his highest state of improvement; nor has nature withheld from this soothing consolation in that early and rude period of its progress, the most uncivilized of the American tribes. Few or none, it is believed, regard death as the extinction of being. All entertain hopes of a future and more blessed state of existence, when they shall be exempt from the calamities which embitter life in its present condition. This they conceive to be a delightful country, blessed with perpetual spring; whose forests abound with game—whose rivers swarm with fish; where famine is never felt, and plenty, without labor, ever reigns.

The views of an American savage are so beautifully expressed by Pope, in his Essay on Man, and are so true to nature, that I cannot resist the temptation of inserting them here.

Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind,
His soul proud science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk or milky way.
Yet, simple nature to his hope has given
Beyond the cloud-topp'd hill, a humbler heaven;
Some safer world, in depths of woods embraced,
Some happier island in the watery waste,
Where slaves once more their native land behold,
No fiends torment, nor Christians thirst for gold.
To be content 's his natural desire,
He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire;
But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company.

As men, in forming their first impressions concerning the invisible world, suppose they shall feel the same desires, and be engaged in the same occupation as here, they naturally ascribe eminence and distinction in that state to the same qualities and talents which are objects of esteem in this. Hence, the American savage allots the highest place in the land of spirits to the skilful hunter, the adventurous warrior, and to such as have tortured the greatest number of victims. And, as they imagine departed spirits begin their career anew in the world to which they are hastening, in order that their friends may not enter upon it defenceless and unprovided, they bury with their bodies bows and arrows, and other weapons used in hunting and war. They deposite, also, in their tombs, the skins or stuffs of which they make their garments, Indian-corn, venison, domestic utensils, and whatever is considered necessary in their simple mode of life.

In some provinces, when a chief, or cacique, dies, his wives and slaves are put to death, in order that he may appear in another world with the same dignity as here, and be waited upon by the same attendants.

All nations, from the most refined to the most barbarous, it is believed, have their prophets, their soothsayers, their augurs, and their magicians. Even Cicero sought and obtained at Rome the office of augur.

Astonished with occurrences of which it is unable to comprehend the cause—alarmed at events of which it cannot discover the issue or the consequences, the human mind has recourse to other means of discovering them than the exercise of its own sagacity. Hence, superstition becomes a regular system, and divination a religious act. Priests, as the ministers of Heaven, pretend to deliver its oracles. Among savage nations they are the soothsayers, augurs, and magicians, who possess the sacred art of disclosing to man what is concealed from other eyes.

Among such uncultivated nations, a curiosity to discover what is future and unknown, is cherished also by a different principle, and derives strength from another alliance. Diseases, among savages, are few and violent. Impatience under what they suffer, and their solicitude for the recovery of health, inspires them with extraordinary reverence for such as pretend to understand the nature of maladies. These ignorant pretenders, in most cases, are strangers to the human frame, and unacquainted with the cause or cure of disease ; they resort, therefore, to superstition for aid, which, mingled with some portion of craft, supplies what is wanting in science. The credulity, and love of the marvellous, natural to uninformed men, favors the deception, and hence the success of impostors. Among savages, their first physicians are a kind of augur, or wizard, who boasts of his knowledge, and pretends to discern the future. Superstition in its earliest form, we have observed, originated from a desire to be delivered from present distress, and not from the evils which await us in a future world ; it would, therefore, seem that superstition originally was grafted on medicine, and not on religion. The conjuror, the sorcerer, or the prophet—which means the same thing—thus becomes an important personage. Long before man had acquired a knowledge of Deity that inspired him with reverence, we observe him stretching out a presumptuous hand, to draw aside the veil with which Providence kindly conceals its purposes from our view.

To discern and to worship a superintending power, is an evidence of the maturity of man's understanding ; a vain, foolish, inconsiderate desire to pry into futurity, is the error of its infancy, and a proof of its weakness. From this weakness proceeds the faith of savages in dreams and omens; and the same remark will apply with equal force to man pretending to be civilized.

"Eloquence in council, and bravery in war," for more than two centuries have been attributed to the savage, and the inquiry has scarcely been made, "whether these things are so."

Of the latter we have spoken already, and said as much, perhaps, as the occasion requires. Montesquieu very justly remarks, that fear is the first law of our nature. Courage and bravery cannot, then, be instinctive; but, like other human acquisitions, depend for their existence upon circumstances. The savage warrior may or may not be brave; that he is so, at times, all admit; that he is also, at other times, a great coward, is equally true; and, upon the whole, that he is less brave or courageous than the regular soldier, bred to arms in the ranks of civilized life, is too apparent to require an argument.

In relation to Indian eloquence, a diversity of opinion must and will, for a long time, exist among those whose opportunities enable them to decide correctly, and whose judgment is not perverted by the force of that current, which has so long and so uniformly flowed in a particular channel. Travellers, in the early settlement of this country, with a view to magnify their own exploits, indulged themselves in great latitude of expression, when speaking of the eloquence and bravery of savage warriors. Their reports were published and republished, until a channel was formed in the public mind, and the Indian was thus exalted "above all Grecian, above all Roman fame."

Mr. Jefferson assisted, many years ago, in giving currency to this opinion, by publishing a speech said to have been written by the celebrated Logan, a chief of the six nations, to Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia. Had such a speech been delivered as is written down for him by his friends in civilized life, it would have tended, in a great measure, to confirm the opinion so often expressed, in relation to Indian eloquence. Considering it, however, as the handywork of others, and in part of Mr. Jefferson, whose pen, like the touch of Midas, converted everything, not into gold, but into eloquence; or, as one of those celebrated speeches put into the mouth of some distinguished warrior of antiquity, by Livy or Tacitus, it loses half its charms.

The speech above alluded to, unlike any Indian speech ever in fact delivered, we insert:

"I appeal to any white man to say, if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat—if he ever came cold and naked, and he clothed him not? During the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge: I have sought it—I have killed many—I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear—Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

The same ideas were put into verse by Campbell, in his Gertrude of Wyoming. and may, perhaps, with the same propriety, be imputed to Logan:

"He left of all my tribe
Nor man, nor child, nor thing of living birth;
No, not the dog that watched my household hearth
Escaped that night of blood, upon our plains.
All perished. I alone am left on earth;
To whom nor relative nor blood remains—
No, not a kindred drop that runs in human veins."

Erskine, the celebrated English barrister, afterward chancellor, has also contributed much to foster this delusion. Upon the trial of Stockdale, in the court of king's bench, for a libel growing out of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, when speaking of the British conduct in India, and of their efforts to support an authority "which Heaven never gave," remarks: "I have not been considering this subject through the cold medium of books, but have been speaking of man and his nature, and of human dominion, from what I have seen of them myself, among reluctant nations submitting to our authority. I know what they feel, and how such feelings can alone be repressed. I have heard them, in my youth, from a naked savage, in the indignant character of a prince surrounded by his subjects, addressing the governor of a British colony, holding a bundle of sticks in his hand, as the notes of his unlettered eloquence. 'Who is it,' said the jealous ruler over the desert, encroached upon by the restless foot of English adventure—'who is it that caused this river to rise in the high mountains, and to empty itself into the ocean? Who is it that causes to blow the loud winds of winter, and that calms them again in the summer? Who is it that rears up the shade of these lofty forests, and blasts them with the quick lightning at his pleasure? The same Being that gave to you a country on the other side of the waters, and gave ours to us; and by this title we will defend them!' said the warrior, throwing down his tomahawk upon the ground, and raising the war-sound of his nation. These are the feelings of subjugated men all round the globe; and depend upon it, nothing but fear will control when it is in vain to look for affection."

We have quoted the whole passage, because it purports not only to contain a speech, but exhibits also the action of a savage warrior on the occasion alluded to. It will be recollected, however, that the above are mere fancy pieces, emanating from the fertile imagination of Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Erskine, and not from the brain of those distinguished personages who have thus, unintentionally at least on their part, been immortalized.

Some speeches of Pontiac, a celebrated Ottowa chief, who at the close of the "Pontiac war" abandoned his former residence near Detroit, and came to Chicago, from whence he went down the Illinois river and was assassinated at an Indian council, by one of the Peoria tribe, are referred to as specimens of native eloquence; as also some of the Little Turtle's, who fought and was defeated by General Wayne at the Maumie, and of Tecumseh, who speaks of the battle of Tippecanoe as "the unfortunate transaction that took place between the white people, and a few of his young men;" and of Weatherford, who was defeated by General Jackson; and of Red Jacket and a host of others, left "alone in their glory." No speech of Philip of Pokanoket is preserved. His eloquence consisted principally in action—and as that is said to be the first, and the second, and the third requisite of an orator, it must be conceded that he was eloquent, if his character in that respect is to be tested by the ancient rule. Although his action was somewhat different from the action so much admired in the orators of Greece and Rome, it was not less effective. Had Philip's return from the massacre of some New-England settlement, been emblazoned on the page of history, or had "the wizard of the north" told his story in poetic language, he would unquestionably have said:

> "Proudly our pibroch has thrilled in Glen Fruin,
> And Bannochar's groans to our slogan replied;
> Glen Lus and Los Dhu they are smoking in ruin,
> And the best of Loch Lomond lie dead on her side."

It was the misfortune, however, of Philip, as well as of other savage warriors, to have been painted by "the man," and not by "the lion," or their respective positions might have been reversed. Instead of the lion being prostrated on the earth, and the man standing over him, the lion might have been uppermost.

When Tecumseh, boiling with rage, and driven to despair—and fear and hope were struggling for mastery in his lacerated bosom; and pride and obstinacy, ambition and revenge, were roused to the highest pitch of excitement, exclaims, in the language of his biographer: "Let them come then. I hear them—I see them in the south and in the east, like the summer leaves rolling and rustling in the breeze—it is well. Shall Tecumseh tremble? Shall they say that he hated the white men, and feared them? No! The mountains and plains which the Great Spirit gave, are behind and around me. I too have my warriors, and here—where we were born and where we will die—on the Sciota and the Wabash—on the broad waters of the north, my voice shall be heard!" we cannot but recognize the workings of a master-spirit, and in the language of Mr. Jefferson, and Gov. Clinton afterward when speaking of Logan, we may challenge the whole of Europe to produce a paragraph from any of their orators, surpassing it either in eloquence or pathos. Indeed, such speeches were, to use an expression of Charlevoix, "Such as the Greeks admired in the barbarians;" such as Queen Elizabeth delivered to her army, when the Spanish Armada was hovering on her coasts. She did not speak to them of their ease, and their commerce, of their wealth, and their safety. No; she touched another chord, and spoke of their national honor—of their dignity as Englishmen—of "the proud scorn, that Parma or Spain, should dare to invade the borders of her realms." She breathed into them those grand and powerful sentiments, which exalted the vulgar into heroes. Just so when Maria Theresa of Austria, unfurled her banner to the breeze, and summoned her brave Hungarians to arms.

That some passages in many of the Indian speeches as reported, are eloquent, all admit. To withhold from them our applause, would be to imitate the envious disposition of Goldsmith, the English poet, who, on seeing the performance of the automaton, and being unwilling to acknowledge any merit but his own, said peevishly, "he could do better himself." It will be recollected, however, that the occasion—the nature and character of the audience, and the end to be attained, all combine to make the orator. The speeches above alluded to, were delivered on occasions of great interest to the tribe or nation. The audience was composed of rude uncivilized warriors, smarting under a sense of injuries beyond human endurance—and the end to be attained was the reparation of some aggravated wrong, or the infliction of some extraordinary vengeance. Any unlettered man in civilized life, situated as these orators were, would, by relating his simple story, in the plainest possible manner, electrify a modern congregation; or as Cicero would say, "rouse the stones of Rome to mutiny." When Pierce was killed on board the Chesapeak, previous to the late war with England, and his corpse was exposed in the city of New-York upon the battery, it was with difficulty the American people were restrained from violence. Savage eloquence is always simple and figurative. It is the simplicity of the Scriptures that gives them such a charm, and renders them the most eloquent productions in our language. In 1386, England was nearly convulsed by the repetition of such poetry as this:

"When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?"

Had not the great mass at that time been oppressed by England's haughty aristocracy—had not the insolence of office been too apparent, and the minions of power planted thorns and briers in their path; Watt Tyler, at the head of an armed multitude, could never have marched to London—broken into the Tower—murdered in cold blood the primate and chancellor, and other persons of distinction, and extorted from the king, (Richard II.) privileges (though reasonable) which had before been withheld. Nor could a Philip of Pokanoket, or a Pontiac, or a Tecumseh, have roused distant and barbarous nations to arms by the powers of their eloquence, had not the savage mind previously been wrought upon by the wrongs of white men.

Some of the best Indian speeches to which our attention has hitherto been directed, are those of Red-Jacket, a Seneca chief, delivered at Buffalo, in New-York ; one in reply to a request made by the white people to purchase Indian lands—another in reply to a missionary from Massachusetts, who wished to introduce Christianity among his people. They evince all the cunning and sagacity of a savage, and breathe, at the same time, the spirit of a high-toned pagan. They may, therefore, upon the whole, be regarded as the finest specimens of Indian eloquence extant.

There is something in savage eloquence always remarkable, and deserving in many respects of admiration. It is strong, stern, sententious, pointed, and undisguised. It abounds with figures and graphic touches —imprinted by a single effort of memory or imagination, but answering all the purposes of detailed description, without its tediousness or its weakness.

Of Tecumseh, it is said, that his appearance was always noble ; his form symmetrical—his carriage erect and lofty—his motions commanding, and under the excitement of his favorite theme, (the uniting of the western tribes, and driving the Americans back to the Ohio,) he became a new being. The artifice of the politician—the diffidence of the stranger —the demure dignity of the warrior, were cast aside like a cloak. His fine countenance lightened up with a fiery and haughty pride—his frame swelled with emotion—every feature, and every gesture, had its meaning ; "and language, the irrepressible outbreakings of nature, flowed in a torrent of passion from the fountains of the soul."

The same remarks will apply with equal force to other savage warriors, who, on particular occasions, have developed extraordinary powers of intellect, which commanded for a time the admiration of the civilized, and the confidence and pride of the savage ; which were felt as well as feared, and will live in the pages of civilized history, after barbarous traditions shall have forgotten them, and the nations to which they belonged shall cease to exist. It does not of course follow, because they were unsuccessful, that they were neither heroes nor patriots. Their influence was exerted over red men instead of white. They fought for wild lands, for liberty, and the graves of their fathers ; but failed not for want of courage, or of conduct, but because nature has ordained that the savage must retire before the civilized man. Their arms, in the early settlement of this country, (principally bows and arrows,) were no defence against weapons of steel. The desultory efforts of savage tribes, present no obstacles to the advance of disciplined armies ; and the exertions of rude barbarians, oppose no barrier to the progress of human arts.

The Macedonian phalanx passed nearly unharmed through Persia's and India's ranks. The Roman legion scarce paused when the Gaul, the German, or the Briton, crossed its path. The armies of Montezuma interfered not with the march of Cortez, or the embattled hosts of Atahualpa, with the advance of Pizzaro. It was just so at the north, in Virginia and Massachusetts, before the natives were supplied with arms, and it is so even now in India and China, where a regiment of British troops encounters and defeats whole armies of barbarians, almost without a struggle.

The inquiry is frequently made, why has not Christianity advanced with more rapid strides among this singular and extraordinary people? or rather, why have the missionaries so often been repelled? why driven from their borders? We answer, because the conduct of white men has not always furnished evidences of the sincerity of their professions.

When Hatuey, a cazique of some distinction in Hispaniola, fled from thence to Cuba, and was taken prisoner by Velasquez, a companion of Columbus, he was sentenced to the flames for taking up arms against his master, and in defence of his country; and being fastened to the stake, a Franciscan friar labored to convert him, and among other things, promised him admittance to the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the Christian faith. "Are there," said he, after a short pause, "any Spaniards in that region of bliss that you describe?" "Yes," replied the monk; "but only such as are wise and good." "The best of them," returned the indignant cazique, "have neither worth nor goodness. I will not go to a place where I shall meet with one of that accursed race."

Many affect to be surprised that the Indians are unsusceptible of civilization, or rather, that they refuse to adopt the habits and manners of white men. Persons, however, entertaining this opinion, do not consider the nature of those difficulties that for a long time have prevented a result so desirable.

When the Spaniards discovered the American Continent, and the English first landed on the coast of Virginia—when Plymouth rock first attracted the Pilgrims thither, and the Dutch arrived in the city of New-York; the French in Canada, and Penn, with his inoffensive brethren, located themselves on the Delaware, they were all received with hospitality and kindness. No exceptions whatever exist on record. The Europeans were, for many years, regarded by the savages as superior beings. The vast ships in which they had crossed the "big waters"—their dress, their arms, and especially their artillery, which, in savage eyes, resembled the bolt or the rapid lightning of Heaven, inspired for a long time both awe and wonder.

The first negotiations in traffic were, in all probability, fairly conducted—the Indian bought what he wanted, and sold out of his scanty stores whatever he could spare—and although frequently cheated, the principles of "free trade" prevailed, and justice seems to have been taught and practiced. Too much freedom, however, bred disturbance; and when difficulties occurred, the civilized was sure to prevail over the savage man. As mind, in every instance, governs matter, such results were unavoidable. The wound, however, rankled in the Indian's breast—and as there was no common tribunal to which they could appeal, recourse was had immediately to arms. Here, too, the civilized man prevailed, and "the Indians have since been driven from river to river, from forest to forest, and through a period of two hundred years rolled back, nation upon nation, till they have found themselves fugitives, vagrants, and strangers in their own country;—and look forward to the certain period, when their descendants will be totally extinguished by wars—driven at the point of the bayonet into the Western Ocean, or reduced to a fate still more deplorable and horrid—the condition of slaves."

Is it then at all singular, in the language of Mr. Wirt, that the Indians should be implacably vindictive against white men—that the rage of resentment should be handed down from generation to generation—that they should refuse to associate, and mix permanently with their unjust and cruel invaders—that, in the unabating spirit and frenzy of conscious impotence, they should wage an eternal war, as well as they are able—that they should triumph in the rare opportunity of revenge—that they should dance, sing, and rejoice, as the victim shrieks and faints amid the flames, where they fancy all the crimes of their oppressors are collected on his head, and the spirits of their forefathers smiling with ferocious delight on the proud and glorious spectacle, and feasting on the incense that arises from the burning blood of the white man?

When the savage mournfully extinguished his last fires, and viewed for the last time the hunting-grounds of his people, he fled like an angry tiger to a remoter forest—scowling at the victor, and watching his opportunity to renew the contest. His mode of warfare (already described,) was the indiscriminate massacre of men, women and children. When, therefore, the white man, after a temporary absence, returned and found his solitary cabin wrapped in flames—his wife and children gone, he knew not whither—'t was natural for him to collect his neighbors, to pursue the wretched fugitives, and if possible, to inflict upon them the severest vengeance. Hence, the hostility of the white and red man has been perpetuated from generation to generation; and hence, too, it is probable that the same hostility will continue, till one or the other shall cease to exist.

The intercourse between them has not varied much in its character for the last two hundred years. In 1622, Canonicas, a Naraganset sachem, sent to the Plymouth Colony, in Massachusetts, a bunch of arrows wrapped up in the skin of a rattlesnake, as the token of his hostility. Governor Bradford returned the skin immediately, stuffed with powder and shot. The savage quailed in an instant, wishing to be on terms of amity with a race whose weapons of war were so terrible; and thus the controversy ended.

In 1791, Washington, then President of the United States, in a familiar letter to Col. Humphreys, after alluding to the Indian war, then raging with violence on the borders of the Ohio, very justly remarks: "I must confess, I cannot see much prospect of living in tranquillity with these people, (the Indians,) so long as the spirit of land-jobbing prevails, and our frontier settlers consider it no crime to murder an Indian."

Cruel and implacable as the savages of North America were, it would be doing them great injustice to say, that instances of extraordinary friendship, of fidelity, kindness and forbearance, were unknown. Instances of this nature in our early history frequently occur, which ought to suffuse the cheek of civilization with crimson ; but we forbear.

The American savage is, upon the whole, a perfect anomaly in the history of our race—his origin is unknown. His progress, thus far, has been attended by all the vicissitudes that accompany civilized, as well as barbarous nations ; and his course seems to have been marked out, by the hand of Providence, for an extraordinary end.

CHAPTER III.

Origin of the Indians—Egyptian Hieroglyphics—The Rosetta Stone—Egyptian Pyramids—Dr. Robertson's Theory of American Colonization—Ancient Civilization—Solon—Opinions of the Ancients on the subject of a Western Continent—Theopompus—Hanno—Diodorus Siculus—Plato—Aristotle—Seneca—Pliny—Strabo—Cicero—Cotton Mather—Welch—America civilized before Greece or Rome—Its Monuments and Ruins evidence—Baron Humboldt—Stephens—Catherwood and Norman—Ruins of Copan—Temple—Idols—Altars—Hieroglyphics—Quiriga—Palenque—Uxmal—Mounds—Mount Joliet—Canal across the Isthmus of Darien.

THE origin of the extraordinary people, whose character we have endeavored in the preceding chapter to elucidate, is involved, as already stated, in mystery. Some have supposed that the original inhabitants of this vast Continent were not the offspring of the same common parent, with the rest of mankind. Others have contended, that they are the remnant of some antediluvian race that escaped the deluge. Indeed, there is scarcely a nation on the globe, says Dr. Robertson, to which some antiquarian, in the extravagance of conjecture, has not ascribed the honor of peopling America. The Jews, the Canaanites, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the Scythians, are supposed by many at an early period to have emigrated to this western world. The Chinese, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Welch, and the Spaniards, it is said also, have sent colonies thither at different periods, and on various occasions. Each have had their advocates, and their opinions predicated on no other foundation than a similarity of some casual customs—some supposed affinity of language, or some religious ceremonies common to each, have been urged with more zeal than knowledge, more pertinacity than learning, and sometimes, it is presumed, with but little profit or advantage.

The subject, however, is one of interest; and fortunately for the present age, the recent discoveries in South America will, in a short time, put the question at rest for ever.

"Egypt, for centuries," says Gliddon, "had been a sealed book, whose pages could not be opened, until Napoleon's thunderbolts had riven the clasps asunder." A French officer of engineers in August, 1799, in laying the foundation of Fort Julian, on the western bank of the Nile, between Rosetta and the sea, near the mouth of the river, discovered the fragment of a block of basalt, (since called the inestimable Rosetta Stone, now in the British Museum,) on which was written in three different languages, an account of the coronation of King Epiphanes, 'Son of the

Sun, Ptolemy, ever living, beloved of Pthah,' which took place at Memphis in the month of March, one hundred and ninety-six years before the Christian era. Its length is about three feet, its breadth about two feet and five inches, and its thickness about ten or twelve inches. It bears three inscriptions: one of them in sacred characters, (that is, in hieroglyphics,) one of them in the writing of the country, (that is, in the ancient Egyptian or Coptic dialect,) and the other in ancient Greek—the latter purports to be a translation of the other two.

"This fact being ascertained, its importance became apparent. The monumental legends of ancient Egypt, by aid of the key thus discovered, were at once laid open to common observation, and more, it is presumed, will shortly be known by the American reader on the banks of the Missouri, the Illinois, or the Arkansas, of Egyptian history and its ancient inhabitants before the birth of Abraham, than is known at the present time by the inhabitant of London in regard to the English nation, anterior to the reign of Alfred—or by the Parisian, of French history previous to the time of Charlemagne. The era heretofore predicted, it would seem, therefore, is now approaching, when the origin and object of the Egyptian pyramids—the inscriptions on her obelisks and her temples, and the biography of her mummies, shall be apparent to all—when her papyri shall be unrolled, and their contents translated into every tongue, and the treasures of antiquity—the mysteries of ages, and the wisdom of Ham's posterity, be revealed in all their glory."*

Should the American antiquarian be alike successful in deciphering the hieroglyphics which have recently been exhibited for our inspection in South America, the like results will probably follow, and the long agitated question, "How was America peopled?" be finally solved.

In the meantime, a few moments devoted to this inquiry, cannot be misspent.

Dr. Robertson, in giving his views upon the subject, lays it down as a certain principle, that America was not peopled by any nation of the ancient Continent, which had made considerable progress in civilization; because, "although the elegant and refined arts of life may decline or perish amid the violent shocks of those revolutions and disasters to which nations are exposed, the necessary arts of life, when once introduced among a people, are never lost." However specious the above reasoning may appear in theory, its truth is contradicted by the whole history of man.

The ancient Egyptians were a polished people in the time of her Pharaohs; acquainted, not only with the elegant and refined arts of life, but with those of every day's use, which tend essentially to our convenience. Those arts have for centuries been lost to their descendants. The erection of the vast pyramids and temples that border upon the Nile, required the use of tools and skill in the mechanic arts, unknown to the people that now occupy its valley. The conquerors of ancient Rome obliterated, in many instances, every vestige of art, and the Arab of the desert, even at this day, erects his tent amid the ruins of ancient magnificence.

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* Gliddon's Egypt.

The same elegant author further remarks, that America was not peopled by any colony from the southern nations of the ancient Continent, because none of the rude tribes settled in that part of the eastern hemisphere, can be supposed to have visited a country so remote. That they possessed neither enterprise nor ingenuity, nor power that would prompt them to undertake, or enable them to perform, so distant a voyage.

In making the above remarks, the learned author seems to have forgotten, that the northern Africans were a learned and polished people, when England was unknown; that they were "dressed in purple and fine linen," when our ancestors, clothed in skins, were almost vagrants upon the earth. That the Bishops of Alexandria and Carthage vied in splendor with the Bishop of Rome, and that Northern Africa, ere conviction of the truth of Mohammad's tenets flashed from the Moslem's blade, was more fervent in its devotions than any part of Christendom.

Before we call the attention of our readers to the evidence derived from ancient monuments, recently discovered in Copan and elsewhere in South America, appertaining to the long agitated question, whether America was known to the ancients, it may be well, perhaps, to inquire on what authority (if any) the assertion of that fact is predicated.

The wisdom of the ancients, especially the Egyptians, we have no doubt, is frequently underrated. They must have been a learned and polished nation before Abraham's journey thither. Of this fact, their pyramids and their temples are conclusive evidence. Besides, Moses, we are told, (Acts vii. 22,) "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Abraham went up out of Egypt, (Genesis xii. 2,) "rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold." Job (in chap. xix. 23,) exclaims: "Oh, that my words were written; oh, that they were printed in a book;" and again, (in chap. xxxi. 35,) "Oh, that one would hear me: behold, my desire is, that the Almighty would answer me, and that my adversary had written a book." It would seem, then, that written chronicles, and even the sublimest poetry, were in common use among the Egyptians anterior to the age of Moses. The Hebrews had a book called the Wars of Jehovah, referred to in Numbers, (chap. xvi. 14,) as the book of the wars of the Lord. They had also national ballads, in a book entitled Sipher Hajasher, (see Joshua x. 13,) "is it not written in the book of Jasher?" A description of the ark of the Covenant, (in Exodus) of the tabernacle—of the holy garments for Aaron—of the breastplate, and the ephod—of the robe, and the broidered coat—of the mitre, and the girdle—shows conclusively, that the Egyptians at an early day had made great progress in the arts. The same evidence is derived, also, from their monuments. More than a thousand years before the Pelasgian Greeks studded the isles and capes of the Archipelago with their forts and their temples, and fifteen centuries before Roman civilization first dawned upon Europe, "the art of cutting granite with a copper chisel, and of giving elasticity to a copper sword—of making glass with the variegated hues of the rainbow—of moving single blocks of polished syenite, nine hundred tons in weight, for any distance by land or water—of building arches, round and pointed, with masonic precision unsurpassed at the present day, antecedent by two thousand years to the Cloacum Magnum of Rome—of sculpturing a Doric column a thousand years before the Dorians are known in history—of Frescoe painting in imperishable colors, and of practical knowledge in anatomy, astronomy, and mathematics, were taught and practiced in great perfection upon the Nile.

"Every craftsman can now behold, in Egyptian monuments, the progress of his art four thousand years ago; and whether it be a wheelwright building a chariot—a shoemaker drawing his twine—a leather-cutter using the self-same form of knife of old, as is considered the best form now—a white-smith using the identical form of blow-pipe, but lately recognized as the most efficient—the seal engraver, cutting in hieroglyphics, such names as Shoophoe, four thousand three hundred years ago—or even the poulterer, removing the pip from geese; all these and many more astonishing evidences of Egyptian skill and culture, are now laid bare to common observation."

Is it singular, then, that a people so learned and so wise, should have had some knowledge or information of the "Far West?"

Two thousand years before Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope—Africa, we are told from unquestionable authority, was circumnavigated by order of Pharaoh Necho. Plato informs us that when Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, was receiving instruction in the sacerdotal colleges of Egypt, (about five hundred and forty-nine years before Christ,) he was informed by "Sonchis, one of the priests, of the existence of the Atlantic isles, which, Sonchis said, were larger than Africa and Asia united." Europe, it will be recollected, was at that time too little known, or of too little consequence, to be spoken of. When Solon afterward was discoursing with the Egyptian sages, of what had happened to the Greeks, one of the most venerable of the sacerdotal ancients exclaimed: "Oh! Solon! Solon! you Greeks are always children, nor is there such a thing as an aged Grecian among you; all your souls are juvenile, neither entertaining any ancient opinions derived from remote tradition, nor any discipline, hoary from its existence in former periods of time." How natural then for Campbell, the English poet, to exclaim in his beautiful address to the Mummy in Belzoni's collection:

"Antiquity appears to have begun
Long after thy primeval race was run."

Theopompus, a learned historian, cotemporary with Alexander the Great, in a book called the Thaumasia, gives a sort of dialogue between Midas, the Phrygian, and Selinus. The book itself is lost, but Strabo refers to it, and Ælianus has given us the substance of the dialogue, as follows. After much conversation Selinus said to Midas, "that Europe, Asia, and Africa, were but islands, surrounded on all sides by the sea; but that there was a Continent beyond that, which was of immense dimensions, even without limits, and that it was so luxuriant as to produce animals of prodigious magnitude; and men grew to double the height of themselves, and that they lived to a far greater age. That they have many great cities, and their laws and usages were different from ours. That in one city, there were more than a million of inhabitants; that gold and silver were there in vast quantities."

Hanno, a Carthaginian officer of great enterprise, about eight hundred years before the Christian era, and about fifty before Rome was founded, having sailed round and explored the coasts of Africa, set out from the Pillars of Hercules, now called the Straits of Gibraltar, and sailed westward for thirty days. On his return, as most travellers and navigators do, he wrote a book, which he entitled Periplus, giving an account of his voyages. Attempts have been made to prove this a spurious work; but M. de Montesquieu, in his "l' Esprit de Loix," lib. xxi., chapter 8th, and M. de Bouganville in a dissertation, published tom. xxxi., of the "Memoires de l' Academie des Incriptions," have established its authenticity by arguments which seem unanswerable. All the circumstances contained in the abstract of his journal, concerning the appearance and state of the coasts of Africa, are confirmed and illustrated by a comparison with the accounts of modern navigators. And those circumstances which, from their seeming improbability, have been produced to invalidate the credibility of his relation, tend to confirm it.

Diodorus Siculus, who lived about one hundred years before Christ, says: "After having passed the islands which lie beyond the Herculean Straits, we will speak of those which lie much farther into the ocean: toward Africa, and to the west of it, is an immense island in the broad sea, many days' sail from Lybia. Its soil is very fertile, and its surface variegated with mountains and valleys. Its coasts are indented with many navigable rivers, and its fields are well cultivated, and it has delicious gardens, and various kinds of plants and trees."

Plato, who lived about four hundred years before the Christian era, says: "In these first times, the Atlantic was a broad island, and there were extant most powerful beings upon it; but that Atlantic island, by a flood and earthquake, was suddenly destroyed."

Aristotle speaks of an island beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, as follows: "Some say, that beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the Carthaginians have found a very fertile island, but without inhabitants; full of forests, navigable rivers, and fruit in abundance. It is several days' voyage from the main land. Some Carthaginians, charmed by the fertility of the country, thought to marry and settle there; but some say that the government of Carthage forbade the settlement, upon pain of death, from the fear that it would increase in power, so as to deprive the mother country of her possessions there." Had the latter part of this paragraph been uttered as a prediction, subsequent events, in North and South America, would have redeemed the author's character from the imputation of false prophecy. It reminds us of a beautiful passage in Cowper:

"Oh! could their ancient Incas rise again,
How would they take up Israel's taunting strain;
Art thou, too, fallen? Iberia, do we see
The robber and the murderer weak as we?
Thou that hath wasted earth, and dared despise
Alike the wrath and mercy of the skies;
Thy pomp is in the grave—thy glory laid
Low in the pits thy avarice has made.
We come with joy from our eternal rest,
To see the oppressor in his turn oppressed.
Art thou the god? the thunder of whose hand
Rolled over all our desolated land;
Shook principalities and kingdoms down,
And made the mountains tremble at thy frown?
The sword shall light upon thy boasted powers,
And waste them all, as they have wasted ours.
'Tis thus Onipotence his law fulfils,
And vengeance executes what justice wills."

Seneca, a cotemporary with our Savoiur, while on earth, who wrote poetry as well as prose, says in his Medea, canto III., verse 375, translated into English: "The time will come when the ocean will loosen the chains of nature, and we shall behold a vast country; a new Tiphis shall discover new worlds; Thule shall no longer be considered the last country of the known world." On the other hand, Polybius, one of the best informed historians of antiquity, affirms, "That it was not known in his time whether Africa was a Continent stretching to the south, or whether it was encompassed by the sea."

Pliny, the naturalist, asserts that there can be no communication between the southern and northern temperate zones.

Strabo seems not to have known anything, with certainty, concerning the form and state of the southern parts of Africa. And Ptolemy, the most learned of all the ancient geographers, was unacquainted with any part of Africa south of the equinoctial line.

Cicero seems to have believed with Pliny, that no intercourse could exist between the northern and southern temperate zones. He introduces Africanus, thus addressing the younger Scipio: "You see this earth encompassed, as it were, bound in by certain zones; of which two, at the greatest distance from each other, and sustaining the opposite poles in the heavens, are frozen with perpetual cold; the middle, and largest of all, is burnt with the heat of the sun. Two are habitable. The people in the southern one are antipodes to us, with whom we have no connection." Whatever may have been the opinion of Cicero, in relation to the torrid zone, (an opinion now conceded by all to be erroneous,) the above clearly shows what he thought of the spherical figure of the earth. Indeed, that doctrine was too well established by the Egyptians to admit of any doubt, (as appears from their monuments, and other evidences,) anterior not only to Columbus's voyage hither, but before the age of Abraham, the patriarch.

Recent discoveries in the north having shown that Asia and America, at the west, aproximate near to each other, and Iceland and Greenland toward the east, several writers on the subject of American colonization, have thought it much easier to bring the original inhabitants of this country hither, across the ice, or in canoes, than by the southern route, through the Atlantic seas and islands; and some of their number, Dr. Robertson in particular, rejoices in having thus solved with apparent ease a complicated question, that for a long time had puzzled their predecessors.

It would seem, however, from recent discoveries in Central America, that these gentlemen are not yet "out of the woods;" that they have raised the shout of victory before the battle has been fought, much more ere a victory has been won.

In our eagerness to bring this question to a close, we forgot to mention the theory of a learned New-England divine, who wrote in the seventeenth century; the Rev. Cotton Mather, of Massachusetts. He supposed the Indians were Europeans seduced here by the devil, to keep them out of the sound of the silver trumpets of the gospel, which at that time were shaking the papal throne to its foundation. It is impossible, however, to do justice to the learned doctor, without giving his own words: "But, as probably the devil, seducing the first inhabitants of America into it, therein aimed at the leading them and their posterity out of the sound of the silver trumpets of the gospel, then to be heard through the Roman empire: if the devil had any expectation, that by peopling America, he should utterly deprive any European of the two benefits, literature and religion, which dawned upon the miserable world, (one just before, the other just after the first famed navigation hither,) 't is to be hoped he will be disappointed of that expectation." And again: "The nations of the Continent now possessed by the New-Englanders, had been forlorn and wretched heathen, ever since their first herding here; and though we know not when or how these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty Continent, yet we may guess, that probably the devil decoyed these miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them. But our Elliot (a celebrated missionary to the Indians,) was on such ill terms with the devil, as to alarm him with the silver trumpets of Heaven, in his territories, and make some noble and zealous attempts toward ousting him of his ancient possessions here. There were, I think, twenty several nations (if I may call them so,) of Indians, upon the spot of ground which fell under the influence of the three united colonies, (Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-Haven,) and our Elliot was willing to rescue as many of them as he could, from that old usurping landlord of America, who is, by the wrath of God, the prince of this world."

Having referred at considerable length to the sayings and doings of the ancients upon the subject of American colonization, it will, probably, be expected that we should say something in relation to the discoveries alleged to have been made by the Norwegians and the Welch—of the exploits of Erick the Red, and of Madoc, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, and before the attention of Columbus was directed hither. There is, however, something so indefinite in their accounts, so unsatisfactory in their conclusions, that we have thought proper to pass them over in silence, or rather, to leave them for the consideration of others.

It is not, we believe, pretended that discoveries or conquests were made by either, to which importance was attached, either at the time they were made, or afterward. They cannot, therefore, be a subject of profitable discussion.

Strabo remarks, that the conquests of Alexander made known the East, those of the Romans made known the West, and those of Mithridates of Pontus, the North.

Little, to be sure, was at that time said by either, of a Western Continent, and less probably was known. 'T is not, however, to be inferred from thence, that America was uncultivated, wild, or barbarous. The Greeks and Romans in their day, made, it is true, some considerable progress in the arts, and by trumpeting abroad their own fame, filled the world with their renown. It does not, however, says Dr. Johnson, follow, "because a few grasshoppers happen to fill the air with their chirck, that they are the only tenants of the field; for all that appears, the stately ox may be chewing its cud in the shade." Is it not, then, possible that, without the fact being known to Europeans, America may have been inhabited by millions of civilized, happy, and intelligent beings, long before Cadmus carried letters into Greece, or Cecrops introduced a colony of Phœnicians thither? Let the ancient monuments, now in ruins, answer. "It was once debated," said Lord Erskine, "whether a man falling from a given height, could get up and walk; while, however, the discussion was pending, a man who had thus fallen, did get up and walk; and so the argument ended." Just so in the present case. The researches of Humboldt in South America, and more especially the discoveries recently made in Yucatan and elsewhere, by Stephens, Catherwood, Norman, and others, when more fully developed, and the hieroglyphics by them exhumed, more fully understood, we have no doubt will put to flight whole volumes of argument, and, at a period not far remote, settle the question of American colonization at once and for ever.

Stephens, in speaking of the ruins of Copan, observes:

"The wall was of cut stone, well laid, and in a good state of preservation. We ascended by large stone steps, in some places perfect, and in others thrown down by trees, which had grown up between the crevices, and reached a terrace, the form of which it was impossible to make out, from the density of the forest in which it was enveloped. Our guide cleared a way with his machette, and we passed, as it lay half-buried in the earth, a large fragment of stone elaborately sculptured, and came to the angle of a structure, with steps on the sides ; in form and appearance, so far as the trees would enable us to make it out, like the sides of a pyramid. We next came to a square stone column, about fourteen feet high, and three feet on each side, sculptured in very bold relief, and on all four of the sides from the base to the top. The front was the figure of a man, curiously and richly dressed, and the face evidently a portrait, solemn, stern, and well fitted to excite terror. The back was of a different design, unlike anything we had seen before ; and the sides were covered with hieroglyphics. This our guide called an idol ; and before it was a large block of stone, also sculptured with figures and emblematical devices, which he called an altar. The sight of this unexpected monument put at rest, at once and for ever, in our minds, all uncertainty in regard to the character of American antiquities ; and gave us the assurance, that the objects we were in search of were interesting, not only as the remains of an unknown people, but as works of art ; proving, like newly discovered historical records, that the people who once occupied the Continent of America, were not savages. With an interest, perhaps stronger than we had ever felt in wandering among the ruins of Egypt, we followed our guide, who conducted us through the forest, among half-buried fragments, to fourteen monuments, of the same character and appearance, some with more elegant designs, and some in workmanship equal to the finest monuments of the Egyptians. One displaced from its pedestal by enormous roots ; another locked in the close embrace of branches of trees, and almost lifted out of the earth ; another hurled to the ground, and bound down by huge vines and creepers ; and one standing, with its altar before it, in a grove of trees which grew around it, seemingly to shade and shroud it as a sacred thing. In the solemn stillness of the woods, it seemed a divinity mourning over a fallen people. We then returned to the base of the pyramidal structure, and ascended it by regular stone steps ; in part, they were ornamented with sculptured figures, and rows of death's-heads. Climbing over the ruined top, we reached a terrace overgrown with trees ; and crossing it, descended by stone steps into an area, so covered with trees, that at first we could not make out its form ; but which, on clearing the way with the machette, we ascertained to be a square, and with steps on all the sides, almost as perfect as those of the Roman amphitheatre. The steps were ornamented with sculpture, and on the south side, about half-way up, forced out of its place by roots, was a colossal head, evidently a portrait. We ascended these steps, and reached a broad terrace a hundred feet high, overlooking the river and supported by a wall. The whole was covered with trees, and even at this height from the ground, were two gigantic Ceibas, or wild cotton-trees of India, above twenty feet in circumference, extending their half-naked roots fifty, or a hundred feet around, binding down the ruins, and shading them with their branches. We sat down on the very edge of the wall, and strove, in vain, to penetrate the mystery by which we were surrounded. Who were the people that built this city? In the ruined cities of Egypt—even in the long lost Petra, the stranger knows the story of the people whose vestiges are around him. America, say historians, was peopled by savages; but savages never reared these structures; savages never carved these stones. We asked the Indians who made them, and their dull answer was, 'Quien sabe?' who knows? There were no associations connected with the place; none of those stirring recollections which hallow Rome, Athens, and

> 'The world's great mistress on the Egyptian plain;'

but architecture, sculpture, and painting—all the arts which embellish life, had flourished in this overgrown forest; orators, warriors, and statesmen; beauty, ambition, and glory, had lived and passed away, and none knew that such things had been, or could tell of their past existence. Books, the records of knowledge, are silent on this theme. The city was desolate! No remnant of this race hangs round the ruins, with traditions handed down from father to son, and from generation to generation. It lay before us like a shattered bark in the midst of the ocean; her masts gone—her name effaced—her crew perished; and none to tell whence she came, to whom she belonged, how long on her voyage, or what caused her destruction; her lost people to be traced only by some fancied resemblance in the construction of the vessel, and perhaps never to be known at all. The place where we sat—was it a citadel, from which an unknown people had sounded the trumpet of war? or a temple for the worship of the God of peace? or did the inhabitants worship the idols made with their own hands, and offer sacrifices on the stones before them? All was mystery—dark, impenetrable mystery—and every circumstance increased it. In Egypt, the colossal skeletons of gigantic temples stand in the unwatered sands, in all the nakedness of desolation; here, an immense forest shrouded the ruins, hiding them from sight; heightening the impression and moral effect, and giving an intensity and almost wildness to the interest.

"The extent of this ruined city along the river, is more than two miles. There is one monument on the opposite side of the river, at the distance of a mile, on the top of a mountain two thousand feet high. Whether the city ever crossed the river, and extended to that monument, it is impossible to say. All the rear is an unexplored forest, in which there may be ruins. There are no remains of palaces or private buildings, and the principal part is that which stands on the bank of the river, and may, perhaps, with propriety, be called the temple.

"This temple is an oblong inclosure. The front, or river wall, extends on a right line north and south, six hundred and twenty-four feet, and is from sixty to ninety feet in height. It is made of cut stones, from three to six feet in length, and a foot and a half in breadth. In many places the stones have been thrown down by bushes growing out of the crevices; and in one place there is a small opening, from which the ruins are sometimes called by the Indians, Las Ventanas, or the windows. The other three sides consist of ranges of steps, and pyramidal structures, rising from thirty to one hundred and forty feet on the slope.

"Near the southwest corner of the river wall and the south wall, is a recess, which was probably once occupied by a colossal monument, fronting the water. Beyond are the remains of two small pyramidal structures, to the largest of which is attached a wall, running along the west bank of the river. This appears to have been a gateway, or principal entrance from the water. The south wall runs at right angles to the river, beginning with a range of steps about thirty feet high, and each step about eighteen inches square. At the southeast corner is a massive pyramidal structure, one hundred feet high on the slope. On the right, are other remains of terraces and pyramidal buildings; and here also was probably a gateway, by a passage about twenty feet wide, into a quadrangular area two hundred and fifty feet square, two sides of which are massive pyramids, one hundred and twenty feet high on the slope.

"At the foot of these structures, and in different parts of the quadrangular area, are numerous remains of sculpture; among others a colossal monument richly sculptured, fallen and ruined. Behind it, fragments of sculpture thrown from their places by trees, are strewed and lying loose on the side of the pyramid, from the base to the top; and among them our attention was forcibly arrested by rows of death's-heads of gigantic proportions, still standing in their places about half-way up the side of the pyramid. The effect was extraordinary. Among the fragments lying on the ground near this place, is a remarkable portrait. It is probably the portrait of some king, chieftain, or sage. The mouth is injured, and part of the ornament over the wreath that crowns the head. The expression is noble and severe, and the whole character shows a close imitation of nature. Another column, or idol, stands with its face to the east, about six feet from the base of the pyramidal wall. It is thirteen feet in height, four feet in front, and three deep, sculptured on all four of its sides from the base to the top, and one of the richest and most elaborate specimens in the whole extent of the ruins. Originally it was painted, the marks of red color being still distinctly visible. Before it, at a distance of about eight feet, is a large block of sculptured stone, which the Indians call an altar. The subject of the front is a full-length figure, the face wanting beard, and of a feminine cast, though the dress seems that of a man. On the two sides are rows of hieroglyphics, which probably recite the history of this mysterious personage.

Near this is a remarkable altar, which presents as curious a subject of speculation as any monument in Copan. The altars, like the idols, are all of a single block of stone. In general, they are not so richly ornamented, and are more faded and worn, or covered with moss; some were completely buried, and of others it was difficult to make out more than the form. All differed in fashion, and doubtless had some distinct and peculiar reference to the idols before which they stood. This stands on four globes, cut out of the same stone; the sculpture is in bas-relief, and it is the only specimen of that kind found at Copan, all the rest being in bold alto-relievo. It is six feet square, and four feet high, and the top is divided into thirty-six tablets of hieroglyphics, which, beyond doubt, record some event in the history of the mysterious people who once inhabited the city.

On the west side are the two principal personages, chiefs or warriors, with their faces opposite each other, and apparently engaged in argument, or negotiation. The other fourteen are divided into two equal parties, and seem to be following their leaders. Each of the two principal figures are seated, cross-legged, in the Oriental fashion, on a hieroglyphic, which probably designates his name and office, or character; and on three of which, the serpent forms a part. Between the two principal personages is a remarkable cartouche, containing two hieroglyphics well preserved, which remind us strongly of the Egyptian method of giving the names of the kings, or heroes, in whose honor monuments were erected. The head-dresses are remarkable for their curious and complicated form; the figures have all breastplates, and one of the two principal characters holds in his hand an instrument, which may, perhaps, be considered a sceptre; each of the others holds an object, which can be only a subject of speculation and conjecture. It may be a weapon of war, and if so, it is the only thing of the kind found represented at Copan. In other countries, battle scenes, warriors, and weapons of war, are among the most prominent subjects of sculpture; and from the entire absence of them here, there is reason to believe that the people were not warlike, but peaceable, and easily subdued.

Mr. Stephens, to whose "Incidents of travel in Central America," we again refer with great satisfaction, in speaking of the ruins of Quirigua, observes: "They ascended to the top of a pyramidal structure, about twenty-five feet, and descending by steps on the other side, at a short distance beyond came to a colossal head, two yards in diameter, almost buried by an enormous tree, and covered with moss. Near it was a large altar; proceeding three or four hundred yards to the north, they reached a collection of monuments of the same general character with those at Copan, but twice or three times as high.

"The first is about twenty feet high, five feet six inches on two sides, and two feet eight, on the other two. The front, represents the figure of a man, well preserved—the back, that of a woman, much defaced; the sides are covered with hieroglyphics, but in bas-relief, and of exactly the same style as those at Copan.

"Another is twenty-three feet out of the ground, with figures of men on the front and back, and hieroglyphics, in bas-relief, on the sides, and surrounded by a base, projecting fifteen or sixteen feet from it.

"At a short distance is an obelisk, or carved stone, twenty-six feet out of the ground, and probably six or eight feet under it. It is leaning twelve feet two inches out of the perpendicular, and seems ready to fall. The side toward the ground represents the figure of a man, very perfect, and finely sculptured—the other two contain hieroglyphics, in bas-relief. In size and sculpture, this is the finest of the whole.

"A statue, ten feet high, is lying on the ground, covered with moss and herbage; and another, about the same size of this, with its face upward. Others, of a similar kind, are found in the same vicinity.

"The general character of these ruins, is the same as at Copan; the monuments are much larger, but they are sculptured in relief, less rich in design, and more faded and worn, probably being of a much older date.

"Of one thing there is no doubt: a large city once stood there. Its name is lost—its history unknown. For centuries it has lain as if covered with the lava of Vesuvius; every traveller from Yzabal to Guatimala has passed within three hours of it, and yet there it lay—like the rock-built city of Edom—unvisited, unsought, and unknown."

Mr. Stephens, in the work above referred to, after describing the ruins of Santa Cruz del Quichi, another city of Central America, evidently of modern date, observes: "We consider this place important, from the fact that its history is known, and its date is fixed. It was in its greatest splendor when Alvarado conquered it—it proves the character of the buildings which the Indians of that day constructed, and its ruins confirm the glowing accounts given by Cortez and his companions, of the splendor displayed in the edifices of Mexico. The point to which we directed our attention, was to discover some resemblance to the ruins of Copan and Quirigua; but we did not find statues, or carved figures, or hieroglyphics, nor could we learn that any had ever been found there. If there had been such evidences, we should have considered these remains the works of the same race of people; but in the absence of such evidences, we believed that Copan and Quirigua, were cities of another race, and of a much older date."

Of Palenque, another city in ruins, Mr. Stephens remarks: "The ruins of Palenque are the first which awakened attention to the existence of ancient and unknown cities in America, and on that account, are more interesting to the public than any other. The Indians, and the people of Palenque, say that they cover a space of sixty miles—ten times larger than New-York, and three times as large as London."

Of a building, supposed to be a palace, Mr. Stephens says: "It stands on an artificial elevation, of an oblong form, forty feet high, three hundred and ten feet in front and rear, and two hundred and sixty feet on each side. This elevation was paved with stone, which has been thrown down by the growth of trees, and its form is hardly distinguishable.

"The building stands with its face to the east, and measures two hundred and twenty-eight feet, by one hundred and eighty feet deep. Its height is not more than twenty-five feet, and all around, it had a broad projecting cornice of stone. The front contained fourteen doorways, about nine feet wide each, and the intervening piers are between six and seven feet wide. On the left, in approaching the palace, eight of the piers have fallen down, as has also the corner on the right, and the terrace underneath is cumbered with ruins. But six piers remain entire, and the rest of the front is open.

"The building was constructed of stone, with a mortar of lime and sand, and the whole front was covered with stucco, and painted. The piers were ornamented with spirited figures in bas-relief; on the top are three hieroglyphics, sunk in the stucco; it is inclosed by a richly ornamented border, about ten feet high, and six wide, of which only part remains. The principal personage stands in an upright position, and in profile. The head represents a different species from any now existing in that region of country, and indicates a race of people now lost and unknown. He holds in his hand a staff, or sceptre, and opposite his hands are the marks of these hieroglyphics, which have decayed or been broken off; at his feet are two naked figures, seated cross-legged, and apparently suppliants. The hieroglyphics doubtless tell its story. The stucco is of admirable consistency, and hard as stone. It was painted, and in different places about it we discovered the remains of red, blue, yellow, black, and white.

"The building has two parallel corridors, running lengthwise on all four of its sides. The floors are of a cement as hard as the best seen in the remains of Roman baths and cisterns. The walls are about ten feet high, and on each side of the principal entrance ornamented with medallions, of which the borders only remain. This, perhaps, contained the busts of the royal family.

"From the centre door a range of stone steps, thirty feet long, leads to a rectangular courtyard, eighty feet by seventy. On each side of the steps are grim and gigantic figures carved in stone, nine or ten feet high. This courtyard was encumbered with trees, so that we could hardly see across it, and so filled with rubbish, that we were obliged to make excavations of several feet before the figures could be drawn.

"Such is, in fact, only a description of the supposed palace of Palenque, from which the reader will form some idea of the profusion of its ornaments—of their unique and striking character, and of their mournful effect, shrouded by trees; and perhaps, with him as with us, fancy will paint it as it was before the hand of time had swept over it—perfect in its amplitude and rich decorations, and occupied by the strange people, whose portraits and figures adorn its walls.

"Here," says Stephens, "were the remains of a cultivated, polished, and peculiar people, who have passed through all the stages incident to the rise and fall of nations—reached their golden age, and perished entirely unknown: the links which connected them with the human family were severed and lost, and those were the only memorials of their footsteps upon earth. We lived in the ruined palace of their kings, we went up to their desolate temples and ruined altars, and wherever we moved we saw the evidence of their taste—their skill in the arts—their wealth and power. In the midst of desolation and ruin we looked back to the past—cleared away the gloomy forests, and fancied every building perfect, with its terraces and pyramids, its sculptured and painted ornaments, grand, lofty and imposing, and overlooking an immense inhabited plain. We called back into life the strange people who gazed at us in sadness from the walls—pictured them in fanciful costumes, and adorned with plumes of feathers, ascending the terraces of the palace, and the steps leading to the temples—and imagined a scene of unique and gorgeous beauty and magnificence, realizing the emotions of oriental poets—the very spot which fancy would have solicited for the "happy valley" of Rasselas. In the romance of this world's history, nothing ever impressed me more forcibly than the spectacle of this once great and lovely city, overturned, desolate, and lost—discovered by accident—overgrown with trees, and without even a name. Apart from everything else, it was a moving witness to this world's mutations. Cortez, on his conquering march from Mexico to Honduras, by the lake of Peten, must have passed within twenty or thirty miles of it; and if Palenque at that time had been a living city, its fame must have reached his ears, and he would in all probability have turned aside from his road to subdue or plunder it. 'T is therefore reasonable to suppose that Palenque was at that time desolate, ruined, and lost."

Of the ruined city of Uxmal and its ornaments, Mr. Stephens remarks: "Probably all their ornaments have a symbolical meaning—each stone is part of an allegory or fable, hidden from us—inscrutable under the light of the feeble torch we may burn before it, but which, even if revealed, will show that the history of the world yet remains to be written."

In addition to the evidence recently furnished by the discovery and exhibitions of ruins in Central America, (scarcely begun to be developed,) other evidence of an inferior character, tending to the same result, has long existed at the north, and in every part of our country. Ancient fortifications, requiring more industry and greater efforts to erect them, than the race of Indians now existing ever exhibited, and of which no traditionary accounts remain. Inscriptions on rocks and in caves, said to be of Egyptian or Phœnician origin—specimens of pottery and other relics, together with mounds, tumuli, and barrows, as they are sometimes called, have led many to suppose that this was the primitive continent—that the ark of Noah rested somewhere within its limits; and that civilization was originally from thence diffused to other parts of the globe.

The evidence, however, in support of these several positions falls short of demonstration, and most of it, without doubt, is wholly imaginary. Dr. Beck, in his Gazeteer of Illinois, speaking of Mount Joliet, a large mound on the west bank of the River des Plaines, near the village of

Juliet, and about forty miles from Chicago, says: "It is about three or four hundred yards in length, and two or three hundred in breadth. Its form is that of a prism; it is evidently the work of art, and is probably the largest mound in the United States."

Priest, in his American Antiquities, speaking of the same, observes: "Its situation is such as to give to its size its fullest effect—being in a level country, with no hill in sight to form a contrast. Its height is sixty feet—nearly four rods perpendicular—its length eighty-four rods—its width fourteen. This mound is built on the horizontal limestone stratum of the secondary formation, and is fronted by the beautiful Lake Joliet, which is about fifteen miles long, presenting the most noble and picturesque spot in all America. This mound consists of 18,250,000 solid feet of earth. How long it took to build it is more than can be made out, as the number of men employed, and the facilities for carrying on the work, are unknown."

Persons who have visited Mount Joliet, and read the above glowing description in printed volumes, knowing, as they do, that Mount Joliet furnishes no other evidence of having been erected by human hands, than the White Hills of New-Hampshire, or the Rock of Gibraltar, are led to doubt sometimes the veracity, and sometimes the judgment, of their authors.

Sir Walter Raleigh, a celebrated courtier in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, distinguished alike for his learning and bravery, familiarly known in the annals of Virginia, and the annals of the tower of London, very justly remarks: "If we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, we shall find that it were very ill done, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over deeply; because in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole story might, perchance, bleed." We will then pass over this secondary evidence, without alluding to the White Indians or the Welch, who, we are gravely told, reside at the far west, or even to the lost tribes of the house of Israel; believing as we do, the existence of such in our country, to be entirely problematical. The extraordinary flood of light poured in of late, upon American antiquities, has put all former evidence in the shade. Central America will soon become classic ground. The savans of Europe will, at a period not far remote, resort thither to decipher, by the light of her flaming volcanoes, those wonderful hyeroglyphics hitherto concealed from every eye. The story of American colonization will then be told. We shall then learn that a living multitude once thronged those forests, now vocal with the tiger's growl. That that multitude was learned, accomplished, and refined, ere the British Isles had been heard of. That the arts and sciences were taught, and practiced in America, ere civilization dawned upon Europe. We may learn something too of Abraham; of Isaac, and of Jacob; of Pharaoh, and Joseph; of the patriarchs, and the prophets. Let, however, the views above referred to check for a while the pride and arrogance of human learning, and, for the present, teach humility to our race.

NOTE.

It is also probable, that Central America will become the seat of an extensive commerce. The fertility of its soil, and its central position between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, coupled with the probability of a ship navigation uniting the two, seem to designate Guatimala as a theatre for extraordinary events; it may, therefore, at some future day, be restored to its pristine grandeur.

Mr. Baily, a half-pay officer in the British navy, by order of the government of Central America, a few years since surveyed the route of a canal from Port St. Juan, on the Pacific, to the Atlantic Ocean. According to his survey, the distance from the Pacific to Lake Nicaragua is fifteen and two-third miles; the ascents altogether, are one thousand four hundred and seven feet five inches; the descents are nine hundred and nineteen feet. The lake, it seems then, is one hundred and twenty-eight feet three inches above the level of the Pacific. This lake is ninety-five miles long, and thirty wide, in its broadest part; from thence to the Atlantic, by the river San Juan, is seventy-nine miles. Mr. Stephens estimates the whole expense at from twenty to twenty-five millions of dollars, equal to about the estimated cost of the enlarged Erie Canal. "I am authorized," says he, "to state, that no physical obstructions of the country present any impediment to its completion." He gives it as his opinion, "That the two oceans will be united; that to men of leisure and fortune, jaded with rambling over the ruins of the old world, a new country will be opened. After a journey on the Nile, a day in Petra, and a bath in the Euphrates, English and American travellers will be bitten by mosquitos on the lake of Nicaragua, and drink champaign and Burton ale on the desolate shore of San Juan, on the Pacific. To an acute observer of the progress of modern improvement, during the last fifty years, the above seems more probable than many events that have happened in our day and generation.

CHAPTER IV.

Illinois originally a part of Florida—Grant of the whole Continent to Spain, by the Pope—His motive—Alonzo De Ojeda—His Proclamation—Cortez—Pizarro—Ponce de Leon discovers Florida—His Expedition thither—Pamphilo de Narvaez—His Expedition to Florida—Ferdinand de Soto—Atahualpa's ransom—Soto's Expedition to Florida—Discovers the Mississippi—Dies—Moscoso succeeds him—Expedition—Returns—Louis Cancello—Admiral Coligny, of France, attempts to colonize Florida—John Ribault sails thither—Colony broken up—Laudonniere renews the attempt—Sir John Hawkins relieves them—Melendez of Spain massacres the whole Colony—De Gourguis retaliates—France abandons Florida—Spain resumes and keeps possession of it—Title confirmed.

The State of Illinois was, originally, a part of Florida, and so laid down upon the old Spanish map, of North America. The history of Florida then, is a part of our history; and its conquest, a legitimate subject for considation here.

The title of Spain to the "Far West" rested, originally, on its discovery. Not satisfied, however, with a title, better by far than any other at that time extant, and when accompanied by possession, the very best in the world, Ferdinand and Isabella sought and obtained its confirmation by the pope.

The Roman pontiff, (Alexander VI.,) infamous for almost every crime that disgraces humanity, was born a subject of Ferdinand; and wishing the aid and influence of Spain to promote his ambitious views, rejoiced exceedingly at thus having an opportunity to gratify the Castilian monarch. As the vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, the pope was supposed, and believed by many, to have a perfect, indefeasible right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth; and especially, over all countries inhabited by infidels. By an act of liberality, which cost him nothing, and which served eventually to establish the jurisdiction and pretensions of the papal see to the newly discovered world, he granted to Ferdinand and Isabella, in perpetuity, all the lands which they had discovered, or should thereafter discover, west of an imaginary line, drawn from north to south, one hundred leagues west of the Azores. By thus doing, he conferred upon the crown of Castile vast regions, to the possession of which he was so far from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and ignorant even of their existence. Such, however, was the influence and power of the pope, that an opinion adverse to its validity would, at that time, have been presumptuous, and might have exposed its author to imminent peril.

In justice, however, to the high contracting parties, we ought, perhaps, here to remark, that the propagation of the Christian faith was urged by

Ferdinand, as a reason for soliciting, and mentioned by Alexander as the motive for making, so extraordinary a grant. We ought, perhaps, also to remark, that several friars, under the direction of Father Boyl, a Catalonian monk of great reputation, accompanied Columbus in his several voyages, to instruct the natives.

To give the Spanish title an appearance of validity, the most eminent divines and lawyers in the kingdom were employed to prescribe the mode and manner of taking possession of the countries thus granted. The history of our race nowhere else furnishes so extraordinary a document. It is, indeed, without a parallel; unless "Death tribute, or the Koran," under which the Moslem had marched to victory, in a thousand fields of battle, could be regarded as such.

The invaders were instructed, as soon as they landed on the Continent—

1. To deliver to the natives the principal articles of the Christian faith.
2. To acquaint them, in particular, of the supreme jurisdiction of the pope over all the kingdoms of the earth.
3. To inform them of the grant which the holy pontiff had made of their country to the King of Spain.
4. To require them to embrace the doctrines of that religion which the Spaniards made known to them.
5. To submit to the sovereign whose authority they proclaimed; and in case of their refusal, the invaders were authorized to attack them with fire and sword; to reduce them, their wives, and children, to a state of servitude; and to compel them, by force, to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the church, and the authority of the Spanish king.

Alonzo de Ojeda, a young man of respectable family, brought up as a page or esquire in the service of the Duke of Medina Celi, having received a commission from Don Juan Rodriguez Fonseca, Bishop of Placentia, (who had the chief management of the affairs of the Indies, under which general name was comprehended all the countries then recently discovered in this new world,) to fit out an armament and proceed on a voyage of discovery, embarked from Spain, in the month of May, 1499, and after a prosperous voyage of twenty-four days, arrived on the coast of Surinam. The celebrated Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, from whom the Continent derives its name, induced by broken fortunes and a rambling disposition for adventure, accompanied him thither. On the arrival of Ojeda, he issued the following "declaration or requisition," which served as a model to the Spaniards in their subsequent conquests; and is so extraordinary in its nature, and exhibits so clearly the principles upon which the Spaniards founded their rights to the extensive dominions they afterward subdued, that it merits an attentive perusal. It was in the following words:

> "I, Alonzo de Ojeda, servant of the most high and powerful King of Castile and Leon, the conqueror of barbarous nations, their messenger and captain, notify to you, and declare, in as ample form as I am capable, that God our Lord, who is one and eternal, created

the heavens and the earth; and one man and one woman, of whom you and we, and all the men who have been or shall be in the world, are descended. But, as it has come to pass, through the number of generations during more than five thousand years, that they have been dispersed into various kingdoms and provinces, because one country was not able to contain them, nor could they have found in one the means of subsistence and preservation; therefore God our Lord gave the charge of all those people to one man, named St. Peter, whom he constituted the lord and head of all the human race, that all men, in whatever place they are born, or in whatever faith or place they are educated, might yield obedience unto him. He hath subjected the whole world to his jurisdiction, and commanded him to establish his residence in Rome, as the most proper place for the government of the world. He likewise promised and gave him power to establish his authority in every other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other people, of whatever sect or faith they may be. To him is given the name of Pope, which signifies admirable, great father and guardian, because he is the father and guardian of all men. Those who lived in the time of this holy father, obeyed and acknowledged him as their lord and king, and the superior of the universe. The same has been observed with respect to them who, since his time, have been chosen to the pontificate. Thus it now continues, and will continue, to the end of the world.

"One of these pontiffs, as lord of the world, hath made a grant of these islands, and of the terra firma to the ocean sea, to the Catholic Kings of Castile, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, of glorious memory, and their successors, our sovereigns, with all they contain, as is more fully expressed in certain deeds passed upon that occasion, which you may see, if you desire it. Thus his majesty is lord and king of these islands, and of the Continent, in virtue of this donation; and, as king and lord aforesaid, most of the islands to which his title has been notified, have recognized his majesty, and now yield obedience and subjection to him as their lord, voluntarily and without resistance; and instantly, as soon as they received information, they obeyed the religious men sent by the king to preach to them, and to instruct them in our holy faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any recompense or gratuity, became Christians, and continue to be so; and his majesty, having received them gratuitously under his protection, has commanded that they should be treated in the same manner as the other subjects and vassals. You are bound and obliged to act in the same manner. Therefore, I now entreat and require you to consider attentively what I have declared to you; and, that you may more perfectly comprehend it, that you may acknowledge the Church as the superior and guide of the universe, and likewise, the holy father called the Pope, in his own right, and his majesty by his appointment, as king and sovereign lord of these islands, and of the terra firma; and that you consent that the aforesaid holy fathers shall declare and preach to you the doctrines above mentioned. If you do this, you act well, and perform that to which you are bound and obliged; and his majesty, and I in his name, will receive you with love and kindness, and leave you, your wives and children, free and exempt from servitude, and in the enjoyment of all you possess, in the same manner as the inhabitants of these islands. Besides this, his majesty will bestow upon you many privileges, exemptions, and rewards. But, if you will not comply, or maliciously delay to obey my injunction, then, with the help of God, I will enter your country by force; I will carry on war against you with the utmost violence, I will subject you to the yoke of obedience to the church and the king, I will take your wives and children and make them slaves, and sell or dispose of them acccording to his majesty's pleasure; I will seize your goods, and do you all the mischief in my power, as rebellious subjects, who will not acknowledge or submit to their lawful sovereign. And I protest, that all the bloodshed and calamities which shall follow, are to be imputed to you, and not to his majesty, or to me, or to the gentlemen who serve under me; and as I have now made the declaration and requisition unto you, I require the notary here present to grant me a certificate of this, subscribed in proper form."

Ojeda, less fortunate in making converts than captives, returned to Spain in June, 1500, with "a cargo of Indians," which he sold for slaves at Cadiz. Other adventurers succeeded, and among them, those who had gained laurels under Ferdinand, in the mountains of Andalusia. The names of Cortez and Pizarro are familiar to all, one as the conqueror of Mexico, the other of Peru. One died in obscurity in 1554, unable to obtain an audience with his sovereign, (Charles V.) after he "had given him," as he observes, "more provinces than his ancestors had left him towns." The other perished by the hand of an assassin, "amid heaps of gold, extorted by violence from oppressed natives." To carve out empires with the sword, and divide their wealth among heartless, unprincipled followers; to plunder the accumulated treasures of ages, and return laden with captives and spoils, were in those days but ordinary exploits. Ease, fortune, and life were thus hazarded without remorse, and the issue, though uncertain, was sometimes so brilliant that imagination was lost in wonder.

Juan Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, in 1512. He had figured in the wars of Grenada, had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, had distinguished himself in Hispaniola as a gallant soldier, and been rewarded by Ovando with the government of its eastern provinces. He saw at a distance the island of Porto Rico, and was stimulated by avarice to attempt its conquest; he aspired to its government, and succeeded in both. He oppressed the natives, amassed a fortune, and desired still further honors. His commission, however, conflicted with the heirs of Columbus, and de Leon was removed. He sought next a kingdom, and Florida met his view. On the 3rd of March, 1512, he embarked in three ships, fitted out at his own expense, and on the 27th discovered land. It was on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards called Pascua Florida. The whole country was then brilliant with verdure, and gay with flowers: hence its name.

Ponce de Leon was at that time advanced in years; having seen hard service in his native country, and acquired a fortune amid perils and dangers, he desired immortality. He had heard and believed the tale of a fountain, in this newly-discovered land, which gave perpetuity of youth to all who should bathe in its stream and drink of its waters. He sought, therefore, by its magic influence, a renewal of his age; and hoped to find in Florida a refuge from all his toil.

On the 8th of April, 1512, he landed, a little north of St. Augustine, being prevented by bad weather from landing before, and claimed the whole country for Spain. He remained a few weeks to examine its coast, was threatened with shipwreck on his return, doubled Cape Florida in a storm, and arrived safely at Porto Rico. He was appointed, afterward, governor of the territory. His commission, however, required him to colonize the country. He returned thither in 1521, with ten ships, for that purpose; was attacked by the natives with great fury soon after he landed, received a mortal wound from an Indian's arrow, and went to Cuba to languish and to die. Thus ended the first lesson in this great drama of guilt.

Notwithstanding the misfortunes of Ponce de Leon, the passion of adventurers for undiscovered wealth was not yet repressed; and Pamphilo de Narvaez, in 1526, sought and obtained from Charles V., an appointment "to the conquest of Florida;" a strange commission, though not without its parallel in history. He was a man "of no great virtue or reputation;" and had been sent a short time before, by the zealous governor of Cuba, to take Cortez prisoner. After declaring him an outlaw, and threatening him with vengeance, he was deserted by his followers, and after losing an eye in the affray, he was himself defeated and taken prisoner. Being brought before the man he had promised to arrest, he said to his conqueror: "Esteem it, sir, great good fortune that you have taken me captive." Cortez replied, and truly: "It is the least of the things I have done in Mexico."

The expedition of Narvaez was equally adventurous with his attempt upon Cortez, and more disastrous. Of three hundred followers who embarked in the expedition, four or five only returned. The place where they landed is somewhat uncertain; the party, however, we are credibly informed, struck into the interior, following the direction of natives anxious to get rid of unwelcome visitors; who led them, with great address, to a country far remote, filled as was said with gold, where dreams of avarice, however rapacious, were sure to be realized. Pursuing a phantom for about six months, and marching a distance of eight hundred miles, they arrived, by a circuitous route, in great penury upon the coast, in the bay of Pensacola, whence they embarked for Cuba, in boats speedily constructed, wherein no other than desperate men would have adventured. Some perished in a storm near the mouth of the Mississippi, among whom was their commander. Some survived shipwreck to die by famine, and four reached Mexico by land, after suffering extreme hardships—persisting, to the last, that Florida was the richest country on the globe.

The assertion was believed, even by the conquerors of Mexico and Peru; and Ferdinand de Soto sought to rival Pizarro in wealth, and Cortez in glory. He was a native of Xeres, and by military service had acquired both fame and fortune. He had accompanied Pizarro and his mercenary hordes in the conquest of Peru, and on divers occasions had surpassed them all in bravery. He had assisted his commander to arrest the Inca Atahualpa, and shared profusely in his ransom. (See note.) Perceiving an alarming jealousy in the camp of Pizarro, he seasonably withdrew, with his share of its spoils, and repaired to Spain to display his wealth and solicit advancement. He had married the daughter of a distinguished nobleman, in whose suit he had served, and with great confidence now sought from his sovereign the conquest of Florida. Success of every kind at first awaited him, and Charles V. granted with great readiness, to a commander so renowned, the government of Cuba, with absolute power to conquer at his own cost, for the Spanish crown, the adjacent territory.

His intentions were no sooner announced, than adventurers of noble birth and ample fortunes, flocked in great numbers to his standard. Houses and lands, olive-trees and vineyards, (as in the days of the Crusades,) were sold to defray expenses; and out of the numerous aspirants for wealth and fame, De Soto selected for his companions six hundred Spaniards in the bloom of life, the flower of Castilian chivalry, leaving a considerable number still behind.

In May, 1539, he embarked, full of expectation, from Cuba, and in about two weeks anchored in the bay of Spiritu Santo. He disembarked his troops without delay, and like Cortez, dismissed his ships, lest they should afford temptation to return.

He commenced his march with a force, exceeding in numbers and equipments, the famous expeditions against Mexico and Peru. Everything that wealth, experience, and cruelty, could suggest, was at his command. "Chains for captives"—"the instruments of a forge"—"arms of every kind, and bloodhounds as auxiliaries"—"stores of provisions"—and, as a last resort, a drove of hogs; which, in a clime like this, where the forests bent with perennial fruits, and Indian-corn abounded," would shortly swarm and furnish food in case of necessity. It was in fact an expedition of gallant freebooters in quest of fortune, through regions unexplored and paths unknown. A desperate spirit of gambling pervaded every corps. Twelve priests accompanied the expedition; avarice and zeal were strangely intermixed, and Florida was apparently to be Catholic, amid scenes of robbery and carnage.

The first season brought them to the country of the Appalachians. Their march thither was tedious, and full of danger; the Indians were hostile, and designedly misled them, even when death under the fangs of bloodhounds, was in prospect before them. The troops became dispirited and longed to return; their commander, however, was inflexible.

In the spring of 1540, De Soto renewed his march. . An Indian guide promised to lead him to a distant country, governed by a woman, where gold, it was said, abounded; (supposed to be the golden regions of North Carolina.) The adventurers immediately changed their course, passed the Altamaha, viewed with delight the fertile valleys of Georgia, came upon the Oguchee, and passed the head waters of the Savannah through the Cherokee country to the Coosa. The natives were poor, but gentle; they interposed no obstacles to their march, gave them of their scanty stores whatever they could spare, and for some time cheerfully bore their burdens. An exploring party sent to the north, appalled by the vast chain of mountains which met their view, (the Appalachian chain,) pronounced them impassable. They had toiled with great eagerness for silver and gold, and hunger, nakedness, and penury, were still before them. In October, 1540, they reached a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombickbee, at some distance from Pensacola. The village was called Mavilla, or Mobile, a name which it still retains. The Spaniards, worn out by incessant hardships, and tired of encamping in forests, here sought to occupy its cabins. The natives, indignant, rose on their invaders—a battle ensued: the town was set on fire, and two thousand five hundred Indians were slain. "Of the Christians, eighteen died," and the whole Spanish baggage was consumed. Though ships from Cuba had arrived at Pensacola, De Soto, too proud to confess his failure, and too stubborn to acknowledge himself defeated, resolved, like Cortez, to send no intelligence home till he had accomplished something worthy of his fame. He therefore directed his march to the north, his troops being reduced by sickness and warfare to five hundred men, and took up his quarters for the winter in the upper part of the present State of Mississippi, in the country of the Chickasaws. When the spring opened, in 1541, he demanded of the natives two hundred men to carry his burdens. The Chickasaws, enraged that strangers and enemies should occupy their homes like the inhabitants of Moscow, when the legions of Napoleon sought refuge from a Russian winter within the walls, set fire to their own dwellings at midnight, in which the Castilians were encamped, and almost every cabin was immediately consumed. The savage war-whoop, mingling with the flames for the first time in North America, rung through the air, and had the Indians conducted with skill and bravery, they would have exterminated their proud invaders. But, like other barbarians who had met the Spaniards in battle, they trembled at their own success, and feared the unequal contest. Horses which had broken loose, were mistaken by them for hostile squadrons; and although eleven Christians lost their lives in the tumult, and De Soto's weapons and baggage were all consumed, delay was suffered to intervene, and when the Spanish camp was afterward attacked, the Christians were found prepared.

The misfortunes which De Soto had hitherto encountered, seemed only to confirm his obstinacy; and instead of returning as a fugitive to the country from whence he came, he resolved on finding, at all hazards, a wealthier region; and for several successive days struggled through forests and marshes, directed by the natives, till he came to an Indian settlement on the banks of the Mississippi. He was the first European who had beheld that magnificent river, rolling its mighty flood through an alluvial soil to the ocean, bearing then, as now, whole trees upon its surface. Although three centuries have since elapsed, its character has not changed. It was then described, "as more than a mile broad; flowing with a strong current, and forcing a channel of great depth by the weight of its waters."

The arrival of so many strangers, awakened at first curiosity among the natives, and afterward excited fear. A multitude of people, of all ages and conditions, painted in gorgeous style, and decorated with plumes and feathers, with bows and arrows in their hands, their chiefs sitting under awnings magnificent as barbarians could weave, came rowing down the stream in a fleet of two hundred canoes, and brought gifts of fish to their invaders. They showed at first some signs of resistance; but conscious of their weakness, they ceased shortly to defy an enemy whose power was irresistible, and suffered injury without retaliation. The boats of the natives were too weak to transport horses, and barges were therefore constructed for crossing the river. A month nearly elapsed before their preparations were all completed, and the Europeans borne in triumph across the stream.

In ascending the west bank of the Mississippi, the Spaniards were obliged to wade through deep, and almost impenetrable morasses, till they came to the elevated grounds which extend in the direction of New-Madrid, and here the religion of the invaders and the natives first came in contact. The former were adored as children of the Sun, and the halt, the lame, and the blind, were brought into their presence, in order to be healed.

De Soto, in reply to their frequent entreaties, told them to "pray to God who is in Heaven, for whatever they needed." It would seem, then, that the sublime doctrines of Christianity promulgated centuries before in India, were now brought for the first time to the untutored savages of North America, by a military adventurer.

In July, 1541, De Soto marched as far north as Pacaha, in Arkansas, where he remained about forty days. An exploring party, sent northerly from there, reported, on their return, that the country in that direction was thinly inhabited ; that buffaloes were so numerous that maize could not be cultivated, and that the regions still farther north, (on the Missouri,) were nearly a desert. He turned, therefore, his course to the west and southwest, and ascended as far up as the highlands of White River, about two hundred miles from the Mississippi, which terminated his ramble in that direction. The mountains in the vicinity affording neither gems nor gold, the disappointed adventurers thereupon turned to the south, and explored the tributaries of the Washita, where they found whole tribes of Indians, advanced to some extent in civilization ; having fixed places of abode, and subsisting on the produce of their fields, instead of the chase. Peaceable and inoffensive, the Spaniards treated them with great severity, sometimes employing them as porters and sometimes as guides ; and on slight suspicion, cutting off their hands for punishment or intimidation ; sometimes throwing them to their bloodhounds, and sometimes into the flames. Any trifling consideration of safety induced De Soto to set fire to their hamlets, not because he delighted in cruelty, but because the happiness, the life, and the rights of the natives, were of no account. The approach of the Spaniards was of course heard with dismay, and their departure hastened, as before, by the suggestion of wealthier lands at a distance.

In March, 1542, he descended the Washita to its junction with the Red River, and from thence to the Mississippi. He there inquired of a chief, by the name of Guachoya, the direction and distance to the sea, and received for answer, that the lower banks of the Mississippi were a wild, uncultivated waste. Unwilling to believe so disheartening a tale, he sent forward eight horsemen to explore the country, who, after wandering about for several days among frequent bayous, impassable cane-brakes, and impenetrable forests, returned and filled the Spanish camp with gloom. His followers and horses were at this time wasting rapidly away, and the natives were becoming dangerous. Driven to his last and almost only resource, De Soto attempted for the first time to overawe a savage tribe near Natchez, by claiming a supernatural birth, and demanded from them obedience and tribute. Its undaunted chief, instead of complying with his demands, invited him to their camp, and told him, "If he came in peace, he would receive him in friendship; if in war, he would not shrink one foot from his presence." De Soto, unable longer to punish temerity in the natives, sunk under the weight of conflicting emotions. His health failed him, and his stubborn pride was changed into wasting melancholy. A malignant fever in the meantime set in, during which he received but little comfort, and less attention than his last hours required. Supposing his death to be near, he held the last solemn interview with his companions, and yielding to their wishes, named a successor. On the 21st of May, 1542, he expired in their arms; not, however, "unhonored or unmourned." His affectionate soldiers pronounced his eulogy; the priests that accompanied the expedition chanted over his body the first requiems that were heard in the "Far West," and to conceal his death, his remains were wrapped in a mantle, to which a large stone was appended, and sunk at midnight in the stream.

Thus perished Fernando De Soto; the Governor of Cuba, the associate of Pizarro, and the friend and companion of princes. He had sought gold—obtained renown—and found a grave. The discoverer of the Mississippi now slept, like Attila, beneath its waters.

"Such honors Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade."

Moscoso, on whom the mantle of the late governor had fallen, succeeded De Soto in command; and the invaders, urged on by the energy of their commander, no more resolved to return. Having New Spain in view, the question at once arose, should they seek it by descending the river, or by crossing the interminable forests that lay between. The latter, as less dangerous, was adopted, and the adventurers, actuated by the hopes which many yet cherished, that some splendid city or empire would finally reward their toils, again penetrated the wilderness. In July they found themselves in the country of the Natchitoches; came upon the Red River soon afterward, when swollen by floods so as to be impassable; wandered up and down the woods under Indian guides, who designedly misled them; reached the hunting-grounds of the Pawnees and Comanches on the confines of Mexico—got discouraged, and resolved to return. They at length reached the Mississippi above the mouth of the Red River; erected there a forge; collected what scraps of iron they could find in camp; made nails out of the fetters struck off from their captives—built a few frail barks without decks, in which they descended the Mississippi, and escaped finally (reduced in number to three hundred and eleven,) with their lives.

Thus ended the expedition of De Soto, on the 10th of September, 1543. Brilliant with hope and glittering in armor, the flower of Spanish chivalry had embarked, intent on conquest, as gayly as a bridal party. "Gallant with silk upon silk," and after wandering amid perils and dangers, for nearly five years, through cane-brakes, bayous, and forests; after losing a large portion of their number, and among them some of their proudest nobles, they returned in extreme poverty, clad in rags and mats of Indian manufacture.

They had discovered, however, the Mississippi—had erected the standard of Spain on its shores; and according to the ideas which prevailed in that semi-barbarous age, had thus established the title of their sovereign to the whole of that vast region watered by its tributary streams.

The State of Illinois became from that time forward a Spanish colony, and its native inhabitants, according to the views at that time prevailing, were of course vassals of the Spanish crown.

Notwithstanding the failure of three successive expeditions against Florida, other adventurers, in 1546, sought permission to invade it, and to possess the whole country by force of arms. Their request, however, was denied.

In 1547, religious zeal, under the auspices of Philip, then heir apparent of Spain, finally triumphed; and Louis Cancello, a missionary of the Dominican order, received permission to visit Florida, and attempt the peaceful conversion of its native population. A ship was fitted out in 1549, with great solemnity, for that purpose, but the priests who embarked in the expedition being feared as enemies, fell martyrs to their zeal, and Florida was abandoned. It seemed then, as it has frequently done since, that death guarded its portals. While the Castilians were everywhere else victorious, Florida, wet with the blood of its invaders, was still unpolluted by their hostile tread. Not a fort was erected—not a harbor was occupied—not one settlement was yet begun.

In 1562, Admiral Coligny of France, a Protestant, eminent for his piety, anxious to establish in America a refuge for the Huguenots, and disappointed by the apostacy of an agent in his first efforts to establish a colony in Brazil, under the auspices of John Calvin, the celebrated reformer; in connection with other influential persons, planned an expedition to Florida. Religious zeal, accompanied by a desire to promote the honor and glory of France, led unquestionably to its adoption. Its command was intrusted to one John Ribault, of Dieppe; a brave man, of great experience, and a decided Protestant. He was accompanied by a few veteran soldiers, and some of the most gallant nobility of France. The squadron sailed on the 1st of February, 1562, made land near St. Augustine in May, and erected a monumental stone, upon which he engraved the arms of France. Casting his eyes around, and viewing with surprise and wonder the mighty oaks, venerable for their antiquity, which everywhere abounded—the wild fowl existing in great profusion—the immense groves of pine and flowers that perfumed the air; and regarding the whole country as a province of his native land, he resolved to leave a colony, and return to France for reinforcements and supplies. Twenty-six colonists were therefore left to keep possession of a Continent. Ribault arrived in France with his ships in July, 1562, found a civil war then raging in all its horrors, and was unable, therefore, to bring out the promised reinforcements. The situation of the colonists, in the meantime, became alarming; the soldiers were insubordinate—dissensions prevailed—the commander lost his life in a mutiny that ensued—and the company embarked for France in a wretched ship, constructed of frail materials by themselves. Delighted with the prospect of returning home, they neglected to provide a sufficiency of naval stores, and were overtaken by famine at sea; boarded by an English bark, and landed, some of them in France and the residue in England.

A transient peace between Charles IX. and the Huguenots, having been made in 1564, Coligny renewed his former attempt to colonize Florida. The king assented, three ships were set apart for the service; and one Laudonniere, a man of great intelligence, appointed to command them. Emigrants were readily obtained—Florida was celebrated then, as now, for its climate and riches; and men still dreamed of mines in the interior. After scouring the coasts for some time, the followers of Calvin located themselves upon the River May—sang psalms of thanksgiving in commemoration of the event, and gathered courage from acts of devotion. A fort was erected, and named Fort Carolina, in honor of the king; and Calvinism, to all human appearance, was established on its shores.

The French at first were hospitably received. Their supplies, however, were improvidently wasted—a scarcity followed, and tribute was indiscreetly levied upon the natives by force. Their confidence in the French was therefore lost for ever. They had welcomed them as guests, and in return the French had robbed their granaries. Mutinies became frequent; and a considerable party, seeking, as they said, to escape from famine, compelled Laudonniere to sign an order, giving them permission to embark for New Spain. Possessed of this apparent sanction, they equipped two vessels, and began a career of piracy in the West Indian seas. This was the first act of hostility committed by the French against the Spaniards, and was immediately avenged. The pirate vessel was taken, and most of its crew were sold into slavery. A few, however, escaped, and returned to Fort Carolina, where they were arrested by Laudonniere, and sentenced to die.

In the meantime, the French suffered for the want of provisions, (the friendship of the Indians having been forfeited by unreasonable severity,) the supplies and recruits expected did not arrive, and hope itself became nearly extinguished. While preparing to embark for Europe, Sir John

Hawkins, the celebrated slave merchant, arrived from the West Indies. He had just sold a cargo of Africans, which he had kidnapped under extraordinary circumstances, and was now inspired with the most generous sympathy. He supplied their wants, and tendered for their use a vessel from his fleet. While, however, these preparations were going on, Ribault returned to assume the command, and brought supplies from France—emigrants, with their families, garden seeds, implements of husbandry, and domestic animals of every kind. The French colonists, elated with joy, abandoned their contemplated voyage, and agreed with one voice to remain. It seemed as though the dominion of France was now established in Florida, with Calvinism for its creed.

Spain, however, had not yet relinquished her title, though many of her bravest sons had fallen in the cause, and no colony had yet been established; but it comported not with the dignity of Philip II. to abandon, even a small territory to France, or to suffer the commercial monopoly of Spain to be endangered by a rival settlement, or the heresy of Calvin to be planted in its neighborhood. To prevent this, decisive measures were required.

About this time, there appeared at the Spanish court a reckless adventurer, fitted by nature and education for the task. Pedro Melendez de Avilès, had for a long time been accustomed to scenes of carnage. His natural ferocity had been improved by the infamy of his life. His bigotry had been nourished by a long and protracted war with the Protestants of Holland; and Melendez himself, by encountering pirates, excluded by the law of nations from mercy, had become inured to deeds of vengeance. He had acquired a fortune in Spanish America, where benevolence was seldom taught, and less frequently practiced. His conduct even there had provoked inquiry, which caused his arrest, and procured his conviction; and the justice of his sentence was confirmed by the king, who knew him well, and esteemed his bravery.

The heir of Melendez had been previously shipwrecked near Bermuda, and the father asked leave of his sovereign merely to return, and search among the islands for his only son. Philip II., however, suggested to him the conquest and colonization of Florida. A compact was soon framed, and Melendez was appointed its hereditary governor.

By this compact, bearing date on the 20th of March, 1565, Melendez, at his own cost, was to invade Florida with at least five hundred men—to complete its conquest in three years—to explore its currents and channels, the dangers of its coasts, and the depth of its havens—to establish a colony of at least five hundred persons, of whom one hundred were to be married men—to introduce at least twelve ecclesiastics, besides four Jesuits—to transport thither all kinds of domestic animals, and import into Florida five hundred negro slaves.

While preparations were thus making in Spain, intelligence was received, through the treachery of France, that the Huguenots had made a settlement in Florida, and that Ribault was preparing to sail thither.

The cry was immediately raised that all heretics must be extirpated. Fanaticism lent its aid, and the ranks of Melendez were immediately filled. More than two thousand five hundred persons—soldiers, sailors, priests, jesuits, married men, with their families, laborers and mechanics; and, with the exception of two hundred soldiers, all at the cost of Melendez, embarked. After some delay, occasioned by a storm, and encountering on his passage a tempest, which scattered his fleet, he arrived at Porto Rico on the 9th of August, 1565, with about one-third of his forces. He sailed for Florida without waiting for the residue, and on the 28th came upon its coast. On the 2nd of September, he discovered a fine harbor and a beautiful river, into which he entered, and gathered from the natives some account of the Huguenots. The 28th of August having been consecrated to the memory of one of the most eloquent and venerated fathers of the church, a son of Africa, and Bishop of Carthage, he gave to the harbor and stream the name of St. Augustine. Sailing north, he discovered the French fleet, lying at anchor, and in answer to a demand made by the French commander, of his name and objects, he replied:

"I am Melendez, of Spain, sent hither with strict orders from the king, to gibbet and behead all Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman, who is a Catholic, I will spare—every heretic shall die."

The French, unprepared for action, cut their cables and fled. Melendez thereupon returned to the harbor of St. Augustine, and arrived there on the evening of the 7th, preceding the festival of the nativity of the blessed Virgin. On the following day, (September 8th, 1565,) at noon, he went on shore, and took possession of the whole Continent in the name of his king, and proclaimed Philip II. of Spain, monarch of North America. A solemn mass was performed, and the foundation of St. Augustine, (the oldest town in the United States,) was immediately laid. This took place more than forty years before any effectual settlement was made in Virginia; and houses, it is said, are now standing in St. Augustine, erected before any French or English settlement was made upon the Continent.

Melendez had no sooner landed and performed the usual ceremones on such occasions, than, with an indifference to toil that ever marked his character, he led his troops through lakes, marshes and forests, to St. John's, where he surprised the French governor—anticipating, and of course fearing no danger, except from toward the sea; and massacred in cold blood, men, women and children, about two hundred in all—the old and the young, the sick in their beds, and the soldier in armor. A few, and among them, Laudonniere, escaped to the woods—death, however, met them there. It seemed as though Heaven and earth, the sea and the savage, had conspired against them. A part surrendered to the Spaniards, and were immediately murdered; others found their way to the coast, after enduring the severest hardships, and were received on board a French vessel, remaining in the harbor; and the Spaniards, angry that any should escape, vented their malignant fury upon the bodies of the slain.

This massacre took place on the 21st of September, 1565, on the festival of St Matthew. The slaughter being completed, religious services were performed, a cross was raised, and the site of a church selected on ground yet smoking with human gore.

Those who had escaped being shipwrecked on the coast, were soon discovered. Wasted by fatigues at sea, and half famished for want of food, they were invited by Melendez to rely on his mercy. They accordingly surrendered; and as they stepped on shore, their hands were tied behind them, and they were thus driven to St. Augustine, like sheep to a slaughter-house. As they approached the fort, a signal was given, the trumpet was sounded, and the Spaniards fell upon them; disarmed, and unable to resist—with the exception of a few Catholics, who were spared, and a few mechanics, who were reserved as slaves—all were massacred, "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." About nine hundred, including those who had previously been slain, were thus sacrificed on the altar of religious zeal. It was before the massacre of St. Bartholomews, in France, and partook strongly of its character.

The French government, equally bigoted with that of Spain, heard of the outrage, and listened to its horrid details with heartless indifference. Not even a remonstrance was made. The nation, however, awoke to vengeance, and the Huguenots especially, felt the wound in every pore.

There lived at that time in Gascony, a bold and reckless soldier, whose life had been a series of adventures. His name was Dominic de Gourguis. He was at one time a private in the army of France; at another, a prisoner and galley-slave in Spain. He was taken by the Turks, sold as a captive, and redeemed from thence by the commander of the Knights of Malta. He had now returned to his native province, and burned for revenge. The honor of his country, and his own—the blood of his slaughtered relatives, and the cries of his persecuted brethren, called aloud for vengeance. Having sold his property in France, and received contributions from his friends, he fitted out three ships, in which he embarked for Florida, accompanied by one hundred and fifty gallant men. A favorable breeze soon wafted him thither. He landed immediately, and surprised two Spanish forts near the mouth of the St. Mattheo; and as terror magnified his numbers, and courage and revenge both nerved his arm, he was enabled to get possession, almost without a struggle, of the principal fort, near the spot where his friends and relatives had previously been massacred. Too weak to maintain his position, he weighed anchor immediately for Europe, having first hanged all his prisoners upon the trees, and placed over them this inscription: "I do not this as unto Spaniards, but as unto traitors, robbers and murderers."

The Indians, who had suffered much from the French and Spaniards both, looked on with delight, and seemed to enjoy the spectacle.

The attack of the fiery Gascon was but a passing storm. Charles IX. disowned the expedition, and abandoned all pretensions to Florida. Spain, in the meantime, seized, and grappled it to her bosom; and if its first discovery conferred a right, her claim, unquestionably, was just. Not only Florida, but North America itself, was thenceforward annexed to the Spanish crown, and thus included within her empire.

NOTE.

The amount paid by Atahualpa for his ransom, may be collected from the following facts, stated by Robertson: "The apartment in which the Inca was confined, was twenty-two feet in length, and sixteen in breadth. This he undertook to fill with vessels of gold as high as he could reach; and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise. It amounted to eight thousand pesos, (equal in effective value, to as many pounds stirling,) to each horseman, and half that sum to each foot soldier; and to the officers, dividends in proportion to the dignity of their rank. These wages of iniquity, the spoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion and cruelty, were distributed with religious rites, on the festival of St. James, the patron Saint of Spain; and Atahualpa, after a mock trial, and receiving baptism, was strangled by order of Pizarro. The spoils of Cusco, probably exceeded the amount received for Atahualpa's ransom."

CHAPTER V.

Colonization of Virginia—English and Dutch settlements, how material—Henry VII. —John Cabot—Sebastian Cabot—Henry VIII.—Queen Elizabeth—Attempts to discover the northwest passage—Sir Humphrey Gilbert—Martin Frobisher—Sir Francis Drake—English commerce and fisheries—Sir Walter Raleigh—His attempts to colonize North Carolina—Its failure—London Company—Its charter—James I.—John Smith—Captain Newport—James Town settled—Powhattan—Pocahontas—John Rolfe—Lord Delaware—Sir Thomas Dale—Sir Thomas Gates—Petition to Parliament for aid, rejected—Charter amended—Yeardly appointed captain-general —First colonial Assembly—Sir Edwin Sandye—Young ladies sent to Virginia—Earl of Southampton—Virginia freedom.

While the Spaniards, (despising the petty range of Europe, as too limited for their ambition,) were pursuing a career of glory in South America—without regard to principle—that cast other nations in the shade, and every sea, and coast, and island, was resounding with their fame; England was neither inattentive to, nor entirely regardless of, the passing scene. No sooner had Columbus announced the discovery of another world, whose sands it was said sparkled with gold, than England, France, and Holland, saw in prospect the glittering bait, and felt new energies within. Their exertions, however, in comparison with those of Spain, were at first tardy and ineffective.

The history of the English and Dutch settlements upon the Atlantic coast, is important here, because it furnishes matter for serious reflection. It is from thence that we are principally descended; our population, with the exception of a few persons from abroad, who have recently migrated hither, is made up of eastern and southern emigrants. Our laws and our religion, our habits, our mode of thinking and rules of action, our code of morals and political sentiments, are from them mostly derived. An attempt, therefore, to write the history of Illinois, without adverting to the pilgrims of New-England, the burghers of New Amsterdam, the planters of Virginia, and to others who, at an early day, settled on the Atlantic rivers and bays, would be like the attempt of a lawyer to recover in ejectment without producing his patent. Although a title may, in law, be presumed, and frequently is so, by the lapse of time, the production of the title-deeds is always desirable, and courts and jurors are unwilling to presume what is capable of direct and positive proof.

Every citizen in this country being regarded as a sovereign, and his patent derived from the King of Kings, no one need blush for his origin, although a pilgrim, a burgher, or a planter, may have been his ancestor. We are not, then, called upon to vindicate the American character from injurious aspersions; nor, because our origin is unpretending, is it from thence to be inferred that our

> "Ignoble blood
> Has crept through scoundrels, ever since the flood."

There is also another point of view from which the colonies of England and Holland may be seen to advantage, and this renders their early history exceedingly instructive. The principles of the American Revolution were early implanted there. The germ of independence, in thought, word, and deed, soon after their establishment, took deep and enduring root in their soil; and the capacity of man for self-government was, at an early day, thus partially tested. Their origin, progress, principles and hopes, then, are essentially ours, and therefore legitimate subjects of consideration.

When the American Continent was discovered by Columbus, the "wars of the Roses" had ceased, and Henry VII., during whose reign the great discoverer had opened new and unexplored worlds to European cupidity, was undisputed "lord of the isles." By his prudent severity, the industry and tranquillity of England had been restored. Her ports were then filled with Lombard adventurers; her nautical skill had been tested in every sea, and her northern fisheries, and her intercourse with Iceland, had made her seamen familiar with storms.

The achievement of Columbus, "more divine than human," having kindled a desire in her mariners to tread in his footsteps, and gather laurels in other seas; and the politic King of England, willing to repair the error he had committed, in refusing to patronize an expedition which had reflected so much honor on the Spanish crown and king; and desirous also, as it was said, to share with his subjects in the profits of mercantile adventure; John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, then residing at Bristol, had no great difficulty in bringing the English monarch into his views. He accordingly submitted to the king a plan of discovery which met his approbation. "Being the most ancient American state-paper of England in existence," and being, also, in other respects, an extraordinary document, it deserves a moment's attention.

On the 5th of March, 1496, John Cabot obtained from the king a patent, empowering him and his three sons, (of whom Sebastian Cabot, afterward the celebrated navigator, was one,) their heirs, and assigns, to sail in the eastern, western, and northern seas, with a fleet of five ships, at their own proper expense and charges; to search for islands, provinces and regions, before unseen by Christian people; to affix the banner of England on any city, island or continent, that they should discover, and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the same. The patentees (and their successors, of course,) were required to land at Bristol, and pay to the king a fifth part of all the profits realized from each adventure; and the exclusive right of visiting and trading with the countries to be thus discovered, was reserved in the same grant, unconditionally, to the Cabots and their family for ever. Under this patent, John Cabot and his son Sebastian embarked for the west, and discovered the Continent of North America on the 24th of June, 1497, near Labrador, in latitude 56° north. This was some time before Columbus, in his third voyage, came in sight of the Continent, and two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries. It seems, then, that the American Continent was first discovered by a Bristol merchant, without any aid or assistance whatever from the crown. Although the Cabots derived little or no benefit from the expedition, England acquired a title to North America, which she afterward successfully asserted. The fact of its having been first seen by a Bristol mariner, from the deck of a vessel bearing her flag, though fitted out for private adventure, conferring, in the opinion of a British Parliament, (after the Reformation,) a better title than the grant of a Roman pontiff.

John Cabot having made, as he supposed, an important discovery, hastened home without landing on its coast, to announce his success; and on the 3rd of February, 1498, a new patent was issued, and another voyage undertaken by Sebastian Cabot, for purposes of traffic, in which the frugal king became a partner. Sebastian Cabot was a man of great benevolence and courtesy, daring in conception, and patient in execution. He guided, for more than half a century, the commercial enterprise of Europe with the western Continent. Having, in his second voyage, arrived upon the coast of Labrador, in latitude 58° north, he was induced by the severity of the climate to sail to the south, and did so, as far as Maryland, and thence he returned, for want of provisions, directly to England. At a subsequent period, he received the title of pilot-major from Charles V., and was much applauded by the Spaniards for his achievements and skill. He also advanced the commerce of England, on his return thither, and after a life of peril, was gathered to his fathers in extreme old age. Although he had given a Continent to his adopted country, such was the ingratitude of its monarch, that "the old veteran seaman," the hero of a thousand storms, was buried somewhere, it is said, in England, but where is still uncertain. No monument marks the spot where "the hero was laid."

Adventures without profit soon languished; and during the reign of Henry VIII., scarce anything in the way of discovery was effected—Henry and his celebrated minister, Cardinal Woolsey, having other business in hand: a few efforts, it is true, were made, but none deserving of record.

A new era, however, was approaching. English commerce was about to burst its fetters, and English valor to display its glory. Her sailors no longer feared the heat and fevers of the south, nor the cold and icebergs of the north; and her merchants sought competition in every clime. The restraints imposed by religion—the ambition which avarice had inspired—and a desire for strange adventures, which had engrossed the thoughts of the high, the low, and the brave, having previously driven the boldest and most daring spirits of Castile to the newly-discovered world in search of fame, and fortune; and their deeds being recorded by Spanish historians, and now emblazoned forth in England, in consequence of the matrimonial alliance contracted between Philip of Spain, and Mary, Queen of England, induced the merchants and mariners of the latter, to vie with those of the former on the ocean and the land—the marriage of Philip and Mary having tended, as it undoubtedly did, to excite the emulation it was intended to check.

The firmness of Elizabeth, aided in a great degree the efforts of her subjects; and the ascendency of the Protestant religion, unquestionably completed what she had begun. The celebrated Armada having been defeated, the hopes and expectations of the Spanish monarch were checked for a time, and England (no longer the ally, but the antagonist of Philip,) aspired to be mistress of the northern seas. She therefore strengthened her navy—filled her arsenals—and encouraged the building of ships. Her privateers soon visited the harbors of Spanish America in hostile array, and the rich galleons of Spain, laden with extorted treasures, decorated her ports.

The discovery of a northwest passage to India, or Cathay, as it was then called, having excited considerable attention, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, reposing from the toils of war, wrote a treatise upon the subject, which met with universal favor. Martin Frobisher, in 1576, followed in his wake, esteeming it, as he quaintly observes, "the only thing of the world that was yet left undone, by which a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate." Too poor to fit out an expedition at his own expense, he sought aid of his friends—tendered his services to merchants, and finally to his sovereign, but all in vain. Dudley, Earl of Warwick, at last promoted his design, and fitted out a squadron for that purpose, consisting of three vessels, (if such they could be called,) one of twenty-five tons, one of twenty, and a pinnace of ten tons. With this humble armament, Frobisher was to traverse unknown seas, and to battle with storms. As he dropped down the Thames, on the 8th of June, 1576, Queen Elizabeth "waved her hand in token of favor;" and the admiral, standing on the deck of his flag-ship of twenty-five tons, responded to his sovereign, (who had not advanced a shilling to defray the expenses,) and departed in quest of other worlds. The pinnace, overtaken by a storm, was swallowed up by the sea. The commander of the Michael became terrified and returned; and the brave old admiral was left to pursue his voyage alone. After enduring hardships apparently incredible, he arrived on the coast of Labrador, entered the bay now called Frobisher's Bay, took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, erected the standard of England on its coast, gathered stones and rubbish from the shore, seized one of the natives for exhibition on his return, and arrived safely in England. This is the most extraordinary, well-attested, naval expedition on record.

America and its mines were now associated together. The stones brought by Frobisher from the north, being examined by the refiners of London, were said to be impregnated with gold. The avarice of the English nation was at once roused to activity, and some citizens of London applied to Elizabeth for a lease of this northern El Dorado. A fleet was fitted out immediately to bring home the precious metal, and Elizabeth, who had contributed nothing as yet to the expense, sent a large ship of her own to join the expedition. Having reached the northeastern coast of America, their danger became imminent. Mountains of ice encompassed them on every side. The light, however, reflecting from floating icebergs, enabled them so to direct their course, as to avoid the most imminent perils; and the mariners, agitated sometimes by hope and sometimes by fear, now looking for death, and now for gold, escaped at length with their lives; and by incessant toil, in which the admiral participated in common with the meanest sailor, loaded their fleet with a large quantity of useless earth, and returned to England. The spirit of adventure was now excited to its highest pitch, and a magnificent fleet of fifteen sail, was fitted out, partly at the expense of Elizabeth. The sons of some of the English gentry embarked as volunteers. Some were chosen to form a colony, destined to vie with Mexico and Peru, in a region which produced neither tree nor shrub; and twelve vessels were ordered to return immediately with ore. As the fleet approached the northeastern coast, it got bewildered amid the icebergs, and afterward lost in the fog. One vessel was crushed and sunk—the zeal of volunteer colonists abated—one ship laden with provisions deserted and returned—and the sailors, disheartened and being ready to mutiny, the settlement was abandoned. They freighted, however, a ship with mineral from an island they discovered, and like other foolish projectors, contrived to conceal their loss. The historians of the expedition are silent as to the disposition of the cargo, and the whole affair was consigned promptly to oblivion. It had, however, a salutary effect. Avarice was rebuked, and the belief of golden regions among the Esquimaux, dissipated at once and for ever.

While Frobisher was threading his way among icebergs, "getting in at one gap and out at another," Francis Drake, afterward Sir Francis Drake, was acquiring fame and fortune as a freebooter in the Spanish harbors of South America. Although his career was little else than splendid piracy, and Oxhenham, a subordinate officer who had ventured to imitate his master, was taken by the Spaniards and hanged without exciting a murmur in England, (his sentence being considered perfectly just,) Drake continued, by the magnitude of his exploits, (saying nothing of their character,) to encircle his name with a halo of glory. Its effects however upon commerce were exceedingly injurious. The minds of sailors became debased, by a passion for sudden, unexpected, and unearned acquisitions. The receipt of regular wages seemed base and unmanly, when, by hazarding life only, boundless plunder awaited their bidding. Commerce, like every other species of business, is in fact most prosperous, when dependent upon regular industry, and the mines which exalt a nation most, are those near its surface.

The English fisheries about this time (1578,) became exceedingly important. As nurseries of seamen, their value was immense. They prepared the way too for permanent settlements. While Elizabeth and her partners in the slave-trade, (Sir John Hawkins and others,) and in piracy, (Sir Francis Drake and others,) in the profits of whose adventures, we are told she participated, were dazzled by the glittering prospects before them, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was forming extensive plans for permanent colonization. He stood high in the army; he had also been a soldier of rank, and a member of Parliament. He was an able writer, and esteemed for his piety. Having obtained a patent from the crown, according to the commercial theories which prevailed in that day, giving him and his assigns a right to the soil within two hundred leagues of his settlement, with executive and legislative powers both civil and criminal, he collected a company of volunteer adventurers, defraying the expenses principally himself, and put to sea. One of his ships was lost, and the residue were compelled by a contest with the Spaniards to return. Being too much impoverished to renew the attempt, his patent and settlement, after divers ineffectual struggles, were finally abandoned.

About the time of De Gourgis's return from chastising Spanish bigotry and insolence in Florida, a young gentleman by the name of Raleigh, left the University of Oxford, to participate in the wars of France; and with the young and ardent Prince of Navarre, afterward Henry the IV., studied the art of war, under the veteran Coligny. The Protestants were then excited at the massacre which De Gourgis had avenged; and some of those unfortunate men who had escaped, having been landed by Sir John Hawkins upon the English coast, found their way into the presence of Elizabeth. The gentleman above referred to, was no other than the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh, a step-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Young, handsome, and brave—the favorite of Elizabeth—a scholar, a soldier, and a patriot; he had returned a short time before from the Continent, and was now basking in the sunshine of imperial favor. His active genius delighted in adventure; and the New World spread its charms before him. To lay the foundation of new states, and thus extend the dominions of his sovereign, were objects, as he thought, worthy of ambition. He sighed for renown, and at the same time, burned for vengeance. The rich galleons of Spain, may have passed in his sunny moments before him; or the renown of his early friend and companion, Sir Francis Drake, may have troubled and perplexed his thoughts.

In 1583, he equipped a fleet at his own expense, and gave the command of it to his step-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who, on his departure, received from Elizabeth a golden anchor, guided by a lady, as a token of her regard. The expedition sailed under fortunate omens, and a colony might, perhaps, have been established in America, but for the misfortunes by which the projector was overwhelmed. Gilbert having sailed for Newfoundland, entered the harbor of St. John, and summoned the Spaniards, Portuguese, and other strangers there, to witness the ceremonies by which he took possession of the country; erected a monument with the arms of England upon it; granted lands to the fishermen in fee, on the payment of quit-rent; freighted his largest ship in secret, "with the precious ore," and embarked for England. Intending to visit the coast of the United States, he sailed to the south. His largest ship was wrecked by the carelessness of its crew, and nearly a hundred men, with all the "mineral" were lost. His seamen, little better than pirates, were continually bent on pillaging every vessel that fell in their way; the "morals of the sea" at that time, being imperfectly understood, and judging from facts, rather carelessly practiced. It was, therefore, no easy matter to preserve order in such a fleet, and Gilbert was thus compelled to hasten his return. "The general" (Sir Humphrey Gilbert,) himself, sailed in the Squirrel, a bark of ten tons, in order to approach near the coast, ascertain its bearings, and explore its harbors; and being unwilling to forsake the little company with whom he had encountered so many storms, he attempted in this frail bark, scarcely superior to the long-boat of a merchantman, to cross the vast Atlantic. The sea was rough, the winds were high, and the oldest mariners had rarely witnessed the like. The little bark bore up manfully for a while, but was too small "to pass through the ocean-sea at that time of year;" and when last seen, the general was sitting abaft with a book in his hand, crying out to those in another vessel that followed in his wake, "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land." The same night, a little before twelve o'clock, the lights of the Squirrel suddenly disappeared, and neither vessel nor crew were heard of more.

Raleigh, having determined to secure, at all events, those delightful regions to England, from which the French Protestants had been expelled, was neither disheartened by the fate of his step-brother, nor appalled by the magnitude of the undertaking. His bold and enterprising spirit never despaired. He therefore, on the 25th of March, 1584, obtained from the crown a patent as ample as the one conferred on Gilbert By its terms, Raleigh was constituted lord proprietor, with almost unlimited power. The icy seas were at once exchanged for regions of perpetual fertility; and two vessels laden with men and provisions, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, buoyant with hope, sailed for the newly discovered world, and on the 18th of July, 1584, landed on the coast of North Carolina. The whole crew were enraptured by its beauty. The trees had nowhere else their equal. The vines clambered up the loftiest cedars, and grapes hung in festoons from every bough. The ocean, scarcely disturbed by a ripple, rolled its lazy surges "in upon the shore, and dashed its spray upon the clusters." The tawny inhabitants appeared in harmony with the scene, and welcomed their newly arrived guests, or invaders, after the manner of the golden age. Amidas and Barlow explored the country in part, and returned to England in September; and gave such a description of the country as might have been expected from men who had done nothing but sail over the smooth waters of a summer sea, among the hundred islands of North Carolina. Elizabeth heard their reports with rapture, and named the country Virginia.

Raleigh, having been elected a member of Parliament from the county of Devon, in December, 1584, procured the passage of a bill confirming his patent; and in the following year, one hundred and eight colonists landed on the shores of Carolina. Sir Ralph Lane, a man of some distinction, afterward knighted by the queen, acted as governor of the colony, under Raleigh; and Sir Richard Grenville, the most celebrated of Raleigh's assistants, commanded the expedition. Several men of distinction, and among them, Cavendish, who afterward circumnavigated the globe, with Herriot, the inventor of the system of notation in Algebra, and Withe, an ingenious painter, accompanied the expedition.

While exploring the country, they were entertained by the savages with great hospitality. During their excursion, however, a silver cup was stolen. The natives were charged with the theft, and its restoration being delayed, Grenville, with inconsiderate cruelty, ordered the village to be burnt, and the standing corn to be destroyed. Grenville, on his return, captured a rich Spanish prize, which secured to him a courteous reception, and silenced all inquiries.

The natives, in the meantime, wished their unwelcome visitors afar off, and divers plans were formed for their removal, one of which was, to leave their fields unplanted. The English supposed, and many of them, perhaps, believed, that a conspiracy was preparing. They thereupon sought an audience with their king, Wingena; and although no hostile intentions were apparent, at a signal preconcerted between them, fell upon him and his attendants, and put them all to death without mercy.

The emigrants here, for the first time, observed the culture of tobacco, and accustomed themselves to its use, and many of them were believers in its healing virtues. Sir Walter Raleigh being popular at court, afterward introduced it there, and its use became fashionable. The potatoe was also found here in profusion, and was taken from thence to England, and cultivated for the first time, with success.

On further examination, other ports than the one they occupied were supposed to be preferable, and Chesapeake Bay was already looked upon as a fit theatre for operations. The colonists began in a short time to despond—their supplies from England, though long expected, were not received; and many sighed for the luxuries of home. In the meantime, Sir Francis Drake, on his way from the West Indies to England, came hither to visit the domain of his friend; he found the colonists distressed for want of provisions, and impatient to return. At their unanimous desire, he took them on board his fleet, and carried them to England. Raleigh had previously dispatched a vessel to their relief, laden with necessary stores. It found, however, this "paradise of the world" deserted, and sailed immediately for England. Sir Richard Grenville soon afterward arrived upon the coast, and searched for the colony, but in vain. Unwilling, however, to return without leaving a guardian to protect the rights of England, he stationed fifteen men on the Island of Roanoke, to keep possession of a whole Continent. Notwithstanding the desertion of Lane and his little colony, new emigrants were readily found, and another vessel prepared at the expense of Raleigh, in which men with their wives and families embarked. The company was now cheered, for the first time, with the presence of women. They carried also implements of husbandry, indications of future industry. Having arrived on the coast of North Carolina, in July, 1587, they repaired immediately to the Island of Roanoke, and located themselves. They then sought for the brave men whom Grenville had left, but found the tenements all deserted. Human bones were found in the fields, and wild deer were reposing in the untenanted houses; but no vestige of the former colony remained. Soon after their landing, difficulties thickened. A detachment of the English, seeing a party of Indians sitting fearlessly around their fires at night, and supposing they were enemies, took them by surprise, and before the error was detected, a large portion of their number were cruelly massacred. The Indians became hostile. The emigrants, like those who had preceded them, became gloomy and discontented—conscious of their dependence on Europe, they urged the governor, John White, to return for reinforcements and supplies. He returned accordingly—his daughter, who had married one of the magistrates of the colony, by the name of Dare, previous to his departure had given birth to an infant, the first child born of English parents in the United States. The infant was named from the place of its birth, Virginia Dare. White, by the generosity of Raleigh, was dispatched thither with supplies, in two vessels. Preferring, however, a gainful rather than a safe voyage, he departed from his course in pursuit of prizes—fell in with a Spanish man-of-war, and was boarded and rifled of all he had. This delay proved fatal to the colony; the poor exiles were forgotten till the "Invincible Armada" was discomfited; during which time, the colonists, despairing of success, awaited death in the land of their adoption. Although Raleigh, at his own charge on five different occasions, sent vessels thither for the remnant of his colony, no vestiges of their existence were found, and imagination received no aid from his efforts to learn their fate.

He had expended, already, forty thousand pounds, equal at the present time, in consequence of a difference in the value of money, to almost a million of dollars, in his attempts to colonize a country which was to have owned him for its lord. His fame belongs, therefore, to American history. No English statesman of the age, possessed so many extraordinary qualities. His glory, in the profession of arms, was unrivalled. The conquest of Cadiz, and capture of Fayal, would alone have established his fame. He was distinguished in life for his valor, and in death for his magnanimity. Languishing in prison, and with a sentence of death suspended over him, he plunged into the depths of learning and composed a history of the world. His perseverance was never baffled by losses, nor did his interests in the destinies of America ever suffer diminution. Broken-hearted and impoverished, his sentence, originally unjust, which had slumbered for fifteen years, was revived, and he was finally beheaded in the reign of James I., his heart still beating with an undying love for his country.

While the ineffectual measures to colonize America, above referred to, were in progress, England was undergoing a revolution at home, the effects of which in a short time were to be felt throughout the globe. The reformation in religion, which had previously interrupted the harmony of the west of Europe, had now acquired a political character. Commerce, which had hitherto been confined to the "narrow seas," had burst forth upon the ocean. The East Indies had been reached by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. The art of printing had been diffused, and the facilities of instruction multiplied a thousand fold. The feudal institutions reared in a barbarous age, were now tottering to their fall. Productive industry had built up fortunes, and extended the influence of the active classes, while habits of indolence and expense had impoverished the estates, and diminished of course the power of the feudal barons.

The objects of navigation, too, had changed. Columbus sought a passage to India; the amassing of gold became next the prevailing motive; the culture of luxuries, which tropical regions alone supply, came next in order; to form new states—to plant new colonies, and to establish for the oppressed places of refuge, and for the enterprising permanent abodes, became at length objects of national importance. To these public attention was now directed, and the situation of England favored the design.

A redundant population then existed; the timid character of James I., who had thrown out of employment the gallant men who had served Elizabeth by sea and land, left them no other alternative but to engage as mercenaries in the quarrels of strangers, or incur the risk of seeking new homes in a wilderness partially explored. The minds of many persons of intelligence, rank and enterprise, became therefore directed to Virginia; and the king, too timid to be active, and yet too vain and conceited to be indifferent, at this time favored the plan.

Twelve degrees of latitude on the American coast, from Cape Fear to Halifax, were set apart to be colonized by two rival companies. The first consisted of noblemen, gentlemen and merchants, in and about London; the second, of knights, gentlemen and merchants, in the west of England, principally of Bristol and Plymouth. The London adventurers were to occupy the regions between the 34th and 38th degrees of latitude, that is, from Cape Fear to the southern limit of Maryland; the Plymouth company between the 41st and 45th degrees of latitude, and the intermediate district was open to the competition of both. Each was to possess the soil for fifty miles north and south of its first settlement, so that neither could plant or come in competition with its rival. The conditions of tenure were homage and rent; the rent was no other than one-fifth of the nett produce of gold and silver, and one-fifteenth of copper. The superintendence of the whole colonial system was confided to a council in England, and the local administration to a council residing within its limits. The members of the superior council were appointed exclusively by the king, and the tenure of their office was his own good pleasure. The king also had a control over the colonial councils, their numbers, from time to time, being appointed and removed according to his instructions. Superior legislative authority, and also minute regulations, were reserved to the monarch. A hope was also at that time cherished of a revenue, to be derived from a duty to be levied on vessels trading thither, after the lapse of twenty-one years. To the emigrants, it was promised that they and their children should continue to be Englishmen. This, of course, secured their rights on returning to England, but erected no barrier against colonial injustice.

It will thus be seen, that the first charter of a permanent colony in America, gave to a mercantile company a desert territory occupied by savages—with the rights of peopling and defending it at their own expense. That the crown of England had done nothing, as yet, toward its discovery or colonization; that the monarch reserved to himself exclusive legislation; the control of all appointments, and the hope of a future revenue. To the emigrants nothing was given, not even the right of self-government; they were subjected to the ordinances of a commercial corporation, of which they could not be members; to the dominion of a domestic council, in the appointment of which they had no choice; to the control of a superior council in England, which had no sympathy with their rights; and, finally, to the arbitrary legislation of the sovereign. Not one element of popular liberty was introduced into its form of government. Religion, according to the rites of the church of England, was especially enjoined, and no emigrant was permitted to withdraw his allegiance from King James, or even dissent from the royal creed. Kindness to the savages was enjoined, and it was further and unwisely ordered, that the industry and commerce of the respective colonies should, for five years, be conducted on the principles of a joint-stock association. The king also reserved to himself the right of further legislation.

Such were the outlines of the first English colonial establishment in North America, destined in a few years to excite the admiration, and at a period not far remote, without intending it, to convulse the globe. Many of its regulations, we are told, emanated from King James himself, the "stinted pedant," who at that time wielded the English sceptre.

On the 19th day of December, 1606, one hundred and five men (no women,) destined to remain, embarked for Virginia in three vessels under the command of Captain Newport. On the list of emigrants there were but twelve laborers, and a few merchants. There were forty-eight gentlemen and four carpenters. They were going into a wilderness, where as yet no house was standing, and where the whole country was still clothed in nature's drapery. Well might John Smith, (afterward so celebrated in colonial annals,) at a subsequent period, say to his employers: "I entreat you, when you send next, to send thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees'-roots, well provided, rather than a thousand such as we have."

Among the emigrants was a Mr. Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and several officers who had served with reputation in the preceding reign. Bartholomew Gosnold, also, one of the principal projectors of the colony, a man of real merit, and worthy of perpetual remembrance in the plantation, accompanied the expedition. But the most remarkable of them all was the celebrated John Smith, whose deliberate enterprise and cheerful courage, diffused light and joy amid surrounding gloom.

During the voyage dissensions arose, in consequence of the foolish and imprudent order, that the names and instructions of the council should be sealed up and put into a box, which was not to be opened until the squadron should arrive on the American coast. As no competent authority existed to check the progress of disorder, each emigrant received, as in case of a fire, the consideration due to his personal merits. Smith, although but thirty years of age, was already a veteran in the cause of humanity and Christendom. Brought up amid peril, and callous to its agony, versed in the great book of human nature, for he was acquainted with no other, and this he had studied with great attention "'mid Afric's sands and polar snows;" he left his competitors, the descendants of nobles, the companions of princes, far behind; and as perils threatened, he rose gradually into favor. His rise, however, excited jealousy, (the thirst for dominion not having yet ceased among this little band of exiles,) and he was charged with sedition, deposed, or rather excluded from the council, as they had a right to do, and shortly imprisoned.

The squadron under Captain Newport, arrived off the coast in April, 1607, and entered Chesapeake Bay, between Cape Henry and Cape Charles—so named from Henry, prince of Wales, a youth of great promise, who died soon thereafter, and Charles, the second son of James, afterward King Charles the First, who was beheaded—and finding deep water for anchoring, which "putting the emigrants in good comfort," he gave the name of Point Comfort to its northern promontory. They soon entered a noble river, to which they gave the name of James River, in honor of their sovereign, and ascended it about fifty miles, where they selected a site for their colony and named it James Town; this was on the 13th day of May, 1607, a day for ever to be remembered. It was the first permanent, and at that time, the only English settlement in North America.

Newport, about the middle of June, sailed for England. The beauty of this "dearly beloved" country soon lost its charms. Weak in numbers, and still weaker by reason of their indolence—surrounded by natives whose hostility they soon incurred—degraded by jealousy—having no common bond of union but fear, and no hope save that arising from despair—the heat of summer becoming insupportable—the moisture of the climate generating disease, and the luxuriance of the forest increasing their toil—their provisions being at the same time nearly exhausted, it may be truly said of them as they said of themselves, that "their drink was unwholesome water—their lodgings castles in the air; and had they been as free from all sins as from gluttony and drunkenness, they might have been considered as saints." In less than two weeks after Newport's departure, hardly ten of them were able to stand; and one-half of their whole number, and among them Bartholomew Gosnold, perished before autumn.

Disunion among the colonists, in a short time completed this scene of wretchedness. Having deposed Wingfield, their first president, for his avarice, and elected Radcliff, who had neither judgment nor industry, the management of their whole affairs fell mostly upon Smith, who had previously, by "the good doctrine and exhortation" of Hunt, been discharged from arrest and restored to his place in the council. By his sterling good sense, his indefatigable industry and perseverance, and by his known and acknowledged bravery, he soon evinced the decided superiority of "nature's nobleman" over one of James's creation.

Smith, the reputed father of Virginia, had inherited from nature a spirit of noble daring, and in early life had sighed for adventures. His first effort in arms was in the Low Countries, where he fought for the independence of Holland. From thence he travelled through France, visited Egypt, and returned to Italy. Having there heard of an hereditary warfare between the Christian and the Moor, on the borders of Hungary, he repaired thither, and in three successive combats, with as many infidel champions, came off victorious. He thus gained the favor of Sigismund, the unfortunate Prince of Transylvania, and was commissioned as a captain in the army of Christendom. Overpowered by numbers in a sudden skirmish with the Moslems among the glens of Wallachia, he was severely wounded, and left for dead upon the field. From thence he was carried to Constantinople as a prisoner of war, and sold in its public market for a slave. The lady of his master having pity on his sufferings, and admiring his bravery, sent him to her friend in the Crimea, intending from thence to restore him to freedom. Contrary, however, to her commands, he was there subjected to the severest hardships, from which he recoiled; and rising upon his task-master, whom he slew in the struggle, mounted a horse and crossed into Russia. From thence he travelled across the country to Transylvania on foot; bade adieu to his companions, and resolved to return, as he says, "to his own sweet country." Hearing, however, on his journey thither, of civil wars then raging in Northern Africa, he hastened to Morocco in search of new adventures, and from thence to England, where he arrived just as Newport and others were about to sail for Virginia. Partaking of their excitement, he embarked with Gosnold, inspired the natives on landing with awe—hushed the spirit of rebellion among the emigrants—and by the vigor of his dauntless arm, supplied the colonists "in starving time" with food. His fortitude, and the benevolence of an Indian maiden, saved the colony afterward from ruin.

When the English landed in Virginia, the country near James Town was inhabited by several Indian tribes, united, in what was called the Powhattan Confederacy. The name of its chief in the Indian tongue was Wahunsanocock. He was called by the English Powhattan, from the town of Powhattan, which was the chief seat and metropolis of his hereditary dominion—and by way of eminence, "the emperor." The imperial residence was a village of twelve wigwams, a little below where Richmond now stands. The savages murmured some at the intrusion of strangers, but Powhattan, disguising his fears or his resentment, and perhaps both, replied: "That the strangers did not hurt them; that they only took a little of their waste land." The Indians at this time were not formidable to the whites, nor were they afterward, till supplied by Europeans with fire-arms, and taught their use. Captain Smith, (who was wont sometimes to express his opinion in strong terms, though seldom detected in error,) when attacked by several hundred at once, says: "With my pistol, sword and target, I made such a passage among those naked devils, that at my first shot those next to me tumbled one over another, and the rest fled in all directions." Their population could not, probably, have exceeded at that time one to a square mile; and these were divided into a number of petty tribes, generally at war with each other. The Powhattan Confederacy, it is said, embraced thirty such tribes, and a population of eight thousand souls. Powhattan, or "the emperor," was therefore one of the most powerful princes in the country.

Like other emperors, he had as many as three or four places of residence. Worowocomoco was abandoned for Orapakes, with a view to keep at an agreeable distance from the colonists—the latter became a favorite residence. Here were deposited his royalties and his revenue—skins, copper, beads and paint, bows and arrows, targets and clubs. The house itself was more than one hundred feet in length. Four rudely graven images of wood were stationed at the four corners—one representing a dragon; the second, a bear; the third, a panther; and the fourth, a gigantic man; all made "evil-favoredly," according to the best workmanship of the natives. He kept about his person from forty to fifty of the tallest men in his dominions. Every night, four sentinels were stationed at the four corners of his dwelling, and at each half-hour one of the body-guard made a signal to the four sentinels. He kept as many wives as he thought proper. When the English saw him at home, reclining on his couch or platform, there was always one sitting at his head and another at his feet; and when he sat, two of them seated themselves on either side of him. At his meals, one of them brought him a wooden platter to wash his hands, before and after eating, and another attended him with a bunch of feathers for a towel; some were the daughters, and had been the wives, of distinguished rivals and enemies conquered in battle. When he became weary of them, he transferred them as presents to his favorite warriors.

Having described "the emperor's" residence, it would be doing him great injustice to conceal from our readers his skill in traffic. Captain Newport, on his second voyage to Virginia, took thither a quantity of goods, adapted, as he supposed, to the Indian market, with a view to exchange them for corn, in which the colonists, by reason of their indolence, were sometimes deficient. The natives of the "lower class" (for it seems there were different ranks among these children of the forest,) were anxious to buy, but having little corn to sell, were unprofitable customers. It was, therefore, an object to drive a trade with "the emperor" himself. This, however, the latter affected to despise. "Captain Newport," said he, "it is not agreeable to my greatness to truck in this plodding manner for trifles. I am a great werowance; and I esteem you as the same; therefore lay me down all your commodities together—what I like I will take, and in return you shall have what I conceive to be a fair value." Smith reminded Captain Newport of the hazard he would incur by accepting the offer; but Newport being a vain man, and expecting to dazzle "the emperor" by his bounty, complied with his request, and it unluckily proved as Smith had predicted. "The corn," said the latter, "might as well have been purchased in Old Spain." They received scarcely four bushels, when they expected twenty hogsheads.

Smith next tried his hand, and relied for success, not upon "the emperor's" sagacity, but on his simplicity. He accordingly took some toys or gewgaws, and by glancing them dextrously in the light, they showed to great advantage. "The emperor" soon fixed his observing eye upon a string of blue beads, and became anxious to obtain them. Smith, however, was unwilling to part with these precious gems: "They being," as he said, "composed of the rarest substances, of the color of the skies, and fit to be worn only by the greatest kings in the world." The savage grew more and more eager to own such jewels, and a bargain was struck between the captain and "the emperor," to the entire satisfaction of both parties—by which Smith obtained two or three hundred bushels of corn for a pound or two of blue beads. Blue beads afterward grew in such estimation among the Indians, far and near, that none but great werowances, and their wives and daughters, dared to be seen with them—being, as it was supposed, imperial symbols of enormous value.

The capture of Smith afterward, and the story of Pocahontas, "the nonpareil of the country," as Smith used to call her, we pass over without comment; not because they are destitute of interest, but because we have neither time nor space to do them justice. Another consideration, too, has also weight with us. They are familiar, or ought to be so, to every child in this Republic. A repetition of them would, therefore, be unnecessary.

Having alluded to the style and manner in which "the emperor" lived, it may not, perhaps, be foreign to our purpose, to compare it with the style and manner of an English nobleman of the same period. We have already mentioned that Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, was among the first emigrants to Virginia. If the reader will peruse a note in Hume's history of England, which describes an ancestor of the noble earl, during the reign of Henry VII., (1508,) after the discovery of this country by Columbus, he will there learn, that there was not so much difference between an Indian prince and an English earl, as many suppose. (See note 1.) And were we to indulge ourselves in a still higher comparison, between "the emperor" and his royal brother of England, it would be questionable, perhaps, whether there was such a difference between them as by some is pretended. (See note 2.) Whether it be true, as James I. said to the English Parliament, in 1621: "That public transactions depended on a complication of views and intelligence, with which they (the Parliament) were entirely unacquainted; that they could not better show their wisdom, as well as duty, than by keeping within their proper sphere; and that in any business that depended on his prerogative, they had no title to interfere with their advice, except when he was pleased to desire it;" we shall not now assume the province, either to admit or deny. When, however, his majesty further says to his Parliament, in his address from the throne: "Although we cannot allow of your style, in maintaining your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wished that ye had said that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us; yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that as long as you contain yourselves within the limit of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges, as any of our predecessors were:" we must confess that the style might have been improved, and, according to our ideas of liberty, its matter might have been amended in divers particulars. The English nation, however, at that time having been accustomed to hear such language from the throne, thought but little of the matter; and as the "divine right" of James I. and Powhattan emanated from the same source, and was supported by similar means, we will not attempt here to disturb its harmony.

Newport, on his return to England, fitted out another expedition, and repaired to Virginia with one hundred and twenty new emigrants. The new comers, however, were principally "vagabond gentlemen, and goldsmiths," and added little or nothing to the strength or importance of the colony. There was no talk now—no hope—no work; but dig gold—wash gold—refine gold—and load gold. The refiners were enamored of their skill, and supposed themselves on the road to fortune. Smith was the only man to dispel this illusion. He saw famine staring them in the face, and strove hard to avert the impending calamity. He penetrated the interior—laid the foundation for beneficial intercourse, and commenced trafficing with the natives; and on his return was made president of the council. Industry was fostered, and order at once diffused throughout the colony. In 1609, only thirty or forty acres in all, had been cleared and cultivated. It was, therefore, still necessary to obtain food from the Indians; and this was effected by Smith with extraordinary success. In 1609, five hundred additional emigrants arrived under Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Guy Somers. They were "desperate gallants," packed off to escape worse distresses at home; broken tradesmen—gentlemen impoverished in spirit and fortune; "rakes and libertines—men more fitted to corrupt than to found a commonwealth." Such were the materials of which the State of Virginia was originally composed. Such were its fathers—men, whose descendants have since asserted the liberty of this Republic by their eloquence, and defended it by their valor.

Smith resolutely maintained his authority over this unruly herd, until, by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, he was compelled to return to England for surgical aid. Having delegated his authority to Percy, he resorted thither, without having received in remuneration for his services, privations and sufferings, a shilling in money, or one foot of land—not even the house he had reared, or the field he had planted.

After Smith's departure the colony languished, and from four hundred and ninety persons, of whom at one time it consisted, but sixty remained, and these became so desperate and wretched, that they resolved to embark for Newfoundland, and dispose of themselves among the fishermen. "No one dropped a tear at parting, for none had enjoyed one day of happiness."

They fell down the river with the tide, in order to embark, and were met by Lord Delaware near its mouth with reinforcements and supplies. The fugitives paused, reconsidered their former resolution, and returned with alacrity to their deserted dwellings on the next day after they had left them; and by the ability and zeal of Lord Delaware, a new state of things shortly existed. When ill health compelled him afterward to leave the colony, he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale, an officer of great merit; and the latter, by Sir Thomas Gates of equal merit, first named in the Virginia patent. The lands were parcelled out among the colonists. The joint-stock system was abandoned, and the right of property was respected. Industry soon awoke from its long sleep, now sure of reward; and peace and plenty pervaded the land.

Lord Delaware arrived on the 10th of June, 1610, and from that time, more properly perhaps than from any other, may be dated the first settlement of Virginia.

During the administration of Sir Thomas Dale, the government was administered upon the basis of martial law. The code written in blood, was printed and sent thither by the treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith; and in substance was the same as the rules and articles of war, previously adopted in the Low Countries. The Episcopal church coeval with the settlement of James Town, was subjected to military rule, and courts martial had authority to punish indifference with stripes, and infidelity with death. The introduction of this arbitrary system excited no commotion, because the colonists, not having as yet tasted of liberty, were unacquainted with its value.

In 1611, a hundred kine were sent thither by the company, the most fortunate step yet taken. This emanated from the wisdom of Cecil, and it is strange indeed, that a measure so important, should have been deferred so long. In the following year, (1612,) a modification of the charter was effected, which consisted in giving to the corporation a democratic form. All power previous to this, had resided in the council; it was now transferred in part to the company, frequent meetings of which were now held. Those meetings, contained the germ of another revolution, and became in a short time the theatre of bold and animated discussion. While the powers of the company were thus enlarged, the stability of the colony was confirmed. Some Indian tribes shortly thereafter, without solicitation, became the tributaries of King James, and the marriage of John Rolfe "an honest, discreet, and amiable enthusiast," with Pocahontas, the daughter of "the emperor" in April, 1613, gave to the whole scene the most animating effect.

Rolfe, it is said, daily and hourly, and as it were in his very sleep, heard a voice crying in his ears, that he should strive to make her a Christian. With the solicitude of a troubled soul, he reflected on the object and end of his being. "The Holy Spirit," (says Rolfe) "demanded of me why I was created; and conscience whispered, that rising above 'the censure of the low-minded,' he should lead the blind in the right path." After a long and serious struggle in his own mind, accompanied by daily prayer, he resolved "to labor for the conversion of the unregenerated maiden." He succeeded; and she stood in the little church of James Town, before the font, "hewn hollow like a canoe" from the trunk of a tree, and openly renounced "her country's idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus, and was baptized." This was followed by her nuptials with Rolfe. "She stammered out before the altar her marriage vows," and the English colonists and the tawny sons of the forest, to all appearance, "were united in harmony."

A confirmed peace, not only with Powhattan, but with the powerful Chicahomanies, followed the marriage of Rolfe; and other tribes, from thenceforward, sought English protection.

In May, 1614, a petition for aid was presented in the House of Commons. "All that Virginia requires," (says the petition,) "is but a few honest laborers burdened with children." Although supported by Lord Delaware and other gentlemen of influence, it failed of success. It was not, therefore, to parliaments or to kings, that Virginia was indebted for its prosperity, but to the industry of its inhabitants, directed to the culture of its then staple article, tobacco—a better and surer resource than the patronage of England or any other country on the globe. Tobacco became eventually not only the staple but the currency of the country.

Industry being now respected and property secure, the emigrants began to think of public rights. Under the influence of faction, Argall had been appointed lieutenant governor of the colony, and martial law having been adopted, opportunities for unrestrained tyranny frequently occurred. These, Argall had improved; and the first appeal from America to England was in 1618, from his decision, condemning in a wanton manner a colonist to death. By the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, the appeal succeeded, and the mild and popular Yeardly was appointed captain general of Virginia. During his administration, the colonists were allowed to participate for the first time in legislation; and in June, 1619, the first colonial assembly met in James Town. Two representatives from each of the eleven boroughs, hence called burgesses, constituted the first popular representative body, that ever met on this side of the Atlantic. Although their acts were of no force till ratified by the company in England, their first assembling was an era in the progress of freedom. They demanded a code based upon the English laws, and claimed the privileges of Englishmen.

Sir Edwin Sandys, the new treasurer, (the patriot party in England having now control of the London company,) set about reforming abuses in earnest. After twelve years of labor, and an expenditure of eighty thousand pounds by the company, there were not more than six hundred persons now resident in the colony, (1619.) Sir Edwin Sandys, in one year, provided a passage to Virginia for one thousand two hundred and sixty-one persons, and among them "ninety young ladies, agreeable persons and uncorrupt," who were assured of a cordial welcome. They were transported thither at the expense of the company, and married afterward to their tenants, and to others who were able to support them, and who willingly paid the costs of their passage, which were rigorously demanded. The adventure succeeded so well, that it was proposed to send hither a hundred more the ensuing year; before, however, they were collected, the company became so poor, that recourse was had to a subscription. After some delay, sixty were actually dispatched, "maids of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended." Their price rose from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, and in some cases even more. The debt contracted for a wife was a debt of honor, and took precedence of any other, and the company, in conferring employment, gave a preference to married men. Domestic ties were thus formed, and virtuous habits inculcated. The tide of emigration swelled at once to a mighty flood, and Virginia became a refuge even for Puritans.

On the resignation of Sandys as treasurer, in 1620, a struggle took place in the election of his successor. Many distinguished leaders in Parliament participated therein, and among others, King James himself. Notwithstanding, however, the opposition of the king, the choice fell upon the Earl of Southampton, the friend and patron of Shakspere. The company having now vindicated their own rights, proceeded to redress former injuries, and protect colonial liberty. Trials by jury were recognized by law, colonial assemblies sanctioned by a written ordinance, and the common law of England adopted as authority in their courts.

The foundation of American liberty was now laid—the superstructure now begun—and its influence, wide and enduring, for more than two centuries has been felt throughout the globe. The house of burgesses in Virginia, during that time has been the nursery of freemen, and a monument of glory has been erected by its patriot leaders, "under whose shade kings will moulder and dynasties be forgotten."

From the facts above detailed, England, it would seem, paid nothing toward the discovery or colonization of America. It is true, that many of her citizens expended fortunes in the great and glorious undertaking; it is also true, that a large portion of those who risked their possessions, and even life itself, in the effort, received little or no compensation therefor. Still England, at a subsequent period, asserted and undertook to maintain her rights by force of arms, and to collect a revenue in this country, without our consent, because a few English merchants, in their rambling adventures, had, perchance, seen its coast from their decks. We have, therefore, indulged ourselves in recapitulating the early history of the first British colony here, because it throws light upon our glorious Revolution. We shall pursue it, however, no further at present, because it is too remote from the object we seek to attain. In conclusion, then, we observe, that its population soon rolled over the Alleghanies, into the valleys of the Ohio, the Kentucky, and their tributary streams, and thence into the southern parts of Illinois, carrying with them the habits, manners, and customs, they had formed; thus rendering the history of the first settlement and colonization of Virginia, a legitimate portion of our own.

NOTE 1.

"No baron's family," says Hume, in speaking of the Duke of Northumberland, "was on a nobler or more splendid footing. It consisted of a hundred and sixty-six persons, masters and servants, and fifty-seven strangers; in the whole, two hundred and twenty-three. Two-and-a-half pence are supposed to be the daily expense of each. If a servant be absent a day, his mess is struck off; if he goes on my lord's business, board-wages are allowed him—eight pence a day for his journey in winter, and four pence in summer, besides the maintenance of his horse. A hundred and nine fat beeves, at 13s. 4d., two hundred and twenty-four lean ones, at 8s., are to be bought, and the latter put into the pasture. Six hundred and forty-seven sheep are allowed, at twenty pence a pair; only twenty-five hogs are allowed, at two shillings a pair; twenty-eight veals, at twenty pence; and forty lambs, at ten pence or a shilling.

"These seem to be reserved for my lord's table, and that of the upper servants, called the knights' table; the other servants, as they eat salted meat almost through the year, and with few or no vegetables, had a very bad and unhealthy diet; so that there cannot be anything more erroneous, than the magnificent ideas formed of 'the roast beef of Old England.' Only seventy ells of linen, at eight pence an ell, are annually allowed for this great family. No sheets were used. The linen was made into eight table-cloths for my lord's table, and one table-cloth for the knights'—the latter was washed once a month. The drinking, however, was tolerable, namely, ten tierces and two hogsheads of Gascony wine at £4 13s. 4d. per tierce. Only ninety-one dozen candles for the whole year. The family rose at six, dined at ten, and supped at four in the afternoon. The gates are all shut at nine, and no further ingress or egress permitted. My lord and lady have set on their table for breakfast, at seven o'clock in the morning, a quart of beer or mulled wine, two pieces of salt pork, six red herrings, four white ones, and a dish of sprats; on flesh days, half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled. Mass is ordered to be said at six o'clock, in order, says the household book, that all my lord's servants may rise early. After Lady-day, no fires are permitted in the rooms, except half-fires in my lord's and lady's, and Lord Percy's, and the nursery. It is decided that, from henceforth, no capons are to be bought, but only for my lord's own mess, and the said capons shall be bought for two pence a-piece, lean and fed in the poultry; and master chamberlain and the stewards be fed with capons, if there be strangers sitting with them. Pigs are to be bought for three pence or a groat a-piece, chickens at a halfpenny, hens two pence, and only for the above-mentioned tables. When my lord is on a journey, he carries thirty-six horsemen with him, together with beds and other accommodations. The inns, it seems, could afford nothing tolerable. My lord passes his time in three country-seats, but he has furniture only for one. He carries everything along with him—beds, tables, chairs, kitchen utensils—and yet seventeen carts and one wagon suffice for the whole. One cart suffices for all his kitchen utensils, cooks' beds, etc. He has eleven priests in his house, besides seventeen persons, chanters, musicians, etc., belonging to his chapel, yet he has only two cooks for a family of two hundred and twenty-three persons. If we consider the magnificent and elegant manner in which the Venetian and other Italian noblemen lived, with the progress made by the Italians in literature and the fine arts, we shall not wonder that they considered the western nations of Europe as barbarians. The earl is not deficient in generosity; he pays, for instance, an annual pension of a groat a year to my Lady of Walsingham, for her interest in heaven. No mention is anywhere made of plate, but of the having of pewter vessels." Such, in part, is the description given by Hume of a feudal baron's household in the sixteenth century.

NOTE 2.

"The emperor" falls little short of his royal brother of England, in the reverence and respect of his subjects. "When the emperor," says an old writer, "listeth, his will is a law, and must be obeyed; not only as a king, but as half a god they esteem him. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing; at his feet they present what he commandeth, and at the least frown of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with fear." In one other respect, "the emperor" had a decided advantage over his brother of England: Powhattan "could make his own robes, shoes, bows, arrows, and pots, besides planting his corn for exercise, and hunting deer for amusement."

CHAPTER VI.

Northern Illinois settled principally from New-York, and New-England—Protestant Reformation—Luther—Calvin—Plymouth Patent—Henry VIII.—Anne Boleyn—Cardinal Woolsey—Acts of conformity—Queen Elizabeth—Puritans—James I.—Puritans embark for Holland—For America—Settle at Plymouth—Their success—Sir Harry Vane—Hugh Peters.

NORTHERN Illinois having been settled originally by emigrants, principally from New-York and New-England, and having also been included in the original patent granted by King James to the Plymouth company, on the third of November, 1620;—the history, habits, customs, manners, and character of "the Pilgrims," are essentially ours. Although many German emigrants from Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, have resorted thither, and of late, foreigners from almost "every nation under the whole heaven," have made northern Illinois their home, still the habits, manners, and customs of New-York and New-England predominate, apparently at the north, in about the same ratio that the habits, manners, and customs of Kentucky, Virginia and the Carolina's, do at the south.

A concise view then of the origin, progress, and colonization of "the Pilgrims" in New-England, and their emigration and settlement elsewhere, in aftertimes, cannot be an obtrusive theme.

Religious reformation was the original principle which kindled the zeal of our Pilgrim fathers; and the settlement of New-England was a part of its result. An Augustine monk* denouncing indulgences in the sixteenth century, introduced a schism into the Catholic church, and shook the papal throne to its centre. A young French refugee,† of great skill in theology and civil law, shortly thereafter established a powerful party in the republic of Geneva, by conforming its ecclesiastical discipline to the principles of republican simplicity, of which Englishmen afterward became prominent members, and New-England its principal asylum. "A mode of worship," says Hume, "was established, the most simple imaginable; one that borrowed nothing from the senses; worthy of that Being it professed to serve, but little suitable to human frailty. Rejecting all exterior pomp and ceremony, it was so occupied in this inward life that it fled from all intercourse with society, and from every cheerful amusement which could soften and humanize the character."

"So absolute," continues the same eloquent historian, "was the authority of the crown, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved by the Puritans; and it was to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous, and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their institutions."

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* Martin Luther.

† John Calvin.

These observations of a British author, (in 1759,) who had no partiality for republics, have since been fully illustrated, and their truth made more manifest by subsequent events.

The doctrines of popular liberty, protected during their infancy in the American forests, have been infused into the institutions of every rising state upon our Continent; and after making a proselyte of refined and accomplished France, have aroused the public mind to resistless action, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the mighty Kremlin of the north.

Several ineffectual attempts were made to colonize New-England, ere "the Pilgrims" landed on its shores. One near the mouth of the Kennebec, in 1607. Another in 1615, under the auspices of John Smith, familiar already to our readers in the history of Virginia, both of which were afterward abandoned.

In 1620, the old patent of the Plymouth company, before referred to, was revoked, and on the third of November, in the same year, King James issued to forty of his subjects, some of whom were of the highest nobility in England, a patent which has but one parallel in the history of the world. The adventurers were incorporated as "The council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New-England, in America." The territory thus granted, extended in breadth from the 40th to the 48th degree of latitude; and in length, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or as it was then called, to the South Sea. Absolute property, with unlimited jurisdiction; the sole power of legislation, and the appointments of all offices was thus given in perpetuity to forty individuals, of a territory, equal in extent to one-half of Europe; containing more than a million of square miles, and capable of sustaining in ease and affluence 100,000,000 of people. And all this by the mere signature of an English monarch, without even the assent of Parliament.

Nearly all the inhabited British possessions north of the United States, all New-England and New-York, two-thirds of New-Jersey and Ohio, about half of Pennsylvania, half of Indiana and Illinois, the whole of Michigan and Wisconsin, a part of Missouri, and all the territories of the United States, west of the Mississippi, on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, including a part of the Mexican dominions, and from a point within the same, northerly almost to Nootka's Sound, was thus granted in fee, "to the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon."

No regard was had for the rights of those who might hereafter inhabit this "proud domain." They were to be ruled by a company in England. Reference, it would seem, was merely had to the cupidity of its forty proprietors. And like a former patent, issued by the same monarch, to the Virginia company, it contained the very worst, the most obnoxious features of a commercial monopoly. Its object, no doubt, was to encourage emigration. Adventurers refused, however, to embark, lest they should infringe the privileges of a powerful company. Those privileges, at least some of them, were questionable; and while the English monopolists were disputing about their validity and extent, a permanent New-England colony was settled at Plymouth without their knowledge, and without assistance from the king.

The opinions of Wickliffe had prevailed in England to a considerable extent, and his followers, known and distinguished by the appellation of Lollards, were considerably numerous, before Luther commenced preaching upon the Continent against the sale of indulgences. Luther, finding his opinions greedily sought after, and his disciples daily increasing, was roused to extraordinary efforts, and all Saxony, Germany, and indeed the whole of Europe in a short time, were filled with the opinions of this daring innovator. Those opinions were speedily wafted across the Channel, and the new doctrines gained partisans in England among the laity of all ranks and denominations. Luther in his writings had spoken with great severity of Thomas Aquinas, a favorite author of the king. Henry the Eighth, reckless of consequences, breasted himself immediately to the shock, and among other things, wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther, to which the latter replied; and without regard to the dignity of his royal antagonist, treated the king as he had other and more humble individuals, with all the acrimony to which this daring reformer had been accustomed. The public, who naturally took sides with the weaker party in this dispute, awarded to Luther the palm of victory. The king, however, sent a copy of his work, elegantly bound, to Leo the Tenth, who, in testimony of his regard for so magnificent a present, conferred on the English monarch the title of "Defender of the Faith." The character of the disputants gave importance to the cause, and Luther obtained numerous converts in every part of Europe. "Adopting an enthusiastic strain of devotion, and placing great merit in a mysterious species of faith, inward vision, rapture, and ecstacy," his followers, indefatigable in the propagation of his doctrines, set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavored to overwhelm them.

Calvin, a man of extraordinary learning, and one of the best writers of the age, soon followed in his wake, and the Reformation, from humble beginnings, acquired power and influence, and soon thereafter entered the courts and palaces of kings.

While it was thus progressing in England and Europe, an event transpired in the former, which influenced for a long time, either for good or ill, a large portion of the civilized world.

Anne Boleyn, a maid of honor to Catharine, Queen of England, having had frequent opportunities of being seen by the king, (Henry VIII.) acquired in a few months entire control of his affections. Young, handsome, and accomplished, both in person and mind, and being connected with some of the proudest nobles in the realm, Henry avowed; without scruple, his design of raising her to his bed and throne. In order, however, to effect an object so desirable, it became necessary first to procure his marriage with Catharine of Arragon, (with whom he had lived in great amity for more than twenty years,) to be annulled. For that purpose, Knight, his confidential secretary, was sent abroad to consult the Roman pontiff. Clement, who filled the papal throne, was an illegitimate son of Julian of Medicis, of the sovereign family of Florence, and being then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, (Charles V.,) and having no hopes of regaining his liberty, except through the league which Henry had formed with the French monarch, (Francis I.) to oppose the ambition of Charles, was at that time exceedingly anxious to gratify the English king. Henry's secretary, therefore, had no difficulty in obtaining an audience, and having solicited the holy father in private, received a favorable answer to his master's petition; and his holiness promised, at the same time, to issue a dispensation immediately for the celebration of Henry's nuptials. The march, however, of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautréc, obliging the emperor to restore Clement to his liberty, the pope, though full of high professions of friendship and gratitude to Henry, was not quite so prompt in granting his request as the anxious secretary anticipated. The emperor, who was nephew to Catharine, having got intelligence of Henry's application, desired the pontiff to take no steps in the affair without first consulting the imperial ministers; and Clement, overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, manifested a desire to postpone the concession desired by the king. He put, however, into the hands of Cardinal Wolsey, a commission to inquire into the validity of Henry's marriage, and the nature of Pope Julian's dispensation. He also granted a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and promised to issue a decretal bull, annulling his marriage with Catharine. The dangerous consequences which would ensue to him if his concessions were known to the emperor, were also made known to Henry's secretary; and he was requested to keep the whole matter a secret, until the pope's affairs should become more prosperous. While these negotiations were in progress, the emperor, without any particular design, (as it was said,) suggested to different persons, in the confidence of Clement, that some reform in the church was desirable, and that some abuses required correction. He went even so far, as to express some doubts whether, according to the cannon law, a bastard was eligible to the papal throne; and whether this stain, if stain it could be called, on the birth of the reigning pontiff, was not incompatible with so holy an office—and the opinions of Charles being at that time exceedingly popular in Rome, on account of the number and discipline of his armies, which hovered about the capital; and Clement, previous to his elevation to the papal chair, having unfortunately given to one Colonna, a Romish cardinal, entirely dependent on the emperor, a written billet, "his own proper handwriting being thereunto subscribed," in which he had promised to advance the cardinal, in case he, Clement, should obtain the papal dignity by Colonna's concurrence, which billet Colonna threatened every moment to expose—the holy father could not see, with so clear an eye as formerly, the invalidity of Henry's marriage. But wishing to delay the matter, he granted a new commission, in which Campeggio, an Italian cardinal, was joined with Wolsey, to ascertain its legality; and to pacify the king, he put into the hands of one Gardiner, Henry's friend, a letter, in which he promised not to revoke the present commission. This letter, however, strange as it may seem, being couched in such ambiguous terms, as to leave everything just as doubtful as before, was unsatisfactory to Henry's partisans.

Campeggio was under some obligations to the king, but under still greater ones to the pope; and being entirely at the disposal of the latter, he kept the court of England, and its *youthful lover*, for a long time in suspense.

Meanwhile, fortune seemed to smile on Henry's undertaking. Clement became dangerously ill, and Wolsey, a candidate for the throne of St. Peter—the prospect of death in one case, and success in the other, for some time being equally suspended. The pope, however, after several relapses, finally recovered. He again flattered Henry with hopes of success, and at the same time continued his secret negotiation with Charles, and thus protracted his decision, by artful delays, till he had settled the terms of a treaty with the emperor. Charles, unwilling that Henry should obtain a divorce without first consulting him, and wishing to make the dissolution of Henry's league with France a condition precedent to his marriage with Anne Boleyn, listened with great attention to Catharine's appeal, (she being his aunt,) and promised to aid her. With that view, he requested the pope to revoke the commission he had given to Camepggio and Wolsey. Against this procedure, the English and French ministers earnestly protested, and both parties had recourse to promises and threats. The motives, however, which the latter set before the pope, were not so urgent or immediate as those held out by the emperor, (his army in Italy being then victorious,) and the fear of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans, being of less consequence than his present safety, he adjusted the terms of a settlement with Charles; suspended the commission of the legates; ordered the decretal bull, intrusted to Campeggio, to be burned; adjourned the cause to Rome, and resolved thenceforward to regard the queen's appeal.

Wolsey had anticipated and feared this, and looked upon it as the indication of his ruin. Anne Boleyn imputed the failure of her hopes to Wolsey's treachery; and Henry's high opinion of the cardinal's capacity hastened his downfall.

Henry, finding his prerogative firmly established, and the people disgusted with clerical usurpations, resolved to become pope in his own dominions. He dreaded, however, the reproach of heresy—abhorred all connection with the reformers; and having once exerted himself with much applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish church, was ashamed to retract his former opinions.

While thus agitated by hope and fear, an expedient was proposed, which he embraced with exceeding joy.

Thomas Cranmer, a learned divine, (Archbishop of Canterbury afterward,) meeting by accident the king's secretary and almoner, and their conversation turning on the divorce, the former observed, "that the readiest way to quiet Henry's conscience," (for his conscience, after living twenty years with the queen, had become, it seems, very tender,) "or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities in Europe; and if they condemned his marriage with Catharine, the holy father would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinions of all the learned men in Christendom."

The king, informed of this proposal, became delighted, and swore that Cranmer had "got the right pig by the ear." He immediately sent for him; conversed with him for a long time, "and conceived at once a high opinion of his virtue and understanding." He engaged him to write a book in favor of the divorce; and in prosecution of the scheme thus suggested, agents were employed to collect the judgments of the learned.

A majority of the universities declared in favor of the divorce, but Clement, still under the influence of Charles, summoned Henry to appear in person, or by proxy, at Rome. This was regarded by Henry as an insult. He sent, however, the father of Anne Boleyn, created Earl of Wiltshire, with his reasons for not appearing by proxy. The earl, on his arrival thither, refused to kiss the pope's foot, which was graciously held out to him for that purpose. This was the first omission of respect on the part of England to the holy see.

Henry being now pushed to extremities, conscious of his own power, and confident of the support of his people, renewed the prosecution of his ancient favorite, Cardinal Wolsey, "even unto death."

A Parliament in the meantime having been called, the king was declared by law "supreme head of the church;" and the ligaments which had united England and Rome for centuries, were thus broken for ever.

These invasions of papal and ecclesiastical authority, were not viewed by the court of Rome with total indifference. Some of the imperial cardinals urged Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, but the moderate and impartial counsellors of the pope represented the indignity of such a proceeding, as he had frequently, by his pen and sword, signalized himself in their cause. The design, therefore, for the present was abandoned.

Henry, being now resolved to abide the consequences, privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created Marchioness of Pembroke, and afterward commissioned Cranmer, (then) Archbishop of Canterbury, to ascertain and determine the validity of his former marriage. The result of the investigation need not to be told. After Catharine's marriage was declared illegal, Henry's marriage with

Anne Boleyn was ratified, and she publicly crowned. Anne became afterward a mother, and her offspring a queen, who swayed the English sceptre with signal ability.

Little did the generous, confiding, ambitious, ill-fated maiden, thus elevated to a throne, surrounded as she then was by regal splendor, think that a public execution, in less than five years, would be her doom; and that execution too, superintended by her heartless, unfeeling lord. Little did Cranmer, who witnessed her nuptials, and was advanced from thence to an archbishop's see, then think that he was on his way to martyrdom. 'T is only to be regretted, that the tyrant who had participated in their glory, had not also participated in their fate.

The English nation looked on with apparent indifference, and saw a youthful queen, who had long been an object of their intense admiration, quietly beheaded, and her husband on the succeeding day married to Jane Seymour, to whom he had become attached while Anne Boleyn was yet alive. It may be observed, says the historian before referred to, truly, "that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that, like eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and oppression which were exercised over themselves at their own expense."

The act of supremacy which severed the English nation from the holy see, contained no clause favorable to religious liberty—nor was it so intended. The English church alone was enfrachised—not the English people, or the English mind. The right of interference in matters of faith became, thenceforward, a part of the royal prerogative, and heresy of course an aggravated crime. In 1539, an act was passed "for abolishing diversity of opinions." All the Romish doctrines were therein asserted, except the one abrogated "by the power of a despotic monarch;" to wit: the supremacy of Rome. 'T is not, therefore, singular that Henry should have been regarded by the pope as a model of orthodoxy, although he had been excommunicated for contumacy. Indeed, Henry was just as tenacious of his reputation as a Catholic, as he was of his claim to spiritual dominion; while he disdained submission, he detested heresy.

The forms of worship, as well as the minds of men, were thus made subordinate to government, and faith, no less than ceremony, varied with the acts of Parliament. While death was denounced against all who denied the king's supremacy, a similar destiny awaited those who doubted his creed. Even Luther and Calvin, the great reformers, had they been subjects of England, under the system which Henry ordained, might have perished by fire.

The time, however, was fast approaching, when the public mind, relieved in part from its oppression, was about to cast off its fetters. When the spirit of inquiry began to rebel against proscription—when more austere principles were about to be announced—when no ceremonies were to be tolerated, unless enjoined by the word of God. This was the beginning of puritanism—it was, indeed, puritanism itself. A new era in religion now commenced. It recognized no authority but the Bible—it yielded no pretensions to Parliaments, to hierarchies, or to kings. The Puritans asserted the equality of their clergy—denied the divine rights of bishops, spurned at the interference of government in matters of religion, and sought frequent opportunities to display their antipathies. They became, thenceforward, objects of unrelenting persecution, and to escape the grasp of vindictive bigotry, hurried into exile. Parties, however, were visible even there, and the Puritans were regarded everywhere as the harbingers of revolution. Elizabeth declared them more dangerous than the Romanists. As the pulpit was the readiest channel through which the minds of the common people could be reached, and the preachers of that day assumed the right to speak of ordinary events with great plainness, and claimed among other things, "the liberty of prophecying," the Puritan clergy became, as it were, tribunes of the people—and threatened not only to disturb the conformity of religious worship throughout the kingdom, but to impair the respect and obedience claimed for the crown. By erecting the dictates of conscience into a tribunal, before which even sovereigns were constrained to bow, the ligaments which united the prince and the subject were essentially weakened, and those ligaments in some instances severed nearly asunder.

Queen Elizabeth, however, by degrees became the supreme head of the Protestant, as her father had of the Anglo-Catholic church; and when we take into consideration the fact now conceded, that Catholic princes conspired against her kingdom, that a convocation of cardinals proposed measures to depose her, and that the sovereign pontiff absolved her subjects from their allegiance; we are constrained to withhold our disapprobation from Elizabeth for regarding the Puritans as mutineers in her camp. Toleration in England, as elsewhere, it must be recollected, was at that time unknown, and uniformity in religious opinions supposed, and by many conscientious men believed, to be as essential to a nation's prosperity, as unity in action when the Spanish armada was approaching the English coast.

To effect, however, an object so desirable, much remained, and the power even of Elizabeth proved wholly inadequate. The several statutes on the subject of conformity, instead of exciting to peace, excited to resistance. Independent congregations were formed—the government became alarmed, and men, and sometimes even women and children, were sent to bridewell.

"The Puritans," said Lord Burleigh, "are ever squeamish; and yet their careful catechizing, and diligent preaching, diminished essentially the number of Papists." "It is to that sect," says a profound historian, "that England is indebted for its reformation, and the English church for its existence. Had it not been for the Puritans, the old religion, (the Catholic,) might have retained, even to this day, its ascendency among the people. While Elizabeth reformed the court, the ministers she persecuted reformed the Commons. The spirits of conscientious men can never be subdued. They must either be tolerated, or they must be destroyed. Extermination is the only instrument, and exile the only remedy against variety of opinions. It remains for the patriot and the statesman, then, to consider whether an attempt to coerce uniformity in matters of religious faith, deserves another experiment; or rather, whether the remedy is not more dangerous than the disease.

The history of England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, presents a lesson for our instruction, which ought never to be forgotten. "I will," said James I., in his speech from the throne in 1604, "have but one doctrine—one discipline—one religion in substance and in ceremony." While the Puritans wished occasionally to assemble, and to enjoy the liberty of free discussion, James, anticipating that freedom in religion would tend to freedom in politics, reiterated his former speech. "La roi visera." The king alone will decide. "The hierarchy," said he, "is the firmest support of my throne. The Puritans I will make conform, or harry them out of the land." Such specimens of royal logic—such exhibitions of princely benevolence from "the father of his people," were not uncommon in that barbarous reign. The king prided himself on his skill in theological disputations; and though attached to the Protestant cause, derided and despised the Puritans. "He was, however, an awkward liar," as Hallam the historian observes, "rather than a crafty dissembler." Demonology was his favorite study. Upon this he wrote and published a book; and to illustrate its truth, "some helpless crone" must needs perish at stated intervals upon the gallows. He indulged, on one occasion, his egregious vanity in a public dispute; and when the argument was over, burned his opponent at the stake. "His marvellous learning" excited, among his courtiers, sometimes wonder and sometimes applause. "Your majesty," said a venerable archbishop, "speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit." A bishop on his knees exclaimed, "that his heart melted for joy, because God had given England such a king, as since Christ's time had not been seen." In a foolish letter, (and there are many such extant,) the king boasted that "he had severely peppered off the Puritans."

It ought not then to excite surprise, that during the reign of such a prince, a war of opinion should have commenced; nor that the established authority should, for a few succeeding years, have obtained a temporary triumph; nor that the contest should have been transmitted down from one generation to another, till the mighty struggle between the people on the one hand, and the altar and the throne on the other, should have stained the latter with the blood of royalty.

Non-conformity being now made penal by law, and men of unimpeached and unimpeachable integrity having been selected as victims, and hanged at Tyburn for their opinions, many respectable Puritans abandoned England for ever. A religious society in Amsterdam, at this time served as a pivot of hope. Although Bacon, and many others, esteemed controversy as "the wind by which truth is winnowed," his opinions were in advance of the age, and unapproved by the nation.

Proclamations of great severity against non-conformists being issued, the contest for human freedom thenceforward commenced, and its dearest interests were put in issue.

A reformed society in the north of England, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. John Robinson, "a man not easily to be paralleled," "had joined themselves by a covenant into an independent church, in the fellowship of the gospel;" and being watched by the hirelings of prelacy, and despairing of rest in England, resolved to seek safety in Holland. Escape from persecution being regarded as criminal, a retired heath in Lincolnshire, near the mouth of the Humber, was selected as a place of rendezvous. Previous to their departure, as the boat with a part only of their number left the shore, a company of horsemen appeared in view. Consternation filled every bosom. A few women and children left behind, were seized and confined, and afterward sent home. "But they had no home to go to"—"the magistrates, therefore, were at last glad to get rid of them on any terms;" and they were permitted, after "enduring misery enough," to join their husbands and fathers in Holland.

Pilgrims in a strange land, they lifted up their eyes to Heaven and were comforted. Arriving at Amsterdam in 1608, their trials began. From thence they removed in 1609 to Leyden, where being "careful to keep their word, and peaceful and diligent in their callings," they "grew in grace, and lived together in love and holiness."

The voyages of Columbus then recently published—the expeditions of Raleigh—and the compilations of sundry navigators before this, had filled the Continent with wonder; and "the Pilgrims," conscious of their ability to act a higher part in the great drama of humanity than was there allotted them, moved also by the hope, and an inward zeal, of advancing the Gospel of Christ in foreign lands, and being fearful that by remaining they should "scatter or sink," they, with entire unanimity, resolved on changing their abode,

Although they had been received with great kindness in Holland, the language of the Dutch was never familiar, and their manners were offensive. They lived, therefore, as men in exile. When they talked of removing, the Dutch insisted on their going to Guiana; and as inducements for going thither, made them the most kind and liberal offers. "The Pilgrims," however, were proud of their native land. Though persecuted at home, a deeply seated love of country remained. They were attached "to their nationality as Englishmen;" to the language of their fathers, and were "restless" to live once more under the government of England.* They, therefore, in December, 1617, transmitted a request to the London company, through John Carver and Robert Cushman, their agents, for permission to live in a distinct body by themselves, under the government of Virginia. In their request they say: "It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage." They petitioned also the king for leave to enjoy their religion in peace ; but could obtain nothing more than an informal promise of neglect. On this, however, they relied, and in 1619 received a grant of land from the London company. The patent, however, was issued in the name of one who failed to accompany the expedition, and was, therefore, useless.

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* A little spiritual pride, and some worldly ambition, it is supposed, had influence on their resolves. They were anxious, it is said by some, to extend the dominions of England as well as of their Redeemer.

Another difficulty now stared them in the face. They were poor, and their means were unequal to so great an undertaking.

Their agents in Leyden thereupon formed a partnership with men of business in London, by which the services of each emigrant were estimated at ten pounds, and belonged to the company. The profits of their labor, at the end of seven years, and all houses and lands, flocks and herds, gardens and fields, were to be divided, by the terms of their contract, among the stockholders according to their respective interests. The London merchant who advanced a hundred pounds, consequently, would receive ten times the amount awarded to the penniless emigrant, for seven years' laborious service. But such was their zeal, that the terms, though rigid, were of but little or no account.

In 1620, two ships were provided, the Speedwell of sixty, and the Mayflower of a hundred and eighty tons burden. They were wholly insufficient, and could carry but a part of the congregation. The Reverend John Robinson, it was thereupon agreed, should remain at Leyden, while Brewster, the governing elder, should lead forth "such of the youngest and strongest as freely offered to go." A solemn fast was thereupon held. "Let us," said they, "seek of God a right way, for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance." Their pastor then gave them a farewell discourse, breathing a freedom of opinion, and independence of authority, such as the world had scarce ever heard. He charged them before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he should follow his Lord and Master. He told them that Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they "penetrated not the whole counsel of God." He besought them with tears, to receive whatever truths should be made known to them from the sacred oracles of Jehovah. Those intending to embark, were then feasted at the house of their pastor, "being large," and were refreshed exceedingly by the singing of "divers godly psalms, and making joyful melody in their hearts," (many of the congregation being expert in music.) They were then accompanied by the whole congregation to Delft Haven, where the ships awaited their arrival, and were again feasted "by the brethren," at the latter place. "After prayer, a flood of tears was poured out," and they were accompanied to the ships. Not a word was spoken—the scene was "too deep for words." They were not able to speak one to another, "for their abundance of sorrow." On going aboard, they fired a volley of small arms, and three pieces of ordnance ; then, "lifting up their hands to each other, and their hearts and their hands to the Lord their God," departed.

A favorable breeze soon carried them to England, and in a fortnight after leaving the coast of Holland, the Mayflower and Speedwell, freighted with the first New-England colony, left Southampton for America. They had not proceeded far before the Speedwell needed repairs, and both vessels put into the port of Dartmouth. From thence they put out into the open sea, when the captain of the Speedwell and his company, dismayed at the dangers of the enterprise, pretended that the ship was too weak and ill-provided for the service; whereupon they put back to Plymouth, dismissed the Speedwell, and those who were willing returned to London. They were thus "winnowed" a second time; and the little band of emigrants, now reduced to a hundred and one in number, and consisting of men, women and children—"a floating village"—went on board the Mayflower, hired to transport them across the Atlantic, and on the 6th of September, 1620, without any warrant or authority from their sovereign, or the promise even of his protection, they committed themselves, "their little ones, and all that they had," to the care and protection of "an overruling Providence."

Pilgrims indeed—exiles for religion—schooled in misfortune—equals in rank—poor in the estimation of this world, but rich in the love of Jesus—they went forth, "the meek champions of truth"—"the apostles of liberty"—"without a stain on the spotless garments of their renown." No effeminate nobility crowded their ranks—no well-endowed clergy quitted their cathedrals, to erect others in the wilderness. No craving governors sought wealth or rank or power, among this "little band of persecuted exiles." In the cabin of the Mayflower humanity recovered her rights: here a government was instituted on the basis of "equal and impartial justice," to promote "the general good."

Freighted with "the prospects of unborn millions"—"the forlorn hope of ransomed nations"—the Mayflower, with a thousand misgivings, pursued her adventurous march across an unknown sea, crowded almost to suffocation with women and children, supplied scantily with provisions, and for days and nights, for weeks and months, braved the ocean and the storm; sometimes delayed by calms, sometimes driven furiously before the tempest, leaping madly from billow to billow, her masts straining to their base, the ocean beating against her sides, and the ingulfing floods sweeping her decks, till, on the 9th of November, after a boisterous passage of sixty-three days, (during which only one had died,) her weather-beaten mariners descried at a distance the wished for shore, and on the 11th, "the Pilgrims," to the number of a hundred, were safely landed "on the ice-bound rocks of Plymouth."

No friendly voice hailed their approach—not even the savage bade them welcome. Weak and weary from a voyage unusually protracted, poorly armed, indifferently clad, worse provisioned, without shelter, without means, and without a home, among natives taught by experience to fear and distrust their unwelcome visitors; the nearest European settlements too far distant, had they been able, to give them succor; an ocean on one side, boundless forests on the other; a bleak and barren coast before them, and winter approaching—such was the condition in part only of these miserable exiles, the apparent victims of immediate want, and, to all appearance, the destined prey of the savage and the elements. They were entirely ignorant of the number, the power, and temper of the numerous Indian tribes which inhabited, or rather traversed, the immense Continent that lay before them, into whose possessions they had apparently intruded, and were about to erect their habitations. The snow was about six inches in depth, and falling rapidly, and the winter-storm howling through its forests, and beating with merciless fury on the uncovered heads of women and children. What a scene! Who that has a heart within him, can but admire their fortitude, and glory in the triumph of these solitary wanderers. Compare their early, as well as their later efforts, with the baffled expectations, the deserted settlements, and the numerous adventures of other times, and how brilliant the contrast. Consider also their blighted hopes, the nature and character of the enterprise, and the struggles of many a broken heart, clinging with deathlike grasp to the loved and left beyond the sea, and find, if you can, in the annals of human wo, a parallel for scenes like these.

They received, it is true, a charter, but it was a charter of banishment. From the dark portals of the star-chamber, and in the stern text of the Act of Uniformity, "the Pilgrims" received a commission more efficient than ever passed the royal seal. No convoys or navies wafted them hither, no armies defended these infant settlements, no lords or princes espoused their interests in the councils of the mother country. Their lot was cast in quiet insignificance; they were born amid hardships, and nourished among the rocks; they were indebted for no favors, and owed no duty, except to the Lord of Hosts. They trusted (and that is the secret of their success,) in the word of God—a sure, a perfect defence against every ill, a rock that never fails to shelter us in a storm.

Before they landed, they formed themselves into a "body politic," by a solemn compact; and as this is the first, and indeed, the only instrument of the kind extant, we insert it at length:

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

The above instrument was signed by forty-one men, who, with their families, constituted the whole colony; and is the first written constitution extant based upon "equal rights," and the "general good." It was, in fact, a patent for constitutional liberty, emanating from the whole people; and it was the first time, since "the morning stars sang together," that the people themselves had met in council, and framed a government based upon "equal rights."

Compacts had been made before—partial enfranchisements had been conceded, and the sovereign's power, in some instances, had been limited. England, however, notwithstanding her Magna Charta, was still in chains; and neither civil nor religious liberty understood or practiced in the island. "The Pilgrims" on board the Mayflower did more for human freedom than whole centuries had done before; and by one single insulated act, immortalized their memories throughout the length and breadth of our wide expanded Republic. Their example has since been imitated, and its influence has been felt on the plains of Marathon and the prairies of Mexico—among the Alps and on the Andes.

"The Pilgrims," on landing, found nothing but graves. A pestilence, as they were afterward informed, had previously swept off the greater part of its native population. A few deserted wigwams, however, were discovered, and a heap of Indian corn, much to their joy. While traversing the country, on the 8th of December the exploring party, as usual, rose at five o'clock in the morning, and had scarcely finished their prayers, when a flight of arrows, accompanied by a war-whoop, announced the approach of savages. The Indians, however, were the remnant of a tribe, who had known the English only as kidnappers, too few in numbers to create alarm. The encounter was, therefore, attended with no important results. They continued still their search, until Monday, the 11th of December, when they entered a little port, which they called Plymouth, on account of the hospitalities which the company had received at the last English town from which they had sailed; and the Mayflower was soon thereafter moored safely in its harbor. Their civil constitution had already been formed, and John Carver had been elected governor for the first year. Liberty, equality, and independent Christian worship, at once existed. Disease as well as famine soon stared them in the face. While they were wasting rapidly away with consumptions, with fevers, and other diseases incident to their exposed situation, they commenced building houses on the 9th of January, 1621, each family for itself—but owing to the weather, to sickness, and to other causes, their progress was slow and uncertain; and before spring opened, the governor, his wife, and one son, together with about half of the whole colony, were in their graves. Such was their distress, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead—much less to afford them that attention which their situation required. At one time there were but seven able to render any assistance whatever. "I have seen men," says Winslow, "stagger by reason of faintness for want of food." During the third year of their settlement their provisions were so exhausted, that when some of their old friends arrived from England in order to join them; a lobster, a piece of fish without bread or salt, with a cup of cold water, was the best and only dish the whole colony afforded. During, however, this period of self-denial, this agony of human suffering, their confidence in the mercies of Providence remained unshaken. In the fourth year of their settlement neat cattle were introduced, and after harvest in 1623, there was no general scarcity of food.

Although no living inhabitants could be found, the smoke of distant wigwams was frequently seen, which indicated the presence of the natives. The colony, therefore, assumed at once a military organization, and Miles Standish, a man of the greatest courage, "a devoted friend of the church which he never joined," and the best linguist in the colony, was appointed its commander-in-chief.

On the 16th of March, 1621, one Samoset, an Indian, who had learned a little English from the fishermen at Penobscot, entered the town of Plymouth, and passing to their rendezvous, in broken accents, exclaimed: "Welcome, Englishmen!" He belonged to the Wampanoags, a nation afterward conspicuous in the history of New-England. In the name of his tribe, he desired them to occupy the soil which there was no one alive to claim. Shortly thereafter, Massasoit, their principal sachem, visited them at Plymouth, and was received with military honors. The colony at that time consisted of fifty persons, including men, women and children. A treaty of friendship was immediately concluded, and to the honor of both parties, was sacredly kept for more than fifty years. This is the oldest act of diplomacy recorded in New-England. An embassy from thence was sent to their friend and ally in July following. The embassadors performed the undertaking through forests, and on foot, and without the pride and pomp, and, perhaps, the insincerity of modern missions. It was received in like manner, and prepared the way for a trade in furs. It reminds us of the first embassy sent by the Athenians to Philip, of Macedon, of which Demosthenes was a prominent member.*

Their influence over the natives became shortly extensive, and sachems who had threatened the colony with destruction soon asked for mercy, and afterward sought its friendship. Having thus pointed out to the oppressed of other realms a sure way to an asylum of freedom on this side of the Atlantic, although it lay through perils and dangers, others followed in their wake, until, like a small "cloud no bigger at first than a man's hand," they increased and multiplied and covered the earth. Accustomed in early youth to a country life, and the innocent occupations of agriculture, they set examples in industry and economy, patience and perseverance, purity and virtue, worthy of imitation; and thus, transmitted to a grateful posterity their habits and customs, manners and constitutions, with scarcely a blot on their escutcheon. Although they endured for many years every species of hardship, and were reduced at times to the lowest stages of depression, they never allowed a desponding thought for a single moment to enter their minds, but looked forward amid surrounding gloom with an eye of faith, to that period when their sufferings and exertions should be appreciated—when they should enkindle in the wilderness the beacon-fire of pure and undefiled religion, "whose undying light should penetrate the wigwam of the heathen, and spread its benignant beams across the darkness of the habitable globe." These anticipations, to a certain extent, have since been realized; although they failed to convert the heathen, they succeeded in civilizing a world. Whatever, therefore, may be the opinion of posterity in relation to the conduct and motives of "the Pilgrims," 't is certain that "recorded honors will gather round their tombs."

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* Demosthenes tells us, that on his mission, as joint embassador with nine others to Philip of Macedon, the daily allowance of each was equivalent, in English money, to nearly eight pence sterling. Demosthenes, we are informed, placed himself at the court of Macedon, in the most ridiculous of all lights—"the clown affecting the courtier." "And this," says Æschines, in his humorous sketch of the scene, "furnished no small merriment to the assembly." "His appearance was so ludicrous," says Mitford, in his history of Greece, "that though Philip himself preserved a decent gravity, the bystanders could not refrain from laughing aloud."

To trace the progress of European settlements on the Atlantic coasts, is foreign to our present purpose. Our remarks on the colonization of the Atlantic states must, therefore, be brief. Other spirits of a kindred nature—men of religious fervor, uniting great enthusiasm with unbounding perseverance in thought, word, and deed—men of considerable fortune, and not a few of exalted rank—men of undoubted courage and extraordinary cheerfulness, unwilling to endure the restraints and vexations of the English law, and the severities of the English hierarchy, became active and efficient friends of colonial enterprise, and sought for themselves and their posterity seclusion in the New World, from the supposed corruptions of the Old. The settlements increased, therefore, in number and respectability. The title to Indian lands became extinguished by purchase, and being too insignificant to receive the notice of an English Parliament, they flourished by its neglect.

In their religious ceremonies, they reduced the simplicity of Calvin to a yet plainer standard. Outcasts from England, but favorites of Heaven—the chosen emissaries of God, the sure depositories of the true faith, and the selected instruments for its further dissemination—nothing was, therefore, too hazardous for them to undertake; nothing too arduous for them to perform. Deeming the continuance of their liberty inconsistent with the exactions of prelacy, they repudiated the religion from which they had suffered so much, and prohibited episcopacy within their borders. The first settlers of New England were a body of sincere believers, desiring purity of religion, and not a colony of philosophers, who had come thither to promote toleration. Possessed of a soil which they had purchased, and of a charter they had obtained by extraordinary efforts, they sought to plant those religious doctrines only, and the forms of civil liberty, which they considered valuable. Constituting, as they did, a corporation, they assumed the right to prescribe the terms of admission into it; and holding its key themselves, acted under an impression that they had a right to exclude whom they pleased.

During the first fifteen years after the settlement of Plymouth, twenty-one thousand two hundred persons, or about four thousand families, migrated hither, and but few thereafter. Their descendants at the present time exceed four millions.

The refinements of chivalry constituted no part of their character. Their ideas of national grandeur were predicated on universal education. Liberty and equality, industry and economy, were their polar stars—and piety was the sun that kept everything in order, and attracted everything above, around, and within them, to a common centre.

Hume, the historian, states that John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, and others, having resolved "to abandon their native country and fly to the extremity of the globe, where they might enjoy lectures and discourses of any length or form which pleased them," went on board a ship to embark for New-England, and were detained by an order of the privy council, in 1637, of which the king (Charles I.) had reason to repent. Hume's authority, however, for this assertion, is exceedingly questionable. Hampden, who, as Lord Clarendon observes, possessed "a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute;" and Cromwell, who sought the office of high constable of England, in order to keep the peace, were never, it is believed, in this country, nor did they ever embark for the purpose of coming hither. The ships, in which it is said they embarked in order to come, were detained but for a few days, and were then authorized to proceed on their voyage. The passengers arrived in safety, but no mention is made of Hampden, Cromwell, Hazelrig, or Pym, being of their number. Sir Harry Vane, who was a member of the long Parliament in 1653, to whom Cromwell, when he prorogued it, said: "The Lord has done with you, and has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work:" and on Vane's remonstrating against his proceeding, replied: "Oh, Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" had previously been in this country, and was elected governor of Massachusetts in 1636.

Hugh Peters, afterward chaplain to Cromwell, executed in the reign of Charles II. for treason, was a settled minister at Salem, in Massachusetts, for several years. Some of the regicides of Charles I. came also to New-England, and were concealed or protected from arrest, and thus saved from the effects of royal indignation.

Inasmuch as the people of northern and southern Illinois are scarcely acquainted with each other, an introduction through some common medium, it is hoped, will be serviceable. And as their ancestors once mingled their blood on the fields of Saratoga and at Yorktown, in defence of a common object, (the liberties we now enjoy,) it is hoped, that by mutual and more frequent intercourse, and the aid of a common interest, they will shortly become united in one common feeling.

CHAPTER VII.

French fisheries—French navigators—Denys—Verrazani—Cartier—Roberval—De la Roque—Chauvin—Champlain—Founds Quebec, in 1608—Jesuits in Canada—In Europe—Reformation—Martin Luther—Henry VIII.—Ignatius Loyola founds the Society of Jesuits—Allouez—James Marquette—Joliet—Marquette discovers the Mississippi, 1673—Returns to Chicago—Dies in Michigan, 1675—Robert Cavalier De la Salle—Arrives in Canada, 1667—Commander of Fort Frontenac—Builds a vessel on Lake Erie—Discovers the Illinois river, and builds a fort, Creve Coeur, near Peoria—Father Hennepin ascends the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, 1608—Tonti—Commands on the Illinois—La Salle visits Canada—Returns—Descends the Mississippi to its mouth, 1682—Returns—Founds Kaskaskia and Cahokia, 1683, the oldest towns on the Mississippi—Revisits France—Embarks for the Mississippi, 1684—Passes its mouth, January, 1685—Disembarks at Matagorda, in Texas—Joutel—Texas, a part of Louisiana—La Salle enters the confines of Mexico, 1686—Massacred near Trinity River, March 20, 1687—His character.

France, at an early day, saw and felt the importance of the American fisheries; and the banks of Newfoundland, soon after Columbus's first voyage, became familiar to the mariners of Brittany. The Island of Cape Breton acquired from them its name, and from thence the fishermen of Normandy derived experience, wealth, and fame. Denys, a practical navigator, and a citizen of Honfleur, in 1506, drew a map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and in 1522, John Verrazani, a Florentine mariner, of great skill, in the service of Francis I., King of France, with a caraval called the "Dolphin," explored the American coast from Wilmington, in North Carolina, to Nova Scotia; landed at New-York, at Newport, in Rhode Island, and elsewhere; and was received by the aboriginees, "the goodliest people he had ever seen," with great hospitality. In July, 1524, he returned to France, having advanced, to a considerable extent, the knowledge of geography; and furnished the French monarch with a pretext for claiming the whole country, as an appendage of France.

The misfortunes of Francis, at the disastrous battle of Pavia, in which he was taken prisoner by the emperor, Charles V., although for a time fatal to any further efforts at discovery, on the part of France, did not for a moment repress the energy or activity of her seamen. As early as August, 1527, an English captain, writing from St. Johns, in Newfoundland, to Henry the VIII. of England, observes that he found in one harbor, eleven sail of Normans, and one Breton, engaged in the fisheries.

Shortly thereafter, (in 1534) Chabot, Admiral of France, a man of extraordinary bravery, engaged the king, (Francis I.) in another attempt to explore the Continent, and James Cartier, of St. Malo, was selected to lead the expedition. He was the first Frenchman who had directed the attention of France to the river St. Lawrence, and to the inland seas that roll in solemn grandeur their mighty floods through its channel to the ocean. In April, 1534, he left the harbor of St. Malo in two ships, and in twenty days thereafter, reached the Island of Newfoundland. He there raised upon an elevated spot of ground a cross, bearing a shield, inscribed with the lilies of France, and an appropriate inscription. From thence, he sailed up the river till he could " discover land on either side." Being unprepared to remain for the winter, he weighed anchor, and in September following, entered the harbor of St. Malo in safety.

The French court listened with intense interest to the recital of his adventures, and a new commission was thereupon issued. Three well furnished ships were provided by the king, and some even of the nobility, joined the expedition. Solemn preparations were made for their departure. Religion lent her aid, and the whole company repairing to the cathedral, received absolution, and a blessing from the bishop. On the 19th of May, 1534, the squadron, full of hope and expectation, sailed for America, and the territory thus sought to be colonized, thenceforward became known and distinguished as New-France.

Arriving in sight of Newfoundland, and passing to the west of it on the day of St. Lawrence, (August 10, 1535,) he gave the name of that martyr to the wide expanded gulf that lay before him ; and in September following, he ascended the stream as far as the Isle of Orleans. Leaving his ships safely moored, Cartier visited in a boat, accompanied by a single guide, the chief Indian settlement, which lay at the foot of a hill on the Island of Hoehelaga, and climbing the hill, was moved to admiration by the prospect before him. Realizing, in imagination, its importance, and filled with anticipations of its future glory, he gave it the name of Montreal, since transferred to the island, and after erecting there a cross, bearing the arms of France, he embarked for Europe.

Cartier's description rather checked, than otherwise, emigration thither. The intense severity of its climate, terrified the inhabitants of France ; and as neither silver nor gold, precious stones nor diamonds, were promised, some time elapsed before any further attempts at its colonization were made. It was deemed, however, unworthy of a gallant nation to abandon the enterprise, and Francis De La Roque, a nobleman of Picardy, Lord of Roberval, sought and obtained a commission to colonize it.

He found it, however, easier to confer provinces upon parchment, than to plant colonies in the forests ; and as Cartier had already learned something from experience, Roberval sought his aid. In order to facilitate the expedition, Cartier was authorized to ransack the prisons, to rescue the unfortunate and criminal, and to supply himself with a crew, and with emigrants, from their number. The felon, the spendthrift, and the bankrupt ; the debtors to justice and its victims ; prisoners rightfully and wrongfully detained ; were thus congregated together, and required to act in concert. Cartier sought the honor of a discoverer, and

Roberval its fruits. Jealous of each other, they neither embarked in company, nor acted in unison. In May, 1541, Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence, and erected for his security a small fort near the site of Quebec, and after passing the next winter in sullennness and gloom, returned to France in June, 1542. Roberval arrived with reinforcements shortly thereafter, spent a year in America, and finding estates in Picardy better than titles or power in the forest, abandoned his possessions, and returned without effecting any permanent results. It is said that he embarked again for New-France in 1549, with a numerous train of adventurers; but as he was never heard of more, it is supposed that he perished at sea.

During the next half century, no further discoveries were attempted by the government or nation. Involved in civil wars with the Huguenots, or followers of Calvin, in defence of Catholicism, and with the feudal barons in defence of royal prerogatives, the monarchs of France had neither leisure nor means to explore uncivilized regions, or to send colonists or emigrants thither; and it is a matter of doubt with many, at the present time, whether a government that could devise, or a people that could aid in such a massacre, as that of St. Bartholomew's eve, in 1572, deserved either colonies or empires. During the reign of Henry the IV. the clouds of civil discord, treachery and war, were for a moment dispersed, and France awoke to liberty and glory. Another attempt to found an empire in America was thereupon made, and a commission was granted to the Marquis De La Roque, a nobleman of Brittany, for its accomplishment. The contents of her prisons were again disgorged, and a settlement commenced with extraordinary toil on the Isle of Sable. The wretched exiles, however, sighed for their dungeons; and in a few years the survivors received a pardon—a temporary residence amid storms and tempests, being regarded, by the king, as an atonement for almost every crime.

The trade in furs with the natives being profitable. an ample patent in 1600 was granted to Chauvin, whose death alone, in 1601, prevented the establishment of a colony.

In 1603, a company of merchants at Rouen was formed under the patronage of the Governor of Dieppe, and Samuel Champlain of Brouage, "who delighted marvellously in adventures," was intrusted with its direction. Champlain was a marine officer in the French service, of great ability; clear in his perceptions, cautious in all his movements, indefatigable in his efforts, untiring in his exertions, and fearless of danger, he seemed fitted by nature for the emergency, and the emergency for him; and may, therefore, without disparagement to any other, be justly regarded as the father of the French settlements in Canada. He founded Quebec in 1608; that is, he erected a few cottages there, cleared a few fields, and planted one or two gardens. In 1609, attended by two European adventurers, he joined a party of Hurons from Montreal, and Algonquins from Quebec, against the Iroquois, better known as the five confederated nations which inhabited New-York, ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name and perpetuates his memory. Wounded and repulsed, without guides, he afterward spent a winter with the Hurons, and carried the language, the religion, and the influence of France, to the distant hamlets of the Algonquins.

When "the Pilgrims" were leaving Leyden, to establish a colony in New-England, in 1620, Champlain was building a fort on the site of Quebec; and when the merchants (his employers,) complained of the expense, "It is not best," said he, "to yield to the passions of men: they sway but for a season—it is our duty to respect the future." The castle of St. Louis, for a long time the place of council against the Iroquois and New-England, arose as if by magic at his command, and the French authority was established in New-France. The benedictions of a Roman pontiff were subsequently bestowed on Jesuit missionaries sent thither, self-exiled, to evangelize the infidels. The celebrated Mary of Medici advanced funds to defray the expense; and the order of Jesuits was enriched by duties levied upon fish and furs. The natives, touched with the confiding humanity of the Jesuits, listened reverentially to the message of redemption, and matins and vespers were regularly chanted, around a cross erected in every hamlet. While some Jesuit missionaries were carrying their Redeemer's cross in triumph to the Ganges, others were assisting to plant its foot amid the forests and along the banks of Lake Superior. The fishermen of Normandy and Brittany, it would seem then, laid the foundation of a French empire in America, equal in extent to one half of Europe; where the followers of Luther and of Calvin, and the disciples of Loyola, met afterward in hostile array, with Indians for their allies, and Europeans spectators of the bloody scene.

Christianity in its primitive state, excluded from thrones and struggling for existence, assumed for a while the meekness of its founder. The followers of Jesus were content for many years to travel in his footsteps. Twelve humble disciples, mostly fishermen of Judea, were at first his principal companions. To them he revealed the astounding mystery that "his kingdom was not of this world." Notwithstanding, however, the declaration of its author, when the religion he taught and practiced assumed the purple, and its professors commanded armies, many thought the Saviour was mistaken. The Bishop of Rome was of that opinion, and being, by the consent of Christendom, "the supreme head of the church," and a temporal prince, having fleets and armies at his command, the titles of "sovereign pontiff," "the successor of St. Peter," "King of Naples," and "fisherman of Bethsaida," were strangely intermingled. Europe, for eight centuries previous to the Reformation, constituted one vast sacerdotal empire—the sovereign pontiff being head over all. Princes held their crowns as tenants at sufferance, and kings decreed judgments in obedience to his will. Though France, and even England and Germany, at times resisted her audacious pretensions, Rome in the end prevailed, and all Christendom saw, with remorse, her temporal princes converted into executioners of her unjust and terrible decrees.

As power, especially when absolute, is seldom exercised for a long time, or to any considerable extent, without corrupting its possessor; it would have been wondrous strange, if the Roman pontiff, holding the keys of heaven and hell, had not had, in common with his species, some portion of man's infirmity. We may, therefore, without attributing to the "supreme head of the church," extraordinary corruption, assume it as proved that, after the lapse of more than eight centuries, the court and religion of Rome required reformation.

Among those who sought to effect an object so dear to the Christian world, Martin Luther, before referred to, the son of an obscure miner, known generally as the Monk of Wittemburg, stood preëminent. He was a man of great learning in his day, deeply versed in the Scriptures, apparently sincere, exemplary in his morals, devout and earnest in his discourse; deeply imbued with the knowledge of human nature, and possessing an energy of purpose seldom equalled and never surpassed. Having composed a number of religious tracts, he was called upon to recant, and refusing to do so was excommunicated, placed under the ban of the empire, and his death by assassination, or otherwise, made legal by imperial and pontifical authority. His books, too, were ordered to be collected and burnt.

On the 12th of May, 1521, Cardinal Wolsey, the Roman legate and Chancellor of England, repaired in solemn procession to St. Paul's in London; assuming the pomp of royalty, seating himself in a chair of gold, and displaying his utmost state. A priest of lofty stature, bearing a silver pillar surmounted by a cross, walked before the stately ecclesiastic, holding in his hand the archiepiscopal crosier of York; behind, a nobleman of exalted rank at his side, bearing his cardinal's hat, and the nobility and prelates of England, with the embassadors of the pope and the emperor in his train. These were followed by a number of mules, bearing chests overhung with rich and brilliant stuffs, carrying to the pile the writings of the poor excommunicated Monk of Wittemburg. On reaching the church, the haughty prelate deposited his cardinal's hat on the altar. The aged and venerable Bishop of Rochester preached a discourse against heresy; and the attendants drawing near, carrying in their arms the writings of Luther, they were devoutly consumed in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators. The puissant King of England, a prince descended from the houses of York and Lancaster, in whom the red and white roses were united, rose up also in his might, and put forth a book entitled, "a Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther, by the most invincible King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, Henry VIII. of that name," in which he calls Luther an "infernal wolf," "a venomous serpent," "a limb of the devil," and crushes at once the poor mendicant to the earth beneath the weight of his royal anger; writing as it were with his sceptre, promising among other things, to receive into his bosom the poisoned darts of his assailants, and exhorting all the servants of Jesus Christ, whatever be their age, sex, or rank, to rise up against the common enemy of Christendom; "so that, should he show himself obstinate in malice, the hand of the executioner may silence him, and thus for once at least, he may be useful to the world by the terrible example of his death." This theological treatise of the king was received with a profusion of adulation—the public set no bounds to its praises. "It is," said some of his courtiers, "the most learned work that ever the sun saw." "He is a Constantine, a Charlemagne," said others; "nay, more, he is a second Solomon." The book, as a literary work, considering the author and the age in which he wrote it, must be conceded was neither badly written nor destitute of merit. It soon reached the Continent, and filled the whole Christian world with joy. Luther, hearing of it, and of the applause with which it was received, observed: "I hear much commendation of a little treatise by the King of England." He afterward read it with "a smile mingled with disdain, impatience, and indignation." When he came to where the king affects "pity and contempt for the reformer," Luther's indignation boiled over; and, being somewhat irritable, and but little given to courtesy or forbearance, he resolved, against the opinion of his friends, to write an answer, "and to show those wild beasts, who were running at him every day with their horns, how terrible he could be." In his answer he says: "Living I will be an enemy of the popery, and burnt I will be its ruin. Go, thou swine of St. Thomas—do what you will; ever you will find Luther like a bear upon the road, and like a lion upon your path; he will fall upon you from all sides, and give you no rest, until he shall have ground your iron brains and pulverized your brazen foreheads. The King of Heaven is on my side, therefore I fear nothing, though a thousand such churches as that of which this Henry is defender, should rise up against me. Do then what ye list: popes, bishops, priests, monks, friars, devils, death, sin, and all that is not Jesus Christ, or in Jesus Christ, must fall and perish before the power of this gospel which I, Martin Luther, have preached." Thus spoke an unfriended monk in the sixteenth century; and his predictions, notwithstanding the efforts of popes and prelates, emperors and kings, to all appearance were about to be verified; when a rival to the Monk of Wittemburg appeared on the stage, whose enthusiasm surpassed even that of the reformer, who breathed into the papal system new energy, and gave it an impulse hitherto unknown. His disciples planted the cross in the State of Illinois, and entwined the lilies of France among its branches.

When Francis I. threw down the gauntlet, under pretence of reëstablishing in their patrimony the children of John Albert, King of Navarre, he commenced without intending it, a war for life. Having sent a well-appointed army thither, to invade one of its provinces, his general, Lesparre, marched triumphantly to the very gates of Pampeluna, almost without resistance. The spirit of chivalry was not yet extinct in the Peninsula; the wars with the Saracens, just terminated, had kept alive in the Castilian youth that enthusiasm and simple valor, of which Amadis de Gaul was the ideal exhibition. Among the garrison of Pampeluna there was a young man by the name of Don Inigo Lopez de Ricalde, the youngest of a family of thirteen. Bred in the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, elegant in his person and accomplished in his manners, expert in the use of sword and lance, and distinguished for his manly vigor, he sighed for renown. The glittering dangers of the tournament, and the impassioned struggles of opposing factions, had hitherto engrossed his thoughts; and devotion to St. Peter, as to his lady love, had absorbed his very soul.

The governor of Navarre, apprised of the force which threatened to overwhelm him, departed hastily from Pampeluna to obtain succor of Spain, and left to Ricalde, and a few nobles, the charge of its defence. The latter resolved on retiring, but Ricalde entreated them to stand firm, and resist. Thwarted in his attempts, and overruled by his seniors in rank and age, he reproached them with cowardice, and throwing himself into the citadel, he resolved on defending it to the last extremity.

When the French (received in Pampeluna with open arms) demanded its keys, Ricalde indignantly exclaimed: "Let us endure everything rather than surrender." A discharge from the French artillery followed, and soon thereafter an attempt to storm it. The exhortations of Ricalde inspired the Spanish soldiers with new courage, and placing himself at their head, he drove back the assailants. Taking his stand on the ramparts and flaming with rage, he brandished his sword, and felled to the earth all that opposed him. A shot from the French artillery striking the wall just where he stood, shivered a stone from the ramparts which wounded him severely in the right leg; and the ball, rebounding from the shock, broke his left. Ricalde fell senseless, and the garrison surrendered. The French advanced, and admiring the courage of their youthful adversary, and respecting his bravery, they bore him in a litter to the castle of Loyola;—from thence, he afterward derived his name. Our readers need not be told, that the gallant knight of Pampeluna and Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the society of Jesuits, are one.

In this lordly mansion, eight years subsequent to the birth of Luther, Ricalde had been born, and one of the most illustrious families in Spain claimed him as their son.

A painful operation became necessary, during which he clenched his hands, but uttered no complaints. Driven by necessity to a repose he could ill endure, his ardent imagination sought for adventure. The books of chivalry he had been accustomed to devour, being temporally absent, the lives of the saints, and more especially the life of Christ, during the progress of a lingering cure, became his companions. Their perusal excited his ardent temperament, and inspired his ambitious soul with a desire of imitating their godlike exploits. The stormy life of tournaments and battles which had occupied his youth, to the exclusion of everything besides, at once lost its charms, and a career of brighter glory seemed apparently advancing. The humble labors of the saints, and their heroic patience, were at once exalted above all that chivalry ever knew. Stretched upon his couch, and writhing under a fever occasioned by his wounds, he indulged himself in conflicting emotions. The world he was planning to renounce, and that life of holy mortification which he contemplated, both appeared before him: one soliciting by its pleasures, the other by its severities; and fearful was the struggle in his conscience between the opposing worlds. "What," thought he, "if I were to act like St. Francis, or St. Dominic?" From this moment his resolution was taken. Rising from his bed, he invited his companions to a splendid feast, and without divulging his design, set out unattended for the lonely cells of the Benedictine monks, in the rocks of the mountains of Montserat. Impelled solely by a wish to become "knight of the Virgin Mary," and to be renowned for mortifications, and works after the manner of saints, he confessed himself for three successive days—gave away his costly armor to a mendicant—clothed himself in sackcloth, and girded himself with a rope. Then, calling to mind the armed vigil of Amadis de Gaul, he suspended his sword at the shrine of the Virgin, passed the night in watching in his new and strange attire—and sometimes on his knees, and then standing, but ever absorbed in prayer, and with his pilgrim's staff in hand, went through all the devout practices of which the illustrious and renowned knight, Amadis, had set the example. Thus remarks the Jesuit Maffei, the biographer of Loyola: "While Satan was stirring up Martin Luther to rebellion against all laws, human and divine; and while that heretic stood up at Worms, declaring impious war against the apostolic see, Christ, by his heavenly providence, called forth this new champion; and binding him by after vows and obedience to the Roman pontiff, opposed himself to the licentious fury of heretical perversity."

From thence, ere recovered from his wounds, by a circuitous route he journeyed on foot to the convent of Mauresa, begging his bread from door to door; there spent seven hours each day on his knees, thrice flagellating himself, and at midnight rose and prayed. He there also allowed his hair and nails to grow, until the young and brilliant knight of Pampeluna was transformed into the tall, lank, pale, and unpretending monk of Mauresa.

The time had now arrived when the ideas of religion, which hitherto had been to him little more than a form of chivalric devotion, were about to assume an importance and a power, of which, till then, he had been unconscious. Suddenly, the joy he had experienced, left him. He resorted to prayer for aid, but obtained no rest for his soul. He shuddered, as he asked, whether God would desert him after the sacrifices he had made? Gloomy terrors disturbed him; he shed bitter and repentant tears, and sought in vain for that peace which, apparently, he had lost for ever. He wandered about, melancholy and dejected; "his conscience accusing him of heaping sin upon sin, until at last, becoming a prey to overwhelming terrors, he filled the cloisters with the sound of his sighs."

At this crisis, strange thoughts found access to his heart. Obtaining no relief in the ordinances of the church, as others had done before, he began to doubt their efficacy—but instead of seeking consolation at the foot of the cross, he thought of plunging once more into the vanities of the age. His soul panted for that world he had renounced; but his vows staring him in the face, he "recoiled from the scene, awe-struck with horror."

The biographers of Luther and Loyola, have attempted to draw comparisons between the Monk of Mauresa, and the Monk of Wittemburg. In many respects, their condition was at one time the same: both were sensible of their sins—both sought peace with God, and desired the assurance of it in their hearts. It has been contended, that had another Staupitz, as in the case of Luther with the Bible in his hand, presented himself then at the convent, Loyola might have been the Luther of the Peninsula. Luther and Loyola were at this time brothers, and instead of founding two opposing spiritual empires, which for three centuries warred against each other, had they been thrown together, "they might perhaps have rushed into each other's embraces, and mingled their tears and their prayers." In that event, too, the scalping-knife might have gleamed less frequently in our forests; and the savage war-whoop, and the cries of women and children, less frequently been mingled.

From this time forward, Luther and Loyola took opposite directions. Loyola deluded himself with the belief, that his inward compunctions were not from God, but were suggestions of the devil; and he resolved to think no longer of his sins, but to obliterate them, if possible, from his memory. Luther looked to Christ—Loyola to himself. It was not long before visionary attestations confirmed Loyola's conviction. His resolutions had been to him in place of God's grace, and he had suffered the imagination of his own heart to take the place of God's holy word. Hence, we see him afterward a dupe to all the illusions of the prince of darkness.

On his way to church, he once followed, lost in thought, the course of the Llobrigat, and stopping for a moment, he seated himself on its bank, fixed his eyes on the river, which rolled rapidly by him, became lost to surrounding objects, and fell into an ecstacy. Things were revealed to his sight, such as ordinary men comprehend only after much reading and reflection. He rose from his seat, stood on the river's bank, and seemed to himself a converted man—then threw himself on his knees before a crucifix, erected near by, and resolved to devote himself to that cause whose mysteries were thus revealed to his soul. Henceforward his visions were more frequent, during which his tears flowed, and his bosom heaved with emotion. These frequent apparitions overcome, at last, and dissipated all his doubts; and visionary delusions became at once the ruling principle of his life, and the guide of his confidence. Hence the difference between Loyola and the reformers.

On leaving the convent, he repaired to Jerusalem as a pilgrim to its holy shrine; and returning from thence, after pursuing several visionary schemes, and engaging in some of the wildest and most extravagant adventures, as the knight of the blessed Virgin, he entered one of the Spanish universities as a student in theology. He was then about thirty-three years of age. He next went to Paris, where he collected a few associates, and prompted by a fanatical spirit or the love of distinction, proposed to establish a new religious order. Producing a plan of its constitution and laws, which he affirmed were suggested by the inspiration of Heaven, he applied to the Roman pontiff, (Paul III.) for its sanction by his authority. The pope referred it to a committee of cardinals, who reported against it as unnecessary and dangerous. Loyola, however, found means to remove their scruples, by adding to the vows of poverty, chastity, and monastic obedience, a vow of subserviency to the pope. Its members bound themselves, without reward or support, to go wherever he should direct for the service of the church, and to obey his mandates in every part of the globe. When the papal authority was trembling to its centre, and attacks from every quarter were daily anticipated, this offer was too tempting to be resisted. The Roman pontiff confirmed the institution, granted the most ample privileges to its members, and in 1540, appointed Loyola the first general of the order.

Its primary object was to establish a spiritual dominion over the minds of men, of which the pope should appear as the ostensible head, while the real power should reside in themselves. To effect this, its constitution and policy were singularly adapted, and different from other monastic institutions. The design of other religious societies was, to separate their members as much as possible from the world—that of the Jesuits was to make them its masters. The monk, by acts of self-denial, sought salvation—the Jesuit, plunged into the secular affairs of men, to maintain the interests of the Romish church.

While the monk was a retired devotee of Heaven, the Jesuit was an acting and active soldier of the pope. That he might have leisure for active service, he was exempt from the austerities required of others. He neither chanted nor prayed. "They, (the Jesuits) cannot sing," said their enemies; "for birds of prey never do." Its government was that of an absolute monarchy. A general chosen for life, by deputies from the several provinces, possessed the power of appointing and removing every officer; administered all its revenues at his pleasure; disposed of every member by his mandate, assigning whatever service, and imposing whatever task he pleased. The gradation of rank was only a gradation in slavery. All freedom of thought and action was surrendered when the noviciate first entered its pale. A perfect despotism was thus established, not only over the bodies, but over the minds of a numerous, and for many years, one of the most talented, enterprising, and respectable societies in the world. Expediency, in its most simple and licentious form, was the basis of their morals. Their principles and practices were uniformly accommodated to the circumstances under which they were placed; and even their bigotry, obdurate as it was, seldom, perhaps never, interfered with their interests. In their missionary undertakings, they were equally accommodating. One of them in India produced a pedigree, tracing his descent from Brahma; and another in America, assured an Indian chief, that "Christ had been a gallant and victorious warrior, who, in the space of three years, had scalped an incredible number of men, women and children." It was in fact their own authority, and not the authority of religion, which they sought to establish; and Christianity was generally as little known when they quit, as when they entered the theatre, or scenes of their labors. As the instructors of youth, they supplanted their opponents in almost every Catholic kingdom—became the spiritual directors of the most exalted in rank, and the confessors and embassadors of princes. In order to support their missions, they obtained a licence from the court of Rome to trade with the natives they labored to convert, and thus carried on an extensive commerce, obtaining settlements and reigning as sovereigns.

We have been thus particular in tracing the origin, the progress, and influence of the Jesuits, because the latter once reigned triumphant in Illinois, and because they were the first who taught its natives to build houses—to cultivate the earth, and to rear tame animals—the first who taught rude and uncultivated barbarians, to reverence them as saints, and to worship them as divinities.

In 1616, Le Caren, a Franciscan monk, the early friend of Champlain, penetrated the lands of the Mohawks, passed through the hunting-grounds of the Wyandots, and travelling westward on foot, taking alms of the natives, reached the rivers of Lake Huron. Before Quebec contained fifty inhabitants, Le Caren, with other priests of the Franciscan order, had labored for years as missionaries in New-France, and among the numerous tribes then residing on the waters of the Niagara.

In 1627, William and Emeric Caen and others, among whom were the celebrated Richelieu and Champlain, by a charter from Louis XIII. obtained a patent of New-France, and entered upon its government. It embraced the whole basin of the St. Lawrence, and of such rivers as flowed directly into the sea. It included also Florida, or the country south of Virginia, and in 1632 Champlain, whose name is imperishable, became its governor. The soul of honor, and pattern of integrity, ardent in his devotions, and zealous in all he undertook, he regarded "the salvation of a soul worth more than the conquest of an empire." The climate, however, of New-France, presented no encouragement to agriculture, and the commercial monopoly with which its proprietors were invested, was not calculated to foster a colony. Religious enthusiasm alone could, therefore, give it vitality. Champlain had selected for his companions a number of Franciscan priests, because they were poor and free from ambition. The Gallican church, however, had higher objects in view, and a prouder sympathy was soon awakened at court in their behalf—the Franciscan having, as a mendicant order, been excluded from the newly discovered world. the office of converting the natives of Canada was intrusted to the Jesuits. Their cloisters at this time were the best schools in Europe; constituting, as they did, a community essentially intellectual, and essentially plebeian—bound together by the most rigid ties, and having for their end, as already stated, the control of public opinion, they were eminently calculated for this great undertaking. Their missionaries defied every danger and endured every toil. No matter whether in Japan or in China, Ethiopia or California, on the banks of the Marathon or the Illinois, the rudest barbarians were invited to embrace the gospel. The genius of Champlain could devise no method of building up the dominion of France in Canada, but by an alliance with the Hurons, and the establishment of missionaries. Religious zeal, therefore, instead of commercial enterprise or royal ambition, carried the power of France into the heart of our Continent.

While puritanism gave to New-England its worship and its schools, the Romish church gave to the French settlements in America their altars, their hospitals, and their seminaries. The influence of Calvin is still visible in almost every New-England village. In Canada, and in all the French settlements, the monuments of feudalism and the Catholic church, stand side by side.

Soon after the second occupation of Canada by the French, a number of Jesuit missionaries resorted thither, and history and tradition both testify to their worth. Passive courage and internal tranquillity were conspicuous in all their acts, and patience and perseverance in all their attempts. The amenities of life and opportunities of vain glory, were too remote to influence their lives or to affect their character. Though dead to the world and borne down by its toils, they still kindled with the fervor of apostolic zeal, and almost every bay and river, cape and promontory, affords even in our day some evidence of their presence. No sooner had the French succeeded in establishing their authority in Canada, than Jesuit missionaries were commissioned to form alliances with the numerous savage tribes that inhabited the "Far West." In August, 1665, Father Claude Allouez, for that purpose resorted thither. Early in September of that year, he reached the Falls of St. Mary's, at the outlet of Lake Superior; admiring the beautiful river with its woody isles and inviting bays, that connect it with Lake Huron, he entered the former—which the savages reverenced as a divinity, and whose entrance is scarcely excelled in the rugged scenery of the north—and landing on its southern shore, said mass to untutored savages; thus consecrating the interminable forests upon its borders, and claiming them for his king and master. On the first of October he entered the great village of the Chippeways, in the bay of Che-goi-me-gon. The young warriors were then in council, and hostilities with the Sioux of the Mississippi were contemplated. Being admitted to an audience in this vast assembly, he commanded peace in the name of Louis XIV., and offered them an alliance against the Iroquois. "The soldiers of France," said he, "will smooth the path between the Chippeways and Quebec, brush the pirate canoes from the intervening rivers, and leave to the Five Nations no alternative but peace or destruction." The admiring savages, who had never seen a white man before, looked on with astonishment, and were amazed at the pictures he displayed of hell and the last judgment. He soon lighted the Catholic torch at the council-fires of more than twenty nations. The Chippeways pitched their tents near his cabin to receive instructions. The Pottawatomies came hither from Lake Michigan, and invited him to their homes. The Sacs and Foxes imitated their example, and the Illinois, diminished in numbers and glory by repeated wars with the Sioux of the Mississippi on one hand, and the Iroquois, or the Five Nations, armed with muskets, on the other, came hither to rehearse their sorrows.

After residing for about two years with the Chippeways, Allouez returned to Quebec, to procure and send from thence means to establish a mission. During his absence several priests had arrived from France, and among them James Marquette, the first European that trod our soil.

Marquette, in 1668, repaired to St. Mary's, the outlet of Lake Superior, and was there employed with Allouez and others in extending the influence of France. He belonged to that extraordinary class of men, (the Jesuit missionaries,) who, mingling happiness with suffering, purchased for themselves undying glory. Exposed to the inclemencies of nature and to the savage, he took his life in his hand and bade them defiance; waded through water and through snows without the comfort of a fire, subsisted on pounded maize, and was frequently without food, except the unwholesome moss which he gathered from the rocks. He labored incessantly in the cause of his Redeemer—slept without a resting-place, and travelled far and wide, but never without peril. Still, said he, life in the wilderness had its charms—his heart swelled with rapture as he moved over waters transparent as the most limpid fountain. Living like a patriarch beneath his tent, each day selecting a new site for his dwelling, which he erected in a few minutes, with a never-failing floor of green, inlaid with flowers provided by nature; his encampment on the prairie resembled the pillar of stones where Jacob felt the presence of God—the venerable oaks around his tent the tree of Mamre, beneath which Abraham broke bread with angels.

While a resident at St. Mary's, he resolved to explore the Mississippi, of whose magnificence many tales had been told; and for that purpose selected a young savage of the Illinois tribe for his companion, from whom he imperfectly learned their language. Previous, however, to his departure, the ministers of Louis the XIV. and the great Colbert, with Talon, the intendant of the colony, had formed a plan to extend the power of France from sea to sea; and to this end, Nicholas Perot appeared at St. Mary's as agent of the grand monarque, and proposed a congress of nations. Invitations were sent to all the tribes around and beyond the head waters of Lake Superior, even to the wandering hordes of the remotest north; to the Pottawatomies of Green Bay, and to the Miamies of

Chicago. In May, 1671, this congress of nations met by appointment at the Falls of St. Mary. St. Lusan, from the borders of the Kennebec, appeared as the delegate of Talon. It was then announced to the assembled envoys of the wild republicans thus congregated together from the springs of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Red River, that they were placed under the protection of Louis XIV., the King of France. Allouez acted as interpreter, and brilliantly clad officers from the veteran armies of Europe, mingled in the throng. "A cross of cedar was there raised, and the whole company, bowing before the emblem of man's redemption, chanted to its glory a hymn of the seventh century;" and planting by its side a cedar column, on which were engraved the arms of the Bourbons, it was supposed that the authority and faith of France were permanently united upon the Continent.

In 1673, the long anticipated discovery of the Mississippi was accomplished by Marquette, accompanied by a French gentleman from Canada by the name of Joliet. Of the latter, no record it is believed remains, but of this one excursion. The celebrated mound, known as Mount Joliet, on the river Des Plaines, near the present village of Juliet, in Will county, bears his name.

The project was favored by Talon, the intendant of New-France, who wished to ascertain before he left Canada, whether the Mississippi poured its mighty floods into the Pacific Ocean, or into the Gulf of Mexico.

Some Pottawatomy Indians, to whom Marquette was known as a missionary, heard his proposal with perfect astonishment. "Those distant nations," said they, "never spare the stranger—the great river abounds with monsters, which devour both men and canoes." "I shall gladly," exclaimed Marquette, in reply, "lay down my life for the salvation of souls." The tawny savage, and the humble missionary of Jesus, thereupon united in prayer.

At the last village ever visited by the French on Fox river, (of Green Bay,) a delegation of Kickapoo, Macoutin, and Miami warriors, assembled on the 9th of June, 1673, in council, to receive the pilgrim. "My companion," said Marquette, "is an envoy of France to discover new countries; and I am embassador from God to enlighten them with the gospel." Joliet offered them presents, and requested two guides for the morrow. The request was granted, and a mat to serve as a couch for the voyage, was given in return.

On the 10th of June, 1673, this meek and humble follower of Jesus, with Joliet for his associate, five Frenchmen as companions, and two Algonquins for guides, transported on their shoulders across the narrow portage which divides the Fox river, of Green Bay, from the Wisconsin, of the Mississippi, two bark canoes, and launched them forth upon its waters. They had now left the stream that, flowing onward, would have borne their light bark to the castle of Quebec, and stood already in the valley of the Mississippi. "Our guides," says Marquette, "returned at night, leaving us alone in the hands of Providence." Sailing down the

Wisconsin, between alternate hills and prairies, without seeing man or the wonted beasts of the forests, during which no sound broke the appalling silence, save the ripple of their own canoes, and the lowing of the buffalo, they reached on the 7th, the great "father of waters," which they entered "with a joy that could not be expressed;" and raising their sails under new skies, and to unknown breezes, floated down its majestic stream "over broad clear sand-bars," glided past inlets swelling from its bosom, with tufts of massive thickets, between the "broad plains of Illinois and Iowa, all garlanded with majestic forests, and chequered with illimitable prairies and island groves."

On descending the Mississippi about sixty leagues, they discovered an Indian trail, leading apparently to the water's edge, and on examination, found it led westward from thence, to a beautiful and extensive prairie. It was like the human footstep which Robinson Crusoe saw in the sand.

Marquette and Joliet, thereupon, unhesitatingly, with no other protection than Heaven, left their canoes, "to brave at every hazard a meeting with the savages." After walking about six miles, they saw an Indian village on the bank of the river, and two others in its neighborhood. The river was what is now called the Des Moines. It would, therefore, seem that Marquette and Joliet were the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa. After commending themselves to God, they uttered in the Illinois language, a loud cry, and were answered forthwith by a savage.

Four of their old men advanced immediately to meet them, bearing the pipe of peace, "brilliant with many-colored plumes." "We are," said they, in a language which Marquette understood, "Illinois," that is, "we are men;" and offered the calumet. An aged chief received them at his cabin, and with uplifted hands, exclaimed: "How beautiful is the sun, Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! our whole village awaits thee —thou shalt enter in peace all our dwellings." A grand council was immediately held, and Marquette spoke to them of God, their Creator, and of Christ, their Redeemer. He spoke also of the great captain of the French, the Governor of Canada, who had chastised the Five Nations, and commanded peace. He questioned them respecting the Mississippi, and the tribes that possessed its banks; and after spending six days in their lodges, and receiving an invitation to repeat his visit, he departed with reluctance, accompanied by several hundred warriors, and sought his canoes. Previous, however, to his departure, an Indian chief selected a peace-pipe from among his warriors, embellished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and feathered over with plumage of various hues, which he hung around the neck of Marquette, "the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, the sacred calumet, the white man's protection among savages."

On reaching their boats, the little group proceeded onward. "I did not," says Marquette, "fear death; I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God." After passing perpendicular rocks, which appeared like monsters, they heard at a distance the noise of the Missouri—in the Algonquin language, the Pekitanoni—and when they came to its confluence with the Mississippi, where the former rushes like a conqueror into the latter, dragging it triumphantly to the sea, the humble missionary, it is said, resolved in his mind one day, to ascend its mighty current and ascertain its source; and descending from thence toward the west, publish the gospel to a people of which he had never heard.

Passing onward, they floated past the Ohio, then, and for a long time thereafter, known as the Wabash; and visited the peaceful Shawnees upon its banks, who, having quailed at the name and exploits of the Iroquois, received them with open arms.

They soon reached a country of impenetrable cane-brakes, so close and strong as to resist even the buffalo; and the insects being intolerable, they folded their sails into an awning, as a protection, in part, against their sting, and to resist the heat of the sun, which had become oppressive. The prairies here vanished, and immense forests of white-wood succeeded. The Indians too, had guns, which denoted with unerring certainty, their former intercourse with Europeans. In latitude 33° north, they came to the village of Michigamia, on the west bank of the Mississippi, just above the confluence of the Arkansas.

They were already in the region once visited by De Soto, and now thought Marquette, "we must seek aid of the Virgin." Here they were met by a fleet of canoes, made from the trunks of trees. The natives were armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers; and advanced with continued whoops, as in case of war. Marquette and his companions, having left the region of the Algonquins, and arrived among the Sioux and Chickasaws, could now only speak by an interpreter. He held, however, aloft, the peace-pipe given him by the Illinois, and "God touched the hearts of the old men, who checked the impetuosity of the young;" and throwing their bows and arrows into their canoes, as a token of peace, prepared for the discoverers a hospitable reception. A deputation of young warriors, escorted them eight or ten leagues to the village of Arkansea, which terminated their voyage. They were there hospitably entertained with bread of maize, and smoked the calumet in peace. The wealth of the whole tribe consisted in buffalo skins, and their weapons were axes of steel, decisive proof of their commerce with Europe.

Being now satisfied that the Mississippi entered the Gulf of Mexico, west of Florida, and east of California; and having spoken to the Indians of God, and the mysteries of the Catholic faith, Marquette and Joliet prepared to ascend the stream.

On reaching the 39th degree of north latitude, they entered the Illinois river, and ascending it to its source, observed a country for fertility without a parallel. The tribe of Illinois Indians which occupied its banks, invited Marquette to come and reside among them. He expressed, however, a desire to pursue his travels, and one of the chiefs, with several o. their warriors, conducted the party by way of Chicago, to Lake Michigan;

and late in August, 1673, they arrived at Green Bay. Joliet returned to Quebec, to announce the discovery; and Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamies, near Chicago. Two years afterward, sailing from thence to Mackinaw, he entered a little river in the State of Michigan, called by his name; and erecting on its bank a rude altar, said mass after the rites of the Catholic church, and being left at his own request alone, "he kneeled down by its side, and offering to the Mightiest, solemn thanks and supplications," fell asleep to wake no more. The canoe men who accompanied him thither, dug his grave in the sand. A light breeze from the lake sighed his requiem, and the Algonquin nation became his mourners."

Thus perished James Marquette, of Leon, in Picardy, on the 18th of May, 1675, the meek, single-hearted, pious, unpretending missionary; the discoverer of a world, the red man's friend, and humanity's champion. Future ages will do justice to his memory.

The fame of Marquette induced others to follow in his wake, and among them, Robert Cavalier de la Salle. He was a native of France, of a good family, of extensive learning, and an ample fortune. In early life he became a member of the society of Jesuits, and renounced his paternal inheritance, in order to become so. He had profited much by their instruction, and had received from their most celebrated masters, great applause for his purity. Previous to the event of which we are about to speak, he had sought, and at length obtained, an honorable discharge from their fraternity. When the attention of Europe, in 1667, was directed to New-France, he resorted thither. Poverty, indomitable energy of purpose, and a spirit of adventure, circumscribed only by the globe, were his only companions. With them to direct his steps he had nothing to fear, and with fame and fortune before him, each beckoning him on, he had much to hope.

He first established himself as a fur-trader at La Chine.* Encouraged by Talon, the intendant of Louis XIV., in New-France, he explored Lake Ontario, and ascended from thence to Lake Erie. Returning afterward to his native country, by the aid of Frontenac, he obtained the rank of nobility;† at the same time an extensive grant of lands upon the St. Lawrence, including Fort Frontenac, (now Kingston) was given him by the grand monarque, upon condition that he should rebuild the fort with stone, and maintain a garrison there at his own expense.

The wilderness around him soon blossomed as a rose; his flocks and herds multiplied exceedingly, and the Iroquois, or Five Nations, built their cabins under the protection of his guns. The French emigrants sought his aid. The Franciscan monks again tolerated in Canada, renewed their mission; the forests fell at his command, vessels with decks rose up at his bidding, and fortune was, apparently, about to smile on this daring adventurer.

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* La Chine is on the island of Montreal. A shorter way to China and Japan was then anticipated; and La Salle supposed that the western lakes he was about to explore, were fed by rivers which interlocked with those flowing into the China Seas; to commemorate these anticipations, he gave to his trading-house the name of La Chine, which it still retains.

† Charlevoix says, that a patent of nobility was received by La Salle from the king, but of what rank or degree, we are uninformed.

Unfortunately for him, Joliet, descending from the upper lakes about this time, passed the bastions of Fort Frontenac, and spread the "great and glorious news" of wonderful discoveries achieved by himself, and others, at the west; and La Salle, already excited by perusing in his retreat the voyages of Columbus, and the rambles of De Soto, longed for adventure. Hearing, too, from the warriors of the Five Nations, with whom he was in habits of daily intercourse, the most splendid accounts of a new, and hitherto undiscovered country, bordering upon the Ohio, he conceived the design of making it the country of his prince.

It was Robert Cavalier de la Salle who first proposed the union of New-France with the valley of the Mississippi, and suggested their close connection by a line of military posts. He proposed also to open the commerce of Europe to them both, and for that purpose repaired to France.

Louis XIV., previous to this, had entered Parliament, as Chateaubriand justly remarks, "with a whip in his hand, the fit emblem of an absolute monarch." The great Colbert was then his principal minister. La Salle sought an interview with the latter. Colbert listened with delight to the gigantic schemes which La Salle had formed; and at the special instance of Colbert's eldest son, the Marquis de Seignelay, a youth of extraordinary promise, La Salle obtained an exclusive monopoly in buffalo skins, and a commission from the king to explore the valley of the Mississippi, in the following

LETTERS PATENT

GRANTED BY THE KING OF FRANCE TO THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE, ON THE 12TH OF MAY, 1678.

TRANSLATION.

Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and of Navarre. To our dear and well-beloved Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, greeting.

We have received with favor the very humble petition, which has been presented to us in your name, to permit you to endeavor to discover the western part of our country of New-France; and we have consented to this proposal the more willingly, because there is nothing we have more at heart than the discovery of this country, through which it is probable that a passage may be found to Mexico; and because your diligence in clearing the lands which we granted to you by the decree of our council of the 13th of May, 1675, and, by Letters Patent of the same date, to form habitations upon the said lands, and to put Fort Frontenac in a good state of defence, the seigniory and government whereof we likewise granted to you, affords us every reason to hope that you will succeed to our satisfaction, and to the advantage of our subjects of the said country.

For these reasons, and others thereunto moving us, we have permitted, and do hereby permit you, by these presents, signed by our hand, to endeavor to discover the western part of our country of New-France, and, for the execution of this enterprise, to construct forts wherever you shall deem it necessary; which it is our will you shall hold on the same terms and conditions as Fort Frontenac, agreeably and conformably to our said Letters Patent of the 13th of May, 1675, which we have confirmed, as far as is needful, and hereby confirm by these presents. And it is our pleasure that they be executed according to their form and tenor.

To accomplish this, and everything above mentioned, we give you full powers; on condition, however, that you shall finish this enterprise within five years, in default of which these presents shall be void and of none effect; that you carry on no trade whatever with the savages called Outaouacs, and others who bring their beaver-skins and other peltries to Montreal; and that the whole shall be done at your expense, and that of your company, to which we have granted the privilege of trade in buffalo-skins. And we call on Sieur de Frontenac, our governor and lieutenant-general, and on the Sieur de Chesneau, intendant of justice, police and finance, and on the officers who compose the supreme council in the said country, to affix their signatures to these presents; for such is our pleasure. Given at St. Germain en Laye, this 12th day of May, 1678, and of our reign the thirty-fifth.

(Signed,) LOUIS.

And lower down, by the king,

COLBERT.

And sealed with the great seal of yellow wax.

The act of the governor, attached to these, is dated the 5th of November, 1678.

Accompanied by Tonti, an Italian of considerable eminence, and father Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, whose name has long been familiar to the inhabitants of Illinois, and a number of mechanics and mariners, with military and naval stores, and goods, and merchandise for the Indian trade, he arrived in 1678 at Fort Frontenac; and in the fall of that year a wooden canoe of ten tons, the first that ever entered the Niagara river, bore a part of his company to the foot of its mighty cataract. A trading-house was immediately established in its vicinity, and the keel of a small vessel of sixty tons, called the Griffin,* at once laid near the mouth of the Tonewanta creek, in the State of New-York.† La Motte and Father Hennepin soon thereafter visited the Senecas, and established with those once powerful tribes, the most friendly relations. La Salle, in the meantime, urged forward the completion of his vessel; gathering, at the same time, furs from the natives, and sent on messengers with merchandise to trade for furs and skins, and to apprise the Illinois of his intended visit, and prepare the way for his reception.

In the summer of 1679, six months after its keel was laid, his little barque of sixty tons was launched on the Upper Niagara; and the astonished natives first saw a vessel, with its sails spread, on the waters of Lake Erie. (See note 1.) They listened with astonishment to the sound of its artillery reverberating from shore to shore, and heard, for the first time, the Te Deum chanted by its crew. On the 7th of August, 1669, a colony of fur-traders for the valley of the Mississippi, embarked on board, sailed up the lake, where hostile fleets have since contended for victory, ascended the Detroit river amid verdant islands, and after escaping a storm on

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* In compliment to the Count de Frontenac, whose armorial bearings were adorned by two griffins, as supporters.

† It is said, by some, that the Griffin was built at the mouth of the Chippeway creek, in Canada.

Lake Huron, which threatened all hands with destruction, (see note 2,) and establishing a military and trading post at Mackinaw, cast anchor on the 27th of August at Green Bay. Having sold his goods at an immense profit, and purchased of the natives a rich cargo of furs, the Griffin was immediately dispatched to the Niagara river for its disposal, in order to make a remittance to his creditors, while La Salle and his companions repaired in bark canoes to the head waters of Lake Michigan. (See note 3.) Entering the river St. Joseph, where Allouez had previously gathered a village of Miamies, he erected a small trading-house with palisades, then, and for a long time after, known as the Fort of the Miamies. His whole fortune was now concentrated in the Griffin, and of her no tidings were heard. Weary of delay, he resolved to explore the interior of Illinois, and leaving ten men to guard his little fortress, La Salle, accompanied by Hennepin, Tonti, and about thirty followers, ascended the St. Joseph, and transporting his bark canoes across a short portage, made dangerous by a snowstorm, he entered the Kankakee, and descending to its mouth, reached the site of an Indian village, near Ottawa. This was in December, 1679. The natives were then absent, passing the winter, as usual, in the chase.

From thence he descended the Illinois as far as Lake Pimiteowy, (now Lake Peoria,) where he met large parties of Indians, who, desirous of obtaining axes and fire-arms, offered him the calumet, and agreed to an alliance.* They were Illinois. The Five Nations had, previously, extended their destructive ravages far to the west, and eight hundred prisoners at one time, it is said, were carried into slavery. The Illinois then trembled at the name of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, and quailed beneath the terror inspired by their arms. La Salle and his party, therefore, were received by the natives with great joy, and when they afterward learned that colonies were to be established in their neighborhood, their exultation was unbounded. They described in glowing colors the course and current of the Mississippi, and offered to conduct them thither. The prudence of La Salle, who was the life and spirit of the enterprise, immediately won their confidence. His followers, however, soon despaired. Of the Griffin no tidings came. " She must," said they, " have been wrecked ; if so, La Salle is a ruined man." La Salle, who never desponded, exerted all his means to revive their hopes, and sought assistance even from despair. Fear and discontent, however, pervaded the little band, and they, with one voice, demanded his return. " Our strength and safety," said La Salle, " is in our union. Remain with me till spring, and none shall remain thereafter, except from choice." He commenced immediately building a fort a little above where Peoria now stands, and thwarted, as it were, by destiny, despairing almost himself, and writhing in agony, he named it Creve Coeur, (that is, broken-hearted.)

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* This harmony was soon interrupted. One Monso, a chief of the Mascoutins, a tribe then inhabiting the country on the Fox river, accompanied by several Miamies, who brought valuable presents with them, during the night visited the Illinois, as he said, to warn them against the designs of La Salle. Monso reported to the Illinois that La Salle was in a league with the Iroquois, and had come in advance of an army from that formidable nation, to unite his forces in an attack on the Illinois. La Salle being apprised of the intrigues going on against him, managed the affair with such dexterity as to recover their friendship, though not perhaps to eradicate all suspicion.

Additional resources being now required to prosecute his voyage, and sails and cordage needed for the vessels he was about to construct, in order to descend the Mississippi—La Salle, ruined apparently in fortune, by the loss of the Griffin, supposed by many to have been burnt by the savages, and her crew massacred; pursued by enemies at Quebec, and elsewhere; surrounded by nations whose friendship was uncertain; in a wilderness almost without limits, one thousand five hundred miles distant from any prospect of succor—resolved, in his mighty mind, to set out immediately on foot for Canada in quest of aid. Having secured his men in winter-quarters at Fort Creve Cœur, as well as circumstances would permit, and intrusted its command to Tonti, with directions to fortify Rock Fort, a cliff on the Illinois river, rising to a great height above its banks, in the centre of a beautiful country, interspersed with extensive prairies—and having dispatched Father Hennepin to explore the Upper Mississippi, La Salle, accompanied by three others, in the month of March, 1680, with a musket, a pouch of powder and shot, a blanket, and skins, of which to make moccasons, set out for Kingston, (then Fort Frontenac,) in Upper Canada. His thoughts on that occasion, "no tongue can adequately tell." Following the highlands that divide the waters of Lake Michigan and Lake Erie from the waters of the Ohio, he trudged on through forests hitherto impervious to white men; waded through marshes and melting snows, the running brook slaking his thirst, and his unerring rifle supplying him with food—without covering, save the canopy of Heaven, and no bed but the earth, and arrived safely at Fort Frontenac, which still acknowledged him for its lord. La Salle was not the man to despair. Fitted by nature for almost any emergency, new resources awaited him. Additional supplies were at once furnished, and new adventurers flocked to his standard. With these, he returned once more to the little garrison he had left, but not to hope or joy.

During his absence Father Hennepin, accompanied by two oarsmen, Ako and de Gay, descended the Illinois to its junction with the Mississippi, and invoking the guidance of St. Anthony of Padua, ascended the latter, beyond the mouth of the Missouri, to the falls of St. Anthony, (so named by Father Hennepin, from the chief patron of the expedition.) He there engraved a cross and the arms of France, upon a tree near the cataract, rambled about for a short time in its vicinity, and was taken prisoner with his two men by the Sioux, and carried from thence to an Indian village on one of the upper branches of that river, where he was robbed of all he had. He was liberated soon afterward from captivity, and returned with his two men by way of the Wisconsin and Fox river to the French mission-house at Green Bay. He went immediately to France, and wrote an account of his discoveries, which he dedicated to "the great Colber." In this no mention is made of his descent to the mouth of the Mississippi. (See note 4.)

Soon after La Salle's departure, Tonti, on whom the command of the little garrison at Creve Cœur devolved, commenced fortifying Rock Fort, the cliff already referred to. He was thwarted, however, in his attempts, by the desertion of several of his followers. In addition to his other calamities, the enemies of La Salle had excited the Iroquois, or Five Nations, to hostilities; and in September, 1680, a large number of their warriors descending the river in a hostile manner, threatened Tonti and his enterprise with ruin. An interview took place between him and their chiefs, the purport of which is still unknown. It seems, however, that Tonti and some others, yet faithful to his interests, (the aged Franciscan, Gabriel de la Reboard, who was cruelly massacred, only excepted,) immediately thereafter fled to Lake Michigan, and sought and obtained shelter from the Miamies, or Pottawatomies of Chicago. When La Salle afterward returned, with a supply of men and stores for rigging a barque with which to descend the river, he found the fort erected by him entirely deserted; and thereupon visited Green Bay, recommenced trade, and established friendly intercourse with the natives; found Tonti and his companions, embarked from thence, left Chicago on the 4th of January, 1682, and after building a spacious barge on the Illinois river, in the early part of that year, descended "the Mississippi to the sea." (See note 5.)

This, unquestionably, was the first descent of that river yet achieved. La Salle saw, at once, the resources of its mighty valley. As he floated down the stream—erecting a cabin on the first Chickasaw bluff, raising a cross near the Arkansas, and planting the arms of France on the Gulf of Mexico—his heart dilated with joy. His discerning eye saw, in advance, the gathering multitudes from all quarters of the world, resorting thither in search of a home. He listened, in imagination, to "the trumpet's clangor, and the cannon's roar," and claiming the whole country for France, in honor of Louis XIV., under whose patronage its discovery was achieved, he gave it the name of Louisiana. Having descended the Mississippi to its mouth, and made such observations as he thought proper, La Salle prepared to return. On ascending the river, a part of his company were left behind. These settled at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and in their vicinity. This was in 1682. Other emigrants from Canada joined them, and each became a flourishing and populous village.

While the French retained possession of Illinois, Kaskaskia was their principal town. Charlevoix visited it in 1721. It contained at that time a college of Jesuits, and about a hundred families. It will, therefore, be perceived, that Kaskaskia and Cahokia are the oldest towns on the Mississippi. New-Orleans and St. Louis were then, and for some time thereafter, wholly unknown. La Salle returned immediately to Canada, and from thence to France, and gave an account of the paradise he had seen. Louis XIV. was, at that time, at the summit of his prosperity. The great Colbert, who had aroused by his efforts the industry of France, but whose system of commerce and manufactures rested on no firmer basis than exclusive monopolies, was in his grave. His son, however, was minister of Marine, and partook of his father's genius. He listened confidingly to the reports brought thither by the messengers from another world. In the early part of 1684, by his order, preparations for the settlement of Louisiana were completed on an extensive scale ; and in July of that year, a fleet loaded with emigrants, and everything essential for their comfort, embarked from Rochelle in France, for this land of promise. It consisted of four vessels, and carried two hundred and eighty persons. Of these, one hundred were soldiers ; about thirty were volunteers ; and two of them nephews of La Salle. Three of them were Franciscan, and three ecclesiastics of the order of St. Sulpice. One also was a brother of La Salle. There were on board several mechanics, and some women, all of which indicated on the part of the projectors, a fixed resolution to establish a colony. The mechanics, however, were poor workmen, illy versed in their respective trades, and of but little or no reputation ; and the soldiers, commanded by Joutel, the historian of the expedition, a man of truth and candor, were "spiritless vagabonds ; without discipline and without experience." The volunteers were reckless adventurers, with indefinite expectations ; and Beaujeau, the commander, was deficient in judgment, unfit for his station, envious, proud, self-willed, and self-conceited. From such a motley collection, nothing ought to have been expected ; and but little, in fact, was accomplished. The voyage from its commencement was unpropitious. A mast broken by the tempest caused the fleet to return, and the voyage was commenced anew. Difficulties arose between La Salle and Beaujeau, in all of which the latter, as appears on record, was uniformly in the wrong. These difficulties, however, impeded their voyage, and rendered the situation of the crew and the passengers, not only uncomfortable, but at times dangerous in the extreme.

On the 10th of January, 1685, they inadvertently passed the mouth of the Mississippi. Discovering afterward their error, La Salle wished to return. Beaujeau however refused, and they continued on their course, till they arrived in the Bay of Matagorda, in Texas. La Salle, believing the streams which had their outlet in the bay, to be branches of the Mississippi, or leading to its vicinity, resolved immediately to disembark. While he was endeavoring thus to do, and was straining every nerve to insure their safety, the store-ship containing most of their effects, was unfortunately wrecked. Those charged with its safety, viewing this new calamity with seeming indifference, La Salle obtained boats from the fleet, and by great efforts saved a part of the stores for immediate use. Night coming on, and with it a gale of wind, the crazy ship was dashed literally to pieces, and the provisions which had been provided by order of the king, scattered on the sea. To heighten their distress, the natives came down from the interior to plunder the wreck ; and two of La Salle's soldiers or volunteers, were unfortunately slain. Consternation at once filled every bosom. To La Salle their misfortunes were all imputed; even that of the wreck and the gale. Some of the men who had landed, reëntered the fleet, which set sail immediately, leaving a desponding company of two hundred and thirty souls, huddled together in a fort, built of fragments collected from the wreck. To La Salle, as to the spirit of the storm, every eye was at once directed. His active genius controlled, and his persevering energy stimulated, the puny irritable minds of those around him to extraordinary efforts, which surprised their leader, and sometimes even themselves. A beautiful spot was thereupon selected, for a fortified post on the Bay of Matagorda, verdant with grass, and dotted with forest trees, and named St. Louis. Here, under a burning sun in June, the colonists erected with great labor, a shelter of trees—felled in a grove, and dragged a league and upward, across the prairie—La Salle being the architect, and marking the beams and mortices, and tenons himself. Here also, a house was framed of parts of the wreck brought up in canoes, and covered, as was the former, with skins of the buffalo.

This was the first settlement made in Texas; and according to the prevailing notions of that day, Texas became a part of Louisiana.

Desperate and destitute as the colonists were, they still exceeded in numbers those who first landed in Virginia, or those who embarked on board the Mayflower; and possessed, as Bancroft justly remarks, "from the bounty of Louis XIV., *more* than was contributed by all the English monarchs together, for the twelve united colonies on the Atlantic.

La Salle had scarcely finished his encampment, ere he prepared to seek the Mississippi, in canoes. After an absence of four months, and the loss of twelve or thirteen of his followers, he returned in rags, having entirely failed in his object. His presence, however, as usual, inspired new hopes; and in April, 1686, he plunged once more into the forest, with several companions, lured thither by brilliant fictions of exhaustless mines in the vicinity of Mexico.* He returned afterward from thence, with a few horses only, and a supply of maize and beans. A short time before his return, the little bark which had remained with the colony, was carelessly wrecked. La Salle heard the intelligence, and drank the last drop from the cup of affliction without a murmur. Fortune and fame had now taken leave of him, apparently for ever. His colony, diminished in number to about fifty, and those discontented with their leader and their lot, were prepared for any and almost every crime. Heaven and earth, man and the elements, seemed now to have conspired in order to effect his ruin. One resource, however, and only one remained; it was the giant energy, the indomitable will, of Robert Chevalier de la Salle.

No Spanish settlement was, at that time, nearer than Pamico—no

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* This expedition in pursuit of mines, though frequently spoken of, is perhaps questionable.

French settlement than Illinois. In this emergency he resolved to visit the latter, and, if necessary, go to Canada in quest of supplies. Leaving about twenty of his men at St. Louis, he departed with the residue, sixteen in number, on the 12th of January, 1687, for Canada. Taking the wild horses received from the natives, to transport his baggage, he followed the tracks of the buffalo, pasturing his horses at night upon the prairie; ascended streams of which he had never yet heard—marched through groves and plains of surpassing beauty, amid herds of deer, and droves of buffaloes; now fording the rapid torrent, now building a bridge, by throwing some monarch of the forest across the stream, till he had passed the basin of the Colorado, and came to a branch of the Trinity river.

In his train were two men, whose names were Duhaut and L'Archiveque. Each had embarked some capital in the enterprise, and regarded the other, for immediate purposes, as his friend. Impatient of control, Duhaut, previous to this, had shown symptoms of mutiny. Avarice, maddened by suffering, had excited in his bosom the fiercest passions—the most ungovernable rage and thirst for vengeance.

There was also in the train of La Salle a young man by the name of Moringuet, a nephew of his. On the 17th of March, 1687, the whole party having reached, as before related, a branch of the Trinity, indulged themselves in hunting the buffalo, and young Moringuet was invited by Duhaut and his associate, to take charge of the spoils.

Moringuet, hasty and passionate, not considering where he was, nor with whom he had to deal; provoked, too, by Duhaut's insolence, used expressions before the latter reflecting on his fidelity; a quarrel immediately succeeded, and Moringuet was barbarously murdered. La Salle, surprised at his nephew's delay, on the 20th went to seek him. On reaching a spot near the river, he saw eagles hovering around. Suspecting his nephew's fate, and at the same time anticipating his own, he fired an alarm-gun. Duhaut and his associate started from their covert, and crossed the river; the former skulked in the grass. "Where," said La Salle to the latter, "is my nephew?" Before he had time to speak, Duhaut fired, and La Salle was no more; without uttering a word, he had fallen dead. The conspirators shouted: "There thou liest, great Bassa! there thou liest!" and despoiling his remains, left them naked on the prairie. (See note 6.)

The friend of Colbert, the companion of the governor of Canada, the protége of Louis XIV.—he, who had extended by his toils and sufferings the dominions of France, from the Niagara to the Gulf of Mexico, and planted her lilies on the ramparts of Mackinaw, and the waters of the Mississippi—became thus a prey to its vultures.

La Salle, universally regarded as the father of French colonization in the great valley of the Mississippi, was an extraordinary man. For vast comprehension, he had scarcely an equal among his countrymen. His knowledge of human nature, his ready application of his own and others' resources in untried circumstances; his resignation to the will of Heaven; his magnanimity of soul, his power over affliction, his energy of purpose, his courage, patience, and perseverance; his ceaseless efforts to promote the interests of his country, his unfaltering hope, and his untimely end, will secure him an exalted niche in the temple of Fame.

His death was the commencement only of crime; Duhaut and Hiens, another conspirator, attempting afterward to appropriate to their use an unequal share of the spoils, were themselves murdered, and their reckless associates joined the savages. Joutel, who commanded the expedition, the brother of La Salle, with the surviving nephew and four others, procured a guide and sought the Arkansas. By wading through marshes and fording small streams, and crossing rivers in boats made of buffalo hides, they at length reached a beautiful country above the Red River; and afterward, with the exception of one only, who was drowned while bathing in a river, and was found afterward by his companions in the wilderness, they all reached the Mississippi in safety, on the 24th of July, 1687. Among the first objects which met their view on arriving thither, was a large cross, erected on an island. Never did weary wanderers hail this emblem of man's redemption with greater joy. Near it stood a cabin tenanted by Frenchmen. Tonti, the commandant at Illinois, the faithful companion of La Salle, had descended the river in search of his friend, and not finding him, had erected a cross on the river bank, and a house of logs after the French fashion, and appointed six men for its guard. Four of them had returned to Illinois, and two of them, Contieri and De Lancry, remained, and received Joutel and his companions, as before related. Though several hundred miles from the nearest footprints of civilization, they seemed "already on the threshold of home." On the 14th of September, they reached the head-quarters of Chevalier de Tonti in Illinois, passed afterward through Chicago to Quebec, and from thence to France. Of Tonti, little is subsequently known, except what is contained in the annexed petition.

PETITION

Of the Chevalier de Tonty to the Count de Pontchartrain, Minister of Marine.

Monseigneur:

Henry de Tonty humbly represents to your highness, that he entered the military service as a cadet, and was employed in that capacity in the years 1668 and 1669; and that he afterward served as a midshipman four years, at Marseilles and Toulon, and made seven campaigns, that is, four on board ships of war, and three in the galleys. While at Messina, he was made a captain, and, in the interval, lieutenant of the first company of a regiment of horse. When the enemy attacked the post of Libisso, his right hand was shot away by a grenade, and he was taken prisoner, and conducted to Metasse, where he was detained six months, and then exchanged for the sons of the governor of that place. He then went to France, to obtain some favor from his majesty, and the king granted him three hundred livres. He returned to the service in Sicily, made the campaign as a volunteer in the galleys, and, when the troops were discharged, being unable to obtain the employment he solicited at court, on account of the general peace, he decided, in 1678, to join the late Monsieur de la Salle, in order to accompany him in the discoveries of Mexico, during which, until 1682, he was the only officer who did not abandon him.

These discoveries being finished, he remained, in 1683, commandant of Fort St. Louis of the Illinois; and, in 1684, he was there attacked by two hundred Iroquois, whom he repulsed, with great loss on their side. During the same year, he repaired to Quebec, under the orders of M. de la Barre. In 1685, he returned to the Illinois, according to the orders which he received from the court, and from M. de la Salle, as a captain of foot in a marine detachment, and governor of Fort St. Louis. In 1686, he went, with forty men in canoes, at his own expense, as far as the Gulf of Mexico, to seek for M. de la Salle.

Not being able to find him there, he returned to Montreal, and put himself under the orders of Monsieur Denonville, to engage in the war with the Iroquois. At the head of a band of Indians, in 1687, he proceeded two hundred leagues by land, and as far in canoes, and joined the army, when, with these Indians, and a company of Canadians, he forced the ambuscade of the Tsonnonthouans.

The campaign being over, he returned to the Illinois, whence he departed, in 1689, to go in search of the remains of M. de la Salle's colony; but, being deserted by his men, and unable to execute his design, he was compelled to relinquish it, when he had arrived within seven days' march of the Spaniards. Ten months were spent in going and returning. As he now finds himself without employment, he prays that, in consideration of his voyages and heavy expenses, and considering also, that, during his service of seven years as captain, he has not received any pay, your highness will be pleased to obtain for him, from his majesty, a company, with which he may continue his services in this country, where he has not ceased to harass the Iroquois, by enlisting the Illinois against them in his majesty's cause.

And he will continue his prayers for the health of your highness.

HENRY DE TONTY.

Nothing can be more true than the account given by the Sieur de Tonty in this petition; and should his majesty reinstate the seven companies, which have been disbanded in this country, there will be justice in granting one of them to him, or some other recompense for the services which he has rendered, and which he is now returning to render, at Fort St. Louis of the Illinois.

FRONTENAC.*

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* This paper is translated from the original, deposited in the archives of the Marine Department at Paris. It is without date, but was probably written at Quebec, in the year 1690. Frontenac was at that time Governor-General of Canada.

NOTE I.

We should do great injustice to the naval architects of this famous "ship," were we to omit stating the fact, that its ornamental parts, although built in mid-winter, (its keel having been laid on the 20th of January, 1679, in the wilderness, the snow being about a foot deep,) were not forgotten. "A griffin with expanded wings, surmounted by an eagle, sat on the prow." Five small guns, two of brass, and three arquebusses, constituted its strength. It must also be recollected that it was built at the sole expense of La Salle, who was at the time oppressed by debt; that the jealousy of the savages had also been excited by La Salle's enemies; and that the former hovered around "the navy yard," and sometimes entered "the encampment" with "less ceremony than beseemed well-disposed visitors." A man of less ardent temperament, or less resolute spirit than La Salle, with such clouds of misfortune overhanging his prosperity, would have despaired. It was, however, a maxim with him never to despond, under any circumstances whatever. This sustained him often when other means failed.

NOTE II.

Hennepin informs us that the tempest filled the boldest mariners with dismay—that even the resolute soul of La Salle quailed before the horrors that surrounded him. That, joining with others in fervent prayer to St. Anthony of Padua, he made a vow, that if he should be delivered from the danger with which he was then threatened, the first chapel erected in his newly discovered country should be dedicated to that great saint. The pilot was the only person on board whose devotions were not quickened by the appalling scene. He poured forth a torrent of complaints against La Salle; charged him with being the author of all his calamities; and bewailed his unhappy lot, for having exposed himself, after the glory he had gained in braving the storms and tempests of the ocean in every clime, "to perish in a fresh-water lake."

Previous to the storm, of which we have been speaking, they had crossed a small lake, to which La Salle gave the name of St. Claire, in honor of the saint whose name appears in the calendar for the day in which he entered it.

NOTE III.

La Salle's voyage from Green Bay to the mouth of the St. Joseph's river, in Michigan, was full of peril. His company consisted of fourteen persons. They left Green

Bay in four bark canoes, on the 19th of December, 1679, laden with a blacksmith's forge, carpenters' tools, utensils of various kinds, merchandise and arms. A small quantity of provisions only was laid in, expecting a supply from the Indians, on their way, and by hunting on the route. Soon after their departure they were overtaken by a storm. Darkness thickened around them. The waves and the water dashed into their canoes. They continued, however, to keep together, and in the morning found a landing-place on a barren spot, where they were detained four days, till the lake became calm. Here a porcupine only rewarded their toil, and as Father Hennepin observes, " afforded a savory relish to their pumpkins and corn." Trusting themselves once more to the waters of Lake Michigan, they were soon overtaken by fresh disasters, and sought refuge for two days on a naked rock, with no other shelter than their blankets. They then embarked a third time, and were exposed on attempting to land, to such danger, that La Salle leaped into the water, and with his men dragged his canoes ashore. This was near Milwaukie. Their provisions were now exhausted. Indians, however, had been seen, and their habitations therefore presumed to be near. Three men were thereupon sent, with the calumet, in search of corn. They found a deserted village, and corn in abundance ; took what they wanted, and left articles which the Indians valued in payment. The Indians, however, soon gathered around them ; but the calumet being presented, the former evinced their friendship, and entertained their visitors with dances and songs. Satisfied with the goods which had been left the day before, they brought in other corn, and some venison, which was also exchanged to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. This was about the only sunbeam that illumined their weary voyage. Launching forth again to combat with the elements, and dragging their canoes, sometimes upon the rocks to escape their fury, and sometimes pulling them ashore through the surf, with the spray beating over their heads, they finally, by incessant toil, reached the southern extremity of the lake, from whence they turned their course to the east, and on the first of November, 1679, they were all moored at the mouth of the river St. Joseph (then the Miami) in safety.

NOTE IV.

Several writers have taken it for granted, that Father Hennepin descended the Mississippi, and was the first who traced that river to its mouth. It seems, however, that Marguette and Joliet entered the Mississippi several years before, (1673,) and that Frederic de Soto discovered it previous to any Frenchman's setting foot on our soil. Hennepin, in consequence of some difficulty in France, repaired to England, and afterward in 1698, published a second edition of his travels, which he dedicated to the king, (William of Orange.) In this, he claims the credit of having traced the Mississippi from its head waters to its mouth. He pretends also that La Salle, however, had been dead at that time for more than eleven years ; and it is asserted on good authority, that some of his papers fell into the hands of Hennepin. They were, however, mere notes or hints to aid his memory, and were intended solely for his use ; and were prevented, in all probability, from seeing the light in a more authentic shape, by his untimely death. Previous also to this, La Salle and Tonti had descended the Mississippi ; and information derived from the latter and his party, may have enabled Hennepin to impose on the world a volume of surreptitious discoveries. Peter Ralen, the naturalist, a Swede of great respectability, in speaking of Hennepin, says : " He," (Hennepin,) " has gained little credit in Canada—the name of honor they give him there is, *the great liar*. He writes of what he saw in places *where he never was*." It would seem, therefore, that Hennepin is entitled to but little credit on the score of veracity ; and that his pretensions of having discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, are founded on fraud and imposture.

NOTE V.

On making the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle caused his notary, Le Metairie to give a Proces Verbal, to commemorate the event. This curious and important document was never published till translated from the archives of the Marine Department, at Paris, and given to the public in Spark's Biography of La Salle, published at Boston, 1844. We insert the document entire:

PROCES VERBAL

OF THE TAKING POSSESSION OF LOUISIANA, AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI, BY THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE, ON THE 9TH OF APRIL, 1682.

Jaques de la Metairie, Notary of Fort Frontenac in New-France, commissioned to exercise the said function of Notary, during the voyage to Louisiana, in North America, by M. de la Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac for the King, and commandant of the said Discovery, by the commission of his Majesty, given at St. Germain, on the 12th of May, 1678.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting;—Know, that, having been requested by the said Sieur de la Salle to deliver to him an act, signed by us and the witnesses therein named, of possession by him taken of the country of Louisiana, near the three mouths of the River Colbert, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the 9th of April, 1682.

In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, and of his heirs, and the successor of his crown, we, the aforesaid Notary, have delivered the said act to the said Sieur de la Salle, the tenor whereof follows:

On the 27th of December, 1681, M. de la Salle departed on foot to join M. de Tonty, who had preceded him with his followers, and all his equipage, forty leagues into the Miamis country, where the ice on the River Chekagou, in the country of the Mascoutens, had arrested his progress, and where, when the ice became stronger, they used sledges to drag the baggage, the canoes, and a wounded Frenchman, through the whole length of this river, and on the Illinois, a distance of seventy leagues.

At length, all the French being together, on the 25th of January, 1682, we came to Pimiteoui. From that place, the river being frozen only in some parts, we continued our route to the River Colbert, sixty leagues, or thereabouts, from Pimiteoui, and ninety leagues, or thereabouts, from the village of the Illinois. We reached the banks of the River Colbert on the 6th of January, and remained there until the 13th, waiting for the savages, whose progress had been impeded by the ice. On the 13th, all having assembled, we renewed our voyage, being twenty-two French, carrying arms, accompanied by the Reverend Father Zenobe Membré, one of the Recollect Missionaries, and followed by eighteen New-England savages, and several women, Ilgonquines, Otchipoises, and Huronnes.

On the 14th, we arrived at the village of Maroa, consisting of a hundred cabins, without inhabitants. Proceeding about a hundred leagues down the River Colbert, we went ashore to hunt on the 26th of February. A Frenchman was lost in the woods; and it was reported to M. de la Salle, that a large number of savages had been seen in the vicinity. Thinking that they might have seized the Frenchman, and in order to observe the savages, he marched through the woods during two days, but without finding them, because they had been frightened by the guns which they had heard, and had fled.

Returning to the camp, he sent in every direction French and savages on the search, with orders, if they fell in with savages, to take them alive without injury, that he might gain from them intelligence of this Frenchman. Gabriel Barbié, with two savages, having met five of the Chikacha nation, captured two of them. They were received with all possible kindness, and, after he had explained to them that he was anxious about a Frenchman, who had been lost; and that he only detained them that he might rescue him from their hands, if he was really among them, and afterward make with them an advantageous peace, (the French doing good to everybody,) they assured him that they had not seen the man whom we sought, but that peace would be received with the greatest satisfaction. Presents were then given to them, and, as they signified that one of their villages was not more than half a day's journey distant, M. de la Salle set out on the next day to go thither; but, after travelling till night, and having remarked that they often contradicted themselves in their discourse, he declined going farther, without more provisions. Having pressed them to tell the truth, they confessed it was yet four days' journey to their villages; and, perceiving that M. de la Salle was angry at having been deceived, they proposed that one of them should remain with him, while the other carried the news to the village, whence the elders would come and join them four days' journey below that place. The said Sieur de la Salle returned to the camp with one of these Chikachas; and the Frenchman, whom we sought, having been found, he continued his voyage, and passed the river of the Chepontias, and the village of Metsigameas. The fog, which was very thick, prevented his finding the passage which led to the rendezvous proposed by the Chikachas.

On the 12th of March, we arrived at the Kapaha village of Akansa. Having established a peace there, and taken possession, we passed, on the 15th, another of their villages, situate on the border of their river, and also two others, farther off in the depth of the forest, and arrived at that of Imaha, the largest village in this nation, where peace was confirmed, and where the chief acknowledged that the village belonged to his Majesty. Two Akansas embarked with M. de la Salle to conduct him to the Talusas, their allies, about fifty leagues distant, who inhabit eight villages upon the borders of a little lake. On the 19th, we passed the villages of Tourika, Jason, and Kouera; but, as they did not border on the river, and were hostile to the Akansas and Taensas, we did not stop there.

On the 20th, we arrived at the Taensas, by whom we were exceedingly well received, and supplied with a large quantity of provisions. M. de Tonty passed the night at one of their villages, where there were about seven hundred men carrying arms, assembled in the place Here again a peace was concluded. A peace was also made with the Koroas, whose chief came there from the principal village of the Koroas, two leagues distant from that of the Natches. The two chiefs accompanied M. de la Salle to the banks of the river. Here the Koroa chief embarked with him, to conduct him to the village, where peace was again concluded with this nation, which, besides the other villages of which it is composed, is allied to nearly forty others. On the 31st, we passed the village of the Oumas without knowing it, on account of the fog, and its distance from the river.

On the 3rd of April, at about ten o'clock in the morning, we saw among the canes thirteen or fourteen canoes. M. de la Salle landed, with several of his people. Footprints were seen, and also savages, a little lower down, who were fishing, and who fled precipitately, as soon as they discovered us. Others of our party then went ashore on the borders of the marsh, formed by the inundation of the river. M. de la Salle sent two Frenchmen, and then two savages, to reconnoitre, who reported that there was a village not far off, but that the whole of this marsh, covered with canes, must be crossed to reach it; that they had been assailed with a shower of arrows by the inhabitants of the town, who had not dared to engage with them in the marsh, but who had then withdrawn, although neither the French nor the savages with them had fired, on account of the orders they had received not to act unless in pressing danger. Presently we heard a drum beat in the village, and the cries and howlings with which these barbarians are accustomed to make attacks. We waited three or four hours, and, as we could not encamp in this marsh, and seeing no one, and no longer hearing anything, we embarked.

An hour afterward, we came to the village of Maheouala, lately destroyed, and containing dead bodies and marks of blood. Two leagues below this place we encamped. We continued our voyage till the 6th, when we discovered three channels, by which the River Colbert discharges itself into the sea. We landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from its mouth. On the 7th, M. de la Salle sent to reconnoitre the shores of the neighboring sea, and M. de Tonty likewise examined the great middle channel. They found these two outlets beautiful, large, and deep. On the 8th, we reascended the river, a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place, beyond the reach of inundations. The elevation of the North Pole was here about twenty-seven degrees. Here we prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column were affixed the arms of France, with this inscription:

LOUIS LE GRAND, ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, REGNE · LE NEUVIEME AVRIL, 1682.

The whole party, under arms, chanted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudiat*, the *Domine salvum fac Regem*; and then, after a salute of fire-arms and cries of *Vive le Roi*, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said, with a loud voice, in French:

"In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his Majesty, and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits; and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers, comprised in the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great River St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chukagona, and this with the consent of the Chouanons, Chikachas, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert, or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Ilinois, Mesigameas, Natches, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance either by ourselves, or by others in our behalf;* as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico, about the twenty-seventh degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the River of Palms; upon the assurance, which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert; hereby protesting against all those, who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people, or lands, above described, to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those that hear me, and demand an act of the Notary, as required by law."

To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, and with salutes of fire-arms. Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree, to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France, and the following Latin inscription:

LVDOVICVS MAGNVS REGNAT.
NONO APRILIS CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.
ROBERTVS CAVELIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTY, LEGATO, R. P. ZENOBIO MEMBRE, RECOLLECTO, ET VIGINTI GALLIS, PRIMVS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILINEORVM PAGO, ENAVIGAVIT, EJVSQVE OSTIVM FECIT PERVIVM, NONO APRILIS ANNI CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.

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* There is an obscurity in this enumeration of places and Indian nations, which may be ascribed to an ignorance of the geography of the country; but it seems to be the design of the Sieur de la Salle to take possession of the whole territory watered by the Mississippi, from its mouth to its source, and by the streams flowing into it on both sides.

After which, the Sieur de la Salle said, that his Majesty, as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown, without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the *Vexilla* and the *Domine salvum fac Regem* were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of *Vive le Roi.*

Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same, signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

La Metairie, *Notary.*

De la Salle.	Piere You.
P. Zenobe, *Recollect, Missionary.*	Gilles Meucret.
Henry De Tonty.	Jean Michel, *Surgeon.*
Francois de Boisrondet.	Jean Mas.
Jean Bourdon.	Jean Dulignon.
Sieur d'Autray.	Nicolas de la Salle.
Jaques Cauchois.	

NOTE VI.

La Salle's death is related by Joutel, in his Journal Historique, as follows:

"They all repaired to the place where the wretched corpse lay, which they barbarously stripped to the shirt, and vented their malice in vile and opprobrious language. The surgeon, Leotot, said several times, in scorn and derision: 'There thou liest, great Bassa, there thou liest." In conclusion, they dragged it naked among the bushes, and left it exposed to the ravenous wild beasts. So far was it from what a certain author writes of his having buried him, and set up a cross on his grave."

"Hennepin says: "He (La Salle,) was accompanied by Father Anastasi and two natives, who had served him as guides. After travelling for about six miles, they found the bloody cravat of Saget, (one of La Salle's men,) near the bank of a river, and at the same time, two eagles were hovering over their heads, as if attracted by food on the ground. La Salle fired his gun, which was heard by the conspirators on the other side of the river. Duhaut and L'Archiveque immediately crossed over at some distance in advance. La Salle approached, and meeting the latter, asked for Moringuet, and was answered vaguely, that he was along the river. At that moment, Duhaut, who was concealed in the high grass, discharged his musket, and shot him through the head. Father Anastasi was standing by his side, and expected to share the same fate, till the conspirators told him they had no design upon his life.

"La Salle survived about an hour, unable to speak, but pressing the hand of the good father, to signify that he understood what was said to him. The same kind friend dug his grave and buried him, and erected a cross over his remains."

Duhaut assumed command of the conspirators, seized the effects of La Salle and those who adhered to him, and took up their line of march toward the savages.

CHAPTER VIII.

English Revolution in 1688—The prototype of our own—Rise of Holland-Dutch, East and West India companies—Henry or Hendrick Hudson—New-York colonized by the Dutch—Taken by the English in 1664—The Iroquois allies of the Dutch—Afterward of the English—The only barrier between the English settlements and the French of Canada—The English Indians, (the Iroquois,) and the French Indians, (the Hurons, Illinois, and others,) become parties in the wars of Europe—Catholic missions established among the Onondagas—Abandoned—War between the French and Iroquois—Western New-York severed from Canada by the Mohawks—Montreal taken by the latter—Congress at Albany—The Six Nations attend—Frontinac reappointed Governor of Canada—Holds a council with the Western Indians—Schenectady and other towns, destroyed—Jesuit missionaries in Illinois—Allouez Rasles—Pinet—Binnitau, his death—Marest succeeds him—Marmet, afterward—Ibberville appointed Governor of Louisiana—Builds fort Biloxi—Colonizes Louisiana—A line of fortified forts between New-Orleans and Quebec completed—Sir David Kirk attacks Quebec—It surrenders for want of provisions—Is restored to France by treaty—Congress at Albany—Colonel Nicholson captures Port Royal and Acadia—Colonel Schuyler visits England—Takes Iroquois chiefs thither—They are presented to Queen Ann—Sir Hoveden Walker, under the auspices of Lord Bolingbroke, sails for Quebec—Is shipwrecked, and the expedition abandoned—Louis XIV. desires peace—It is granted to him, and signed at Utrecht in 1713, the peace party having previously triumphed in England—Canada and Louisiana confirmed to France—England becomes false to the principles she had avowed, "that free ships make free goods"—Louisiana granted to Crozat—Its extent—Illinois included in the grant—De La Motte appointed Governor of Louisiana—St. Denys sent as agent to Mexico—Spaniards seize upon Texas—Bienville succeeds De La Motte as governor—Crozat surrenders his patent to the crown.

Soon after the death of La Salle, in 1687—when the arms and religion of France, (closely united,) were permanently established, to all human appearances, not only in Canada, but in Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland, in a part of Maine, a part of Vermont, and more than one half of New-York; in the whole valley of the Mississippi, and in Texas, as far as the Rio Bravo del Norte—James the Second, of England, abdicated its throne, and fled to the Continent. On his arrival in France, he was received by his friend and ally, Louis XIV., "with the highest generosity, sympathy and regard," and lodged in splendor at St. Germains.

It may, perhaps, here be asked, what had the abdication of a British monarch, in 1688, to do with the history of Illinois? We answer, much. It unburied the tomahawk. It aroused the savage warrior from his lair, and wrapt whole villages in flames. Its native and French population participated in all its vicissitudes, and even he, who was afterward its governor, (Ibberville,) was a volunteer in the midnight attack upon Schenectady, and there signalized himself by an act of mercy. It had, too, another effect—it laid the foundation of our glorious Revolution. In the wars between England and France that followed the event above referred to, the same questions were agitated between the prince and people of England, which severed the British empire afterward in twain. Every argument for and against ship money, might have been pleaded for and against the Stamp Act. The right of self-government in the people of England, was as distinctly avowed by Parliament in the act of settlement, transferring the crown to William of Orange, as in the American Declaration of Independence. Still, English historians speak of theirs, as a glorious revolution, and of ours, as a successful rebellion. There is also another point of resemblance. The tomahawk and the scalping-knife were employed by Louis XIV., " in the cause of legitimacy," precisely as they were by George III. and his emissaries, when our ancestors, in 1775, " unfurled their banners to the breeze."

In the war between England and France, concluded by the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, and also in the war which commenced on the death of William of Orange, and was afterward concluded by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, Louis of France took up arms in defence of legitimacy. England, on the other hand, asserted the right of self-government. In both contests, France was aided by all those powers unfriendly to change. Having encroached, however, upon every neighbor, and threatened Europe with universal monarchy, during the long and apparently triumphant and prosperous reign of Louis XIV., fear, and a sense of wrong, made every nation upon the Continent her enemy. William of Orange, (now King of England,) before he ascended its throne, was at variance with Louis, and that enmity was in no respect impaired by his subsequent elevation. In the wars, therefore, which succeeded, he was not only the defender of England against the encroachments of France, but he was also the defender of the territorial freedom of Europe. The German empire feared the power, and trembled at the name of Louis. Germany became, therefore, the ally of England. The Spanish Netherlands, lying between Germany and France, and a barrier between Holland and the latter, followed her example. Other nations upon the Continent, entertaining similar fears, and threatened by Louis with subjugation, embarked also in the contest. An issue was thereupon joined between England, Germany and the Netherlands, on the one side, and France on the other.

In this contest, the roving enterprise, and religious faith of the French colonists, secured to Louis XIV. an active support.

The English colonies, on the other hand, sided heartily with England. The revolution which had just taken place, was regarded by them as the pledge of American freedom; and the exile of a tyrant, followed by the election of a constitutional king, in their estimation, the exhibition of its first fruits.

In 1688, the whole number of French colonists in North America, was only eleven thousand two hundred and forty-nine; and those were scattered along the St. Lawrence, through the whole extent of its valley, and from the neighborhood of Frontenac or Kingston, to Mackinaw and the Illinois. The English, at that time, far exceeded them in numbers, and were scattered along the Atlantic coasts and rivers. The savages then were important allies. Hence the French, and also the English, (sometimes honorably, and sometimes otherwise,) sought their friendship.

The forest rangers, who penetrated every grove, and the Jesuit missionaries, who visited every Algonquin's cabin, and the homes of the Sioux, the Illinois, the Miamies, and the Pottawatomies, were to France the origin and the end of all her hopes. Denonville, Governor of Canada, in speaking of the year 1688, says, " God alone could have saved Canada this year. But for the missions at the west, Illinois would have been abandoned—the fort of Mackinaw would have been lost; and a general rising among the natives, have completed the ruin of New-France."

Previous to the time of which we have been speaking, the United Netherlands, by incessant toil, had emerged into consequence. A country of limited extent, stolen, as it were, from the sea, and protected from its encroachments by extensive embankments, and numerous pumps driven by windmills, had become, in a few years, the richest in Europe. The muster of her patriot emigrants was on board her ships, and the rendezvous of her martyrs on the deep. They had pursued their enemies as the whaler his game, from sea to sea. Every house was a school for mariners, and the sports, even of children, were among the breakers. A boat was the infant's toy; and a ship, laboring on the billows without oars and without a sail, stamped upon her coin. Without agriculture, Holland had become a granary for the Continent; without flax, the residence of weavers; without sheep, the manufacturer of woollens; and without forests, the ship-yard and workshop of Europe. Amsterdam, her chief town, had become the pride and the glory of cities; and Antwerp, and Lisbon, and Cadiz, and Venice, had been despoiled to do her service.*

In 1600, the plan of a West India company was presented to the States General, and referred to a committee, of which the celebrated Grotius was a member. The United Provinces, it was said, had mariners and capital to spare, and America was unable to exhaust their enterprise; the sea itself was their home, and the storm and the tempest but playthings. On the other hand, it was urged by those who desired peace with Spain, (and of this number was Grotius,) that wars, at all events, were uncertain; and that the sea itself was treacherous. This last opinion predominating, the charter, of course, was refused.

The Dutch, however, soon found their way to the Continent, through another and a different channel.

Some English merchants, excited by the enormous profits of voyages to the East, as early as 1606, equipped and sent a vessel in search of a passage thither. Its command was intrusted to a Dutchman, by the name of Henry or Hendrick Hudson.

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* Bancroft.

Hudson, in their employment, made two unsuccessful voyages. He afterward went to Amsterdam, and tendered his services to the Dutch East India company. They were immediately accepted, and a vessel called the Crescent at once awaited his commands. On the 4th of April, 1609, he embarked in pursuit of a northwest passage as before. His voyage, however, was interrupted by fields of ice, extending from Continent to Continent. He therefore turned his course to the south, and sailed along the American coast as far as Virginia. Then turning to the north, the Crescent on the 3rd of September, 1609, anchored within Sandy Hook. He afterward sailed through the Narrows, ascended the river which bears his name as far as Hudson—sent a boat to the north of Albany, and was there welcomed by the Mohawks.

He afterward descended the river, and on the 4th of October sailed for Europe. The adventures of this extraordinary seaman, deserving as they do perpetuation for ever, our readers, we have no doubt, will pardon a short digression, in order to recite his fate. On the 17th of April, 1610, he embarked in a like perilous expedition, got encompassed among icebergs, and being short of provisions, his crew mutinied. After dividing his last bread among his men, and weeping as he gave it them, he was seized by the mutineers, and with his only son and seven others, a part of whom were sick, thrust forcibly into a boat and left in the open sea. Philip Stoffe, the carpenter, seeing his commander thus exposed, sought and obtained permission to share his fate; and as the shallop was cut loose, leaped on board and became his companion. Hudson was never heard of more. The wide expanse of waters known and distinguished as Hudson's Bay, is his tomb and his monument.*

An agent of the Dutch East India company, having first discovered and ascended the Hudson, the whole country adjacent was claimed for the United Provinces; and in 1610, some merchants, residing at Amsterdam, fitted out a ship to trade with the natives. The voyage being prosperous, was afterward repeated; and in 1613, three or four rude hovels were erected on the island of Manhattan. The foundation of the city of New-York, containing at the present time three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, was thus laid two hundred and thirty years ago, by a few mariners and Indian traders, by accident.

In the following year, a Dutch trading-house was established near Albany, just below the present city. Owing, however, to intestine commotions at home, (a party there being opposed to colonization,) New-Netherlands, (now New-York,) advanced but slowly. In 1621, the Dutch West India company was incorporated, to which the States General, intent chiefly on promoting trade, gave five hundred thousand guilders, and subscribed a similar amount in stock. The company was to form and execute its own plans, and provide for its own security. It was authorized to conquer provinces, only however, at its own expense, the States General being known merely as allies or patrons. A little nation of merchants, thus without scruple gave away Continents. The year 1623, properly speaking, was the commencement of colonization in New-York. Cottages began at this time to cluster around the block-house on Manhattan Island, and Peter Minuits, the commercial agent of the Dutch West India company, for six years held the office of governor. This, we are told, was "the day of straw roofs, wooden chimneys, and windmills." The Dutch West India company, having been incorporated principally with a view to reprisals upon Spanish commerce, it answered admirably the object of its creation. The merchant-warriors of Amsterdam conducted their naval expeditions like princes; and the fleets of Spain and Portugal, for several years enriched the island of Manhattan. In 1646, Peter Stuyvesant, (then) from the West Indies, "a soldier of experience," and a "scholar of some learning" arrived, and took upon himself the government of the province. The country gained also by emigration, and merchants began to congregate upon the island. Governor Stuyvesant, it is said, was at times a "little headstrong." If, however, he displayed the rashness of a soldier, his employers reproved him. If he changed the rate of duties arbitrarily, the merchant-princes, ever sensitive to commercial honor, charged him "to keep every contract inviolate." If he tampered with the currency, by raising the value of foreign coin, they rebuked him for dishonesty. If he attempted to fix the price of labor by arbitrary rules, he was told that it was unwise and insupportable. If he interfered with the merchants, by inspecting their accounts, the deed was considered "as a measure without precedent in Christendom," and he was ordered "to treat the merchants with kindness." If his zeal for Calvinism led him to persecute those of a different creed, he was chid for his bigotry. If his hatred for "the abominable sect called Quakers" led him to imprison them, he was told by the directors, that freedom of conscience was a blessed thing, and had made Amsterdam "the asylum of fugitives from every land." New-Amsterdam thus became what New-York now is, a "city of the world."* Although its governor was frequently wrong, he was sometimes right, and this, on account of its rarity, was a subject of commendation. Freedom of opinion in religious matters being thus established by law, multitudes allured thither by traffic, including the outcasts of every country and clime, made the island of Manhattan their permanent residence. Holland, for many years, had been a gathering place for the unfortunate. It became now a channel, through which French Protestants, who had escaped the massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve, and their descendants; those who had listened to the voice of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the relics of the first fruits of the Reformation; wanderers from Palestine, who had worshipped on Zion's mount, and drank of Siloam's fountain; the Waldenses of Germany; farmers and laborers, foreigners and exiles, men inured to toil and penury, were, by the aid of Providence, conducted to milder districts and "more genial climes."* New-Amsterdam, we are told by its historian, in a short time "vied almost with Boston." Its burgomasters, in writing home, observed: "This happily situated province may become the granary of our fatherland. Should our Netherlands be wasted by grievous wars, it will offer our countrymen a safe retreat. By God's blessing, we shall in a few years become a mighty people." This prediction has since been verified, though under different auspices. A difficulty soon arose between the people and the governor. The power of the former was unknown. In the act of incorporation they were entirely overlooked. No concession of legislative power was given them. They met, however, in convention, and (feeling strong, as large bodies of men frequently do,) without instructions, became satisfied of their right to oppose the governor, especially in the levying and collecting of taxes. Town-meetings were thereupon prohibited, and discontents multiplied exceedingly. The governor had no faith in "the wavering multitude;" and even doubted their capacity for self-government. He, therefore, replied to the arguments of the convention by an act of power. "We," said the governor, "derive our authority from God, and the West India company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects." He therefore dissolved the convention, commanding its members to separate on pain of imprisonment.

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* Bancroft.

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* Bancroft.

Intelligence of these proceedings soon reached the West India company in Holland; they immediately declared that resistance was "contrary to the maxims of every enlightened government," and wrote to the governor to have "no regard to the consent of the people." "Let them," say the company, "no longer indulge the visionary dream that taxes can be imposed only with their consent." The colonists, notwithstanding, dreamed on, and taxes were uncollected as before. The people of New-England, in the meantime, claimed New-Netherlands, by virtue of a prior grant, and "were steadily advancing toward the Hudson." (The patents issued by the English sovereigns, it will be borne in mind, extended to the South Sea, or the Pacific Ocean.) In this dilemma, Governor Stuyvesant repaired to Boston. A discussion then ensued, (the Yankees, then as well as now, being always ready for discussion.) In the course of it, the Dutch negotiators asked, "Where then is New Netherlands? The Yankees replied: "We do not know." The question, indeed, from its nature, was calculated to puzzle men more acute than the latter. The inquiry, notwithstanding its difficulty, was soon answered, as will appear in the sequel.

In New Netherlands, there was no popular freedom, and of course, no public spirit. In New-England, the people, in times of danger, rose as one man, and defended themselves; in New-Netherlands, they marched with reluctance, even to defend a neighboring village assailed by savages. "Let the West India company," said they, "protect them: they claim to be their sovereigns."

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* Bancroft.

Necessity at last wrung concession from the governor, and delegates, in the spring of 1664, met in convention. They first remonstrated against the acts of the governor; in the next place they complained because the colony was without defence; and, foreseeing the necessity of submission to the English, demanded of the governor: "If you cannot protect us, to whom shall we apply for aid?" The governor proposed that every third man, as in Holland, should enlist. The people, however, were unwilling to expose their lives for the West India company, and the company refused to expend its means in their service. The island of Manhattan was, therefore, undefended. The governor had previously expressed his fears: "To ask aid," said he, "of the English villages, would be to invite the 'Trojan Horse,' within our walls. The inhabitants declare that the Dutch never had a right to this country." Previous, however, to all this, half of Long Island had submitted; the settlements on the Æsopas then wavered; and "the Connecticut men" had purchased of the Indians all the sea-board as far as the North River.

The King of England, (Charles II.) by letters patent, had granted New-Netherlands to his brother, the Duke of York, (afterward James II.,) and Richard Nichols, groom to the duke, had arrived with an English squadron, and without opposition, anchored in the bay. Having summoned the town, a committee of its citizens went on board, and inquired of him the cause of his presence. Winthrop, of Connecticut, a great lover of peace, who had accompanied Nichols thither, advised his personal friends, (and he had many such in New-Amsterdam,) to offer no resistance. The governor, however, was still unsatisfied. "The surrender," said he, "will be reproved in the fatherland." The burgomasters, however, called a meeting of the principal inhabitants, at the public hall; and they, instead of resisting the invasion, drew up a protest against the governor; and a committee of their own members repairing to the fleet, asked the commander when they might visit him again. "On Thursday," said he, "for to-morrow I will speak to you at Manhattan." On the next day, September 8, 1664, a capitulation was effected. The Dutch power in New-Netherlands ceased to exist; the names of Manhattan and New-Amsterdam became at once merged in that of New-York. A colonial assembly was convened. Avarice paid homage to freedom: the persons and property of the Dutch were secured; and the English and Dutch colonists, who had for many years been friends, "like kindred drops were mingled into one."

The league which had existed between the Six Nations and the Dutch was renewed, and peace and plenty apparently reigned.

In 1678, sixty-five years after its first settlement, the island of Manhattan contained three thousand souls, and the whole colony about twenty thousand. A thousand pounds made a man opulent, and five hundred, rich. The frontiers of New-York had then no available barrier against encroachments from Canada, except in the reputation and valor of the Iroquois. They had for a long time been allies of the Dutch. "The Dutch," said they, "are our brethren; with them we keep but one council-fire. We are united by a covenant-chain." No sooner had the Dutch power ceased in New-York, than the Iroquois became allies of the English. The Iroquois at that time consisted of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. Of these, the Mohawks were the most numerous and powerful. Before Champlain founded Quebec, the Mohawks had extended their ravages from the St. Lawrence to Virginia; and a Mohawk sachem was much respected, even in Massachusetts. When the French invaded New-York from the north, the Dutch at the south were their friends. "We have always," said their warriors, "been as one flesh. If the Frenchmen come from Canada, we will join the Dutch nation, and live or die with them." This declaration was confirmed by presents of wampum. The Iroquois having received, in violation of every principle, fire-arms from the Dutch, renewed their hereditary warfare with the Hurons. The Eries on the southern shore of the lake which commemorates their existence, were immediately defeated and almost extirpated. The Alleghanies near Pittsburgh next felt their vengeance; and the Miamies and the Illinois had no effectual barrier against their invasion, except an alliance with the French. The western tribes, taking sides generally with the latter, were in common parlance designated as French Indians, and the Iroquois, or Five Nations and their allies, as British Indians; and thenceforward became involved in the wars and struggles of Europe.

Previous to the surrender of New-Amsterdam, and as early as 1655, a Jesuit mission was established at Onondaga, and the savages in that vicinity became more or less susceptible of religious impressions. "A chapel sprang into existence, and by the zeal of the natives was finished in a day;" and the services of the Romish church were for some time chanted as securely as in any part of Christendom. The savage nature was, however, unchanged. When, therefore, a war of extermination against the Eries was waged, the hunting-grounds of the Onondagas became a scene of carnage, and men, women, and children were burnt at the stake, as before. "Our lives," said one of the missionaries, "are not safe." Border collisions thereafter ensued. Some Oneidas having murdered three Frenchmen, the French retaliated by seizing three Iroquois. A conspiracy having at length been formed against the missionaries, and the latter, having solicited reinforcements from Canada in vain, they abandoned their chapel, their cabins, their hearths, and the valley of the Oswego; and the French and the Five Nations were again at war.* A few of the western tribes wavered occasionally in their faith; but the surrender of New-Netherlands made them finally the dependents of the English. In 1684, the offending tribes (the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas,) met the Governors of New-York and Virginia, at Albany, and, in the language of a once celebrated chief, "planted a tree whose top should touch the sun, and whose branches should be seen afar." They also buried the tomahawk, and chanted the song of peace. Although England and France for many years thereafter, sought their friendship with various success, when the grand division of parties throughout Europe was effected, the Bourbons found in the Iroquois implacable opponents; and in the struggle that afterward ensued between England and France, they became the allies of the former, and their hunting-grounds were transformed into battle-fields. Western New-York, it would seem, then, was severed from Canada by the valor of the Mohawks.

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* Bancroft.

When France, in 1689, declared war against England, Count Frontenac (reappointed to the government of Canada,) was charged, among other things, to make a descent on New-York, to assist the French fleet in its conquest. So confident, indeed, was Louis XIV. of success, that De Calliers was in advance appointed its governor. Frontenac embarked with that view, but on reaching the St. Lawrence, heard that Montreal had been taken and burnt by the Indians.

On the 26th of August in that year, fifteen hundred Iroquois warriors reached the island of Montreal at break of day, and finding the whole population of La Chine asleep, set fire to their houses, and commenced a general massacre. More than two hundred persons, in less than forty minutes, met their death in ways and forms too horrible for description. Marching immediately from thence to the town itself, they made two hundred prisoners, and after a severe skirmish, in which many were slain, became masters of the fort and town, and remained in possession of both till the October following. Denonville, who commanded, in a moment of consternation, ordered Fort Frontenac to be evacuated and razed; and in less than one month, scarcely a French town or fort between Three Rivers and Mackinaw remained.

In September of that year, commissioners from New-England held a conference at Albany with the Mohawks. A Mohawk chief there rose, and among other things, said: "We have burned Montreal, we are allies of the English, we will keep the chain unbroken."

Frontenac, in the meantime, (himself a host,) had reached Quebec. A new scene was immediately opened. French diplomacy, in a moment, pervaded the whole west. An alliance with all the tribes between Lake Ontario and the Mississippi followed, of course. Jesuit missionaries, Indian traders from the plains of the Sioux; Tonti, the French commandant at Rock Fort, on the Illinois; Durantaye, the commander of Mackinaw; Ottaways, and Chippeways, Hurons, Miamies, and Pottawatomies, were present, and all in their order were called upon to unbury the hatchet—why, and wherefore, it would perhaps be difficult here to tell. A war, however, between England and France was then raging. A British Parliament had elected a sovereign who was not of the royal line—that sovereign was at enmity with Louis XIV., at whose court James the Second then resided, and the Indians of the Far West, through the influence of Jesuit missionaries, had become his allies.

In October, 1689, the Iroquois abandoned Montreal, and its possession was resumed by the French. Frontenac, having used every effort in his power to win the Five Nations to his friendship, and failed in the attempt; supposed and believed, as he naturally would, that to gain their esteem, and to enable Durantaye, the commander of Mackinaw, to treat successfully with the Hurons, the Ottaways, and other savage tribes, much was required, resolved immediately to make several vigorous descents into the English settlements. Previous, however, to his doing so, he summoned a grand council of Indian warriors at Montreal, and accompanied by veteran officers from Europe, repaired thither in person. There, as a representative of the Gallic monarch, claiming to be the bulwark of Christendom—Count Frontenac, himself a peer of France, now in his seventieth year, placed the murderous hatchet in the hands of his allies; and with the tomahawk in his own grasp, chanted the war-song, danced the war-dance, and listened, apparently with delight, to threats of savage vengeance. Immediately thereafter, a party of one hundred and ten French and Indians, with De Montet and Saint Helena, as their leaders, and De Ibberville, the hero of Hudson's Bay, afterward governor of Louisiana, (including Illinois,) as a volunteer, left Montreal on a marauding expedition; and wading through snows and morasses, through forests, deemed before impervious to white men, and across rivers bridged with frost; arrived on the 18th of February, 1690, twenty-two days after leaving Montreal, in sight of Schenectady, (then a small village,) upon the Mohawk river. Its inhabitants, unconscious of danger, were wrapt in sleep. Even its gates were left open and unguarded. About midnight the invaders entered, and the war-whoop was at once raised in their very midst. Their buildings were set on fire, and a general massacre commenced. Some fled naked through the snow to Albany—some fell victims to the scalping-knife and tomahawk: sixty were immediately killed, of whom seventeen were children. The darkness of the night, the blaze of their dwellings, the ghastly looks of the dead, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of women and children, and the midnight yells of the exasperated savages, urged on to deeds of carnage by French auxiliaries, presented a scene of horror which sets description at defiance.

A party from Three Rivers, consisting of fifty-two persons only, commanded by Hertel, three of whom were his sons and two his nephews, on the 27th of March, 1690, fell upon an English settlement on the Piscataqua, and after a bloody engagement, burnt houses, barns, and cattle in their stalls, and captured fifty-four persons, chiefly women and children. The prisoners, laden with spoils rifled from their once peaceful dwellings, were compelled by their savage victors to carry burdens, in retreating, beyond their strength. One of their number rejecting his, was bound to a tree, and dried leaves being laid around and set on fire, perished by slow and lingering torments. A young and delicate girl of fifteen, bursting into tears, from excessive fatigue, was tomahawked and scalped. A mother, lingering behind to still her babe, lest its cries should disturb her savage master, was torn by violence from her infant, its brains dashed out against a tree, and its body hung on the branches. The child of another was thrown into the river, in order that its mother, eased of her burden, might travel more speedily. Another attack was made at the same time, with like success, upon a settlement in Maine. Such barbarous deeds, however, were sometimes, and not very unfrequently, avenged. The English colonists retaliated, and the forests resounded with the cries of women and children. (See note.)

Louis XIV. had now become old, and his ambition, in some measure, had ceased. Those brave and talented men, who for many years had directed his councils and commanded his armies, were no more. "The great Colbert," who had once reduced his finances to order, was dead. Luxembourgh, "the victor of a hundred battle-fields," had gone to render up his final accounts; and the wise Catinat was no longer a favorite. The numerous and extensive wars which he had waged, "merely for glory," enfeebled France, and exhausted her resources. The monarch, who thought he commanded victory, and expected genius to start up at his bidding, by an excess of royal vanity, had more than once degraded his councils, and disgraced his arms. And if the measure of his shame was at any time unfilled, Eugene and Marlborough supplied the deficiency.

The settlements in Illinois, during this period, advanced slowly. Allouez succeeded Marquette in a mission to the Miamies, and died among them. Gravier succeeded Allouez at the Jesuit mission, in Kaskaskia, or "the village of the immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin." Sebastian Rasles, after passing a winter at Mackinaw, came to Illinois in 1693, where he remained two years, and during that period was a fellow-laborer with Gravier. The latter ascertained the principles of the Illinois language, and reduced them to rules. He also, in the midst of perils, and in opposition to sorcerers, began the first establishment in Kaskaskia destined to endure. When Gravier was recalled, two missionaries, Pinet and Binnitau, came hither. Pinet founded Cahokia, and preached with great success to the natives of that vicinity. His chapel could accommodate but a part only of the multitudes that thronged around him. Binnitau, following the tribe to which he was attached, in a July ramble, to their hunting-grounds, on the upland plains of the Mississippi, and being seized with a mortal fever, left his bones to whiten on the prairie. After the death of Pinet and Binnitau, Gabriel Marest joined the mission, and for some time had the whole under his charge. "Our life," said Marest, "is passed in rambling through thick woods, in climbing over hills, in paddling the canoe across lakes and rivers, to catch a poor savage who flies from us, and whom we can neither tame by teachings nor caresses."

The Peorias, requesting the establishment of a mission among them, Marest, on Good Friday, in 1711, left Kaskaskia for that purpose, and on the second day thereafter reached Cahokia. An account of his journey we subjoin. "I departed," says he, "having nothing about me but my crucifix and breviary, being accompanied by only three savages, who might abandon me from levity, or for fear of enemies might fly. The horror of these vast, uninhabited forest-regions, where, in twelve days not a soul was met, took away my courage. Here was a journey where there was no village, no bridge, no ferry, no boat, no house, no beaten path; and over boundless prairies, intersected by rivulets and rivers, through forests and thickets, filled with briers and thorns, through marshes, where we plunged sometimes to the girdle. At night repose was sought on the grass, or on leaves exposed to wind and rain—happy, if by the side of some rivulet of which a draught might quench thirst, a meal was prepared from such game as was killed on the way, or by roasting ears of corn."

Early in the eighteenth century, Marest was joined at Kaskaskia by Marmet. The fervid eloquence of the latter, says Marest, made him the soul of the mission. His pupils, at early dawn, attended church neatly and modestly dressed in a large deer-skin, or in a robe made of several. After receiving lessons, they chanted canticles. Mass was then said in presence of the French and the converts; the women on one side, and the men on the other. From prayer and instructions the missionaries proceeded to visit the sick, and administer medicine, and their skill, as physicians, did more than anything else to win confidence. In the afternoon the catechism was taught in presence of the young and old, where every one, without distinction of rank or age, answered the questions of the missionary. In the evening, all assembled at the chapel for instruction, for prayer, and to chant the hymns of the church. On Sundays and festivals, and after vespers, a homily was pronounced. At the close of the day, parties met in each other's cabins to recite the chaplet in alternate choirs, and sing psalms in the night. Their psalms were often homilies, with the words set to familiar tunes. Saturday and Sunday were the days appointed for confession and communion; and every convert confessed once in a fortnight. The success of the mission was such, that marriages of the French emigrants were solemnized with the daughters of the Illinois, according to the rites of the Catholic church. The occupation of the territory by the French, it will therefore be seen, was, in fact, nothing more or less than a cantonment of Europeans among the native proprietors of the forests and prairies.

The military occupations of Illinois seem to have been continued without interruption. After La Salle's return from Canada, Joutel, in 1687, found a garrison at Fort St. Louis. La Houtan speaks of it in 1689, and in 1696 a public document proves its existence, and the wish of Louis

XIV. to preserve it in good condition. When Tonti descended the Mississippi, in 1700, twenty Canadian residents in Illinois, it appears, accompanied him thither.

In 1699, Lemoine de Ibberville was appointed governor of Louisiana, and arrived with a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, hovered for some time on its coasts, in search of the settlement made by La Salle, and not finding it as he anticipated, landed, and built a fort at old Biloxi, twelve miles west of Pensacola river, or bay. We need not, perhaps, here remark, that the State of Illinois, from that time forward, was included in, and became a part of Louisiana.

Ibberville, like his predecessors Champlain and La Salle, was fit for any, and almost every undertaking. The most skillful naval officer in the service of France; as calm amid the crash of icebergs in Hudson's Bay, as in a vernal shower; the capturer of Pemaquid; the successful invader of Newfoundland; the victor in several naval engagements; a volunteer in the midnight attack upon Schenectady, (before related,) where he signalized himself by an act of clemency—he now sought, and obtained a commission from his sovereign, (Louis XIV.) to establish a direct intercourse between France and the Mississippi. On the 27th of February, 1699, he entered the river in two barges, accompanied by his brother, Bienville, and forty-eight men, one of whom was a Franciscan monk, who had accompanied La Salle thither some years before. He ascended the Mississippi as far up as the village of the Bayagoulas, an Indian tribe which then dwelt on the river Ibberville. They worshipped an opossum as their manitou, and preserved in their temples an undying fire. Ibberville found there a letter from Tonti to La Salle, dated in 1686, carefully preserved.* On his return he gave names to Lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, which they have since retained.

Having erected a fort with four bastions, and mounted twelve cannon, at the head of the bay of Biloxi, upon a sandy shore, he claimed jurisdiction over the whole country, from the Rio del Norte to the confines of Pensacola. He afterward sailed for France, leaving his two brothers, Sauville and Bienville, in command. Prosperity, however, was impossible, and his followers, under a burning sun, sighed for the refreshing breezes of Hudson's Bay. The success of colonization, in a great measure, depends on the reputation, character, and resources of the first colonists. They impress their own seal upon all their work, which time only can efface. Two descriptions of colonists came out with Ibberville.

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* The letter above referred to was procured from an Indian Chief, and directed to M. de la Salle, Governor of Louisiana. It was as follows:

"At the village of the Quinipissas, 20th of April, 1685. Sir: Having found the column, on which you had placed the arms of France, overthrown by the driftwood floated thither by the tide, I caused a new one to be erected, about seven leagues from the sea, where I left a letter suspended from a tree. All the nations have sung the calumet. These people fear us extremely, since your attack upon their village. I close by saying, that it gives me great uneasiness to be obliged to return under the misfortune of not having found you. Two canoes have examined the coast thirty leagues toward Mexico, and twenty-five toward Florida."

The first, were unaccustomed to manual labor; but they possessed enterprise, and expected to gather fortunes from the gold and silver mines, and from the Indian trade. The second, and much the most numerous, were poor and idle, and instead of their own industry, expected to subsist on the bounty of Government. That both should have been disappointed in their expectations is very natural, and ought not, therefore, to excite surprise. During the first thirteen years after Ibberville's expedition to the Mississippi, two thousand five hundred settlers had been transported thither; few of them ever returned; and yet such were their sufferings and hardships, brought on principally by their own improvidence, that in 1712, Louisiana contained but four hundred whites, twenty negro slaves, and three hundred head of cattle. During the same period, 689,000 livres had been expended by Government, in order to promote its settlement. Depending on the public for those supplies which the lands in their vicinity were calculated to yield in abundance, with but little labor, they made no efforts of their own, except in their attempts to discover mines, and acquire fortunes by trading in furs. The settlements in Illinois were more prosperous. The climate was favorable to health, and the soil prolific. The inhabitants pursued agriculture, not as a primary, but as a secondary object. Still, however, such was its fertility, that the first inhabitants of Illinois never suffered for provisions, and being exempt from Indian wars, they were enabled to prosecute their trade with considerable success, and always in safety.

A line of fortified posts now existed between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico. The English, jealous of the French, previous to the expedition of Ibberville, became more so thereafter, and during the absence of the latter, an attempt was made by the English to deface the letters which had been carved by the Jesuit missionaries upon the forest trees, at every conspicuous point, between the Gulf of Mexico and the castle of St. Louis, in Quebec. Hennipen, while in England was taken into pay by the king, (William of Orange,) and published a new edition of his travels; in which, to bar the French title derived from its first discovery, he falsely pretended that he (Hennipen) had descended the river, previous to the expedition of La Salle. This work, dedicated to the king, was published at the very time the fort at Biloxi was in progress. Soon afterward, Bienville, who succeeded Ibberville in the command, while exploring the numerous channels of the Mississippi, below New-Orleans, met an English ship of sixteen guns, ascending the stream, commanded by one Barr. Bienville, asserting the French supremacy thereto, the English captain giving heed to his assertion, turned back; and the bend in the river where this interview occurred, was named, and is still called, "The English Turn."

On board the English squadron was a French Protestant, who, having fled from religious persecution, had taken refuge in Carolina. He presented a petition to Bienville. stating, that if the king would allow them the free exercise of their religion, four hundred Protestant families would remove thither immediately. Their petition being presented to the king, he observed, that "He had not expelled them from his kingdom to form a republic of them."

Ibberville died afterward at Havana, on the 9th of July, 1706, of a fever, brought on by excessive fatigue. In him, the colonists and the French navy lost a hero worthy of regret. His brother, Bienville, remained with a few soldiers, wretched and unhappy. After listening for awhile to the buzz of mosquitoes, the hissing of serpents, the croaking of frogs, and the cries of alligators, claiming the whole country as the inheritance of reptiles, he died also; and Louisiana, although William of Orange had said he would leap over twenty stumbling blocks to effect its reduction, remained a colony of France, as before.

Canada, for many years, had annoyed the English colonies exceedingly. From them had issued those mercenary hordes, that overrun and destroyed the frontier settlements. Several attempts had already been made to effect its conquest, all of which had failed, for want of means, or judgment or discretion in their commander.

As early as 1628, Sir David Kirk and his brothers were commissioned to ascend the St. Lawrence, and reduce Quebec. Champlain was then its commander. Destitute of provisions and military stores, it had no hope but in the character of Champlain. Being summoned to surrender, his bold defiance intimidated the assailants, and they withdrew. Receiving, however, no supplies from Richelieu, as promised, the garrison was reduced to the verge of famine; and when Kirk afterward reappeared, the English were hailed as deliverers, and the famished garrison became suppliants for food. Before its conquest, however, peace had been proclaimed between France and England, and Quebec, on the 14th of April, 1629, was restored.

In 1690, the first American Congress was held at Albany. The object was, to protect the colonies against invasion from Canada; and for that purpose, the reduction of the latter was contemplated. The plan originated in the Legislature of Massachusetts, and letters from the General Court were sent to all the colonies, as far south as Maryland. It was then resolved that an army should be sent against Montreal, by way of Lake Champlain; while a fleet from Massachusetts should attack Quebec. The fleet from Massachusetts, consisting of thirty-four sail, commanded by Sir William Phipps, on the 16th of October, 1690, arrived at Quebec, and demanded its surrender. Two days before this, Frontenac had arrived, and when the demand was made, the herald was dismissed with scoffs. The garrison being more numerous than the assailants, and the expedition by land having failed, they withdrew. On its return it was scattered by storms, and several of the vessels were wrecked.

In 1710, the project was again renewed, and a fleet and army from Europe were to be sent thither. Massachusetts and Rhode Island were to send twelve hundred men to Quebec, and the middle colonies fifteen hundred to Montreal.

Before the expedition was ready to sail, Col. Nicholson had conquered the whole of Acadia, including Port Royal its, capital; or perhaps more properly speaking, one hundred and fifty-six famished Frenchmen, on his approach, marched out with the honors of war, to beg food as alms. Flushed with victory, he repaired immediately to England, to urge forward the expedition against Canada. At the same time, Col. Schuyler from Albany, accompanied by five Iroquois sachems, repaired to England. The Indians, dressed in English small-clothes of black, with scarlet cloth mantles, edged with gold, for blankets, were conducted in coaches in great state to the royal palace, and had an audience with the queen, (Ann,) and giving her belts of wampum, avowed their readiness to take up the hatchet, and aid in the reduction of Canada.*

At that time, St. John, (afterward Lord Bolingbroke, the "greatest young man of his day," was secretary of state. He was "the best orator in the House of Commons;" and Parliament seemed, as it were moved at his bidding. St. John, in 1710, planned the conquest of Canada and in June, 1711, wrote, "As the whole design," said he, "was formed by me, and the management of it singly carried on by me, I have a sort of paternal concern for the success of it." The fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war, and forty transports; the whole was commanded by Sir Hoveden Walker. Seven veteran regiments from Marlboroughs army with a battalion of marines, commanded by Mrs. Masham's brother called honest Jack Hill by his bottle-companions, accompanied the expedition In its preparation, the public treasury, we are told, was defrauded for the benefit of favorites. On the 25th of June, 1711, the fleet arrived in Boston, where they were to take in supplies and colonial forces. An army from Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey, and about six hundred Iroquois warriors, assembled at Albany, preparatory to an attack on Montreal.

The English, through the Iroquois, had also formed an alliance with the Foxes of Wisconsin, who were desirous of expelling the French from their territory.

News of the intended expedition soon reached Quebec, and means for its protection were immediately adopted. A renewal of treaties with the Western Indians, through the influence of Jesuit missionaries, was at once effected. Their influence was never so apparent before. A war festival was held at Montreal, and seven or eight hundred warriors attended. Delegates from the Far West, from the Hurons, one branch of the Sacs, the Pottawatomies, the Illinois, and the Miamies, were present. The war-song was sung, and the hatchet uplifted. Some of the western tribes hesitating for a moment, twenty Huron chiefs took up the hatchet, and marching through the ranks, the rest all followed. Vaudrieul, the governor, descending from thence to Quebec, strengthened its fortifications, and the women assisted—all watched the approach of the fleet. September came and passed, and no enemy could be seen.

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* An amusing account of this interview is given in one of the numbers of the Spectator

The English squadron left Boston on the 30th of July, and loitering along the Bay of Gaspe, at length began to ascend the St. Lawrence. Such an armanent had never before floated on its waters.

Sir Hoveden Walker, in the meantime, anticipating the surrender of Quebec as a thing of course, puzzled himself how he should secure his vessels during the winter. Fearing that "the ice in the river freezing to the bottom, would bilge them," he could think of no other way, than "to secure them on the dry ground in frames and cradles, till the thaw;" when ascending the river, which was "a hundred fathoms deep," and which he supposed would "freeze to the bottom," he was overtaken on the 22nd of August, by a thick fog and an easterly breeze. The pilot advised that the fleet should lie to. They did so. Notwithstanding this, however, the vessels drifted in a direction to the northern shore. Just as the admiral was going to bed, the captain of his ship entered his cabin, and told him that land was ahead. Without going on deck, the admiral wantonly directed the ships to head to the north. There was, fortunately, on the quarter deck a man of sense, one Goddard, a captain in the land service; he rushed immediately into his cabin, and implored him, at least, to come on deck but the self-willed, inconsiderate commander, laughed at his fears and refused. Goddard, a second time returned: "For God's sake" said he, "come on deck, or we shall be lost; I see breakers all around" "Putting on my gown and slippers," wrote Walker, afterward and coming upon deck, I found what he told me was true." Walker, however, at the same time said, "I see no land to the leeward." The moon, however, breaking at this moment through the mist, "gave him the lie." The fleet was among the Egg Islands, close upon the shore. They immediately made sail for the middle of the river. When the morning dawned, it was discovered that eight vessels had been wrecked, and eight hundred and eighty-four men had been drowned. A council of war being summoned immediately, it was unanimously voted that they would not proceed. Thus terminated an expedition, undertaken at a great expense, and under flattering circumstances, by reason of the ignorance or incompetency of its commander.

Walker afterward, in speaking of this unfortunate expedition, says, "had we arrived safe at Quebec, ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger. By the loss of a part, Providence saved all the rest." Just as though he had expected public honors for disgracing the British arms.

France, driven from her outposts, was compelled, at last, to struggle for "her altars and her homes." Her aged monarch, humbled in arms, reduced in power, chagrined at the loss of provinces, and the decline of his influence, was wounded also in his affections. His children and his grandchildren, all but one feeble infant, were swept away—he only remained. Bowing to the stroke of Providence, he desired peace upon any terms.

"I make a sacrifice," said he, "of what I cherished most. I forget my glory." He assented to the dethronement of his grandson. The confederates, however, demanded more. That he should assist in reducing the Spanish monarchy. This arrogant demand was rejected, and the battle of Malplaquet fought. He then agreed to surrender Alsace, and pay a million of livres per month toward expelling his grandson from the Spanish throne. The allies required him to do it himself. "If I must," said he, "have war, it shall not be with my children." Public sympathies began at last to be excited in favor of a prince, who had threatened the subjugation of Europe. He could no longer threaten England with a king, or Holland with conquest. The peace party in England increased in numbers and in power—and the debility of France became her safety. The tories became paramount in the State. Marlborough, having declared that "the enmity between England and France was irreconcilable," was dismissed, and humanity triumphed. The peace of Utretch followed in April, 1713. Louisiana and Canada were confirmed to France. The hatchet was temporarily buried, and the seeds of war scattered again broadcast throughout the globe.

William III., bearing the standard of freedom, was false to the liberty of the seas. All commerce with France was prohibited, and the protest of Holland received no other reply, than "it was his will." The whig ministry of Queen Ann were the first to vindicate it. Grotius promulgated the idea; Bolingbroke fostered it; and at the treaty of Utrecht, England held that "free ships made free goods." Contraband articles were defined, and the right of blockade was limited. In those days, sailors required no special protection; their country's flag, and their God, were all that was necessary. How far England has been true to her principles, remains to be seen.

Anterior to the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, the wars in Europe demanded, as we have already observed, the whole attention, and called forth the whole resources of France. The king was, therefore, obliged to withhold from Louisiana the usual supplies of men and money. Determined, however, at all events, to keep it out of the hands of his enemies, he granted it on the 14th of September, 1712, and in the seventieth year of his reign, to Anthony Crozat. Crozat was a merchant in Paris, of great wealth, of high respectability, and had on former occasions rendered important service to the crown. His character and talents were sure pledges, that the colony would prosper in his hands. Another motive led to the concession. The provincial authorities were hostile to each other, and some energetic hand was requisite to heal the disorder. De La Motte Cadilla, the merchant proprietor and founder of Detroit, appointed royal governor of Louisiana under the grant, now admitted as a partner of Crozat, resorted thither, and took upon himself its government.

The grant of Crozat being an important document, including as it did the whole valley of the Mississippi, the State of Illinois, and its territory of Wisconsin, among others, we insert it at length.

LOUIS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE,

TO ALL WHO SHALL SEE THESE PRESENT LETTERS—GREETING:

The care we have had to procure the welfare and advantage of our subjects, having induced us, notwithstanding the almost continued wars which we have been obliged to support from the beginning of our reign, to seek for all possible opportunity of enlarging and extending the trade of our American colonies; we did, in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-three, give our orders to undertake a discovery of the countries and lands which are situated in the northern part of America, between New-France and New-Mexico; and the Sieur de la Sale, to whom was committed that enterprise, having had success enough to confirm a belief, that a communication might be opened between New-France and the Gulf of Mexico, by means of large rivers; this obliged us, immediately after the peace of Ryswick, to give orders for the establishing a colony there, and maintaining a garrison, which has kept and preserved the possession we had taken, in the very year 1683, of the lands, coasts, and islands, which are situated in the Gulf of Mexico, between Carolina on the east, and Old and New-Mexico on the west. But a new war having broken out in Europe shortly after, there was no probability, till now, of reaping from that new colony, the advantages that might have been expected from thence; because the private men who were concerned in the sea trade, were all under engagements with other colonies, which they have been obliged to follow: And, whereas, upon the information we have received, concerning the disposition and situation of the said countries, known at present, by the name of the province of Louisiana, we are of opinion that there may be established therein a considerable commerce, so much the more advantageous to our kingdom, in that there has hitherto been a necessity of fetching from foreigners the greatest part of the commodities which may be brought from thence; and because, in exchange thereof, we need carry thither nothing but commodities of the growth and manufacture of our own kingdom;—we have resolved to grant the commerce of the country of Louisiana, to the Sieur Anthony Crozat, our councillor, secretary of the household, crown and revenue, to whom we intrust the execution of this project. We are the more readily inclined hereunto, because his zeal, and the singular knowledge he has acquired in maritime commerce, encourage us to hope for as good success as he has hitherto had in the divers and sundry enterprises he has gone upon, and which have procured to our kingdom great quantities of gold and silver, in such conjunctures as have rendered them very welcome to us. For these reasons, being desirous to show our favor to him, and to regulate the conditions upon which we mean to grant him the said commerce, after having deliberated this affair in our council, of our certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority: we, by these presents, signed by our hand, have appointed, and do appoint, the said Sieur Crozat, solely to carry on a trade in all the lands possessed by us, and bounded by New-Mexico, and by the lands of the English of Carolina; all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, and principally the port and haven of the Isle Dauphine, heretofore Massacre; the river of St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea, as far as the Illinois; together with the river St. Phillip, heretofore called the Missouri, and of St. Jerome, heretofore called Ouabache, with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly, or indirectly, into that part of the river of St. Louis.

THE ARTICLES.

I. Our pleasure is, that all the aforesaid lands, countries, streams, rivers, and islands, be, and remain comprised, under the name of the government of Louisiana, which shall be dependent upon the general government of New-France, to which it is subordinate; and further, that all the lands which we possess from the Illinois, be united, so far as occasion requires, to the general government of New-France, and become part thereof; reserving, however, to ourselves the liberty of enlarging, as we shall think fit, the extent of the government of the said country of Louisiana.

III. We permit him to search for, open, and dig all sorts of mines, veins, and minerals, throughout the whole extent of the said country of Louisiana, and to transport the profits thereof into any port of France, during the said fifteen years; and we grant in perpetuity, to him, his heirs, and others, claiming under him or them, the property of, in, and to the mines, veins, and minerals, which he shall bring to bear—paying us in lieu of all claim, the fifth part of the gold and silver, which the said Sieur Crozat shall cause to be transported to France, at his own expense, into what port he pleases, of which fifth he will run the risk of the sea and of war, and the tenth part of what effects he shall draw from the other mines, veins, and minerals; which tenth he shall transfer and convey to our magazines in the said country of Louisiana.

We likewise permit him to search for precious stones and pearls, paying us the fifth part, in the same manner as is mentioned for the gold and silver.

We will that the said Sieur Crozat, his heirs, or those claiming under him or them the perpetual right, shall forfeit the property of the said mines, veins, and minerals, if they discontinue the work during three years; and that, in such case, the said mines, veins, and minerals, shall be fully reunited to our domain, by virtue of this present article, without the formality of any process of law, but only an ordinance of reunion, from the sub-delegate of the Intendant of New-France, who shall be in the said country; nor do we mean, that the said penalty of forfeiture, in default of working for three years, be reputed a comminatory penalty.

VII. Our edicts, ordinances, and customs, and the usages of the mayoralty and shricvalty of Paris, shall be observed for laws and customs in the said country of Louisiana.

Given at Fontainbleau, the fourteenth day of September, in the year of grace, 1712, and of our reign the seventeenth.

By the King:

LOUIS.

PHILIPEAUX, etc.

The grant to Crozat, it will be observed, was a grant of its commerce only. It is evidence, however, of the extent of the claim of France at that time, in the valley of the Mississippi; and by reference to its discovery, possession, and settlement, we shall find, that by Louisiana is to be understood, all that country on both sides of the Mississippi, including its tributary streams, as far as the 49th degree of north latitude, that having been fixed by the treaty of Utrecht as its boundary. The words in Crozat's grant, "as far as the Illinois," had no reference to the river of that name, but to the country generally, on both sides of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio, which under the French and Spanish governments was denominated "the country of the Illinois." This fact appears in all their records and official acts. Thus, letters, deeds, and other instruments, bore date at Kaskaskia, of the Illinois; St. Louis, of the Illinois; not simply to signify the villages in which such documents were respectively executed, but more particularly to denote the country in which those villages are situated. Hence, the commerce of Crozat, by the terms of the patent, extended to the utmost limits of Louisiana, and by the treaty of Utrecht, was fixed at the 49th degree north—which is some distance above the Falls of St. Anthony.

France and Spain being united under one faith, it was not unfrequent for the missionaries of both, attended by troops of their respective nations, as well when they were rivals as when they were belligerents, to unite in diffusing gospel light among the children of darkness. The conversion of the heathen was considered by them (we say considered,) as a sacred duty, and paramount to all others. Many frauds and impositions, and even crimes, it is said, were thus committed under the mask of religion; and ambition in those days (we hope it is otherwise now,) was, it would seem, as incident to the mitre as to the crown. During the administration of De La Motte, a Spanish friar, by the name of Udalgo, requested the concurrence of the governor of Louisiana in a mission to the Assinois, an Indian tribe in Texas. Its object was to expel the French from their territory, and thus extend the Spanish power. De La Motte penetrated at once the motives, and saw the danger with which it was pregnant. Inasmuch, however, as he was destitute at that time of provisions and necessaries for his colony, and was desirous of obtaining both from Mexico, and inasmuch, also, as he was desirous of avoiding a war which he had no means to carry on, he assented. The anticipated result followed, and the French, as will appear in the sequel, were afterward expelled.

Instead of entering into a discussion with Udalgo, De La Motte conceived it more prudent to send an agent to Mexico, with authority to conclude a treaty, and to obtain a renewal of the commercial intercourse, previously suspended at the instigation of the English. M. De St. Denys, being acquainted with the affairs of the colony, and commander at Natchitoches, and highly respected for his courage and military talents; and having, too, married a Spanish lady of rank, and being much esteemed by several Indian nations, who had made him their chief; was selected as such agent, and invested with full powers to negotiate a commercial treaty with Mexico.

St. Denys, on his arrival thither, was hospitably received by the viceroy, who pledged himself to conclude the treaty in question; and to suffer the French in Louisiana to import provisions and other necessaries from the Spanish provinces, as soon as the mission was established among the Assinois.

St. Denys having reported to De La Motte the conditions of the agreement, was directed to carry the treaty into effect. He hastened, therefore, to the fortress of St. John the Baptist, found a caravan, put himself at the head of it, and early in 1717, conducted the Spaniards to the Assinois. He assembled the chiefs and old men of the nation, and persuaded them, against their wishes, to admit the strangers among them. This was the first appearance of the Spaniards on the east side of the Rio Bravo; except when they resorted thither, and by violence removed the wretched colony which La Salle had planted.

St. Denys, in May following repaired again to Mexico, with a quantity of merchandise, to exchange for articles indispensably necessary in Louisiana; expecting, also, a punctual fulfilment of the stipulations already made. On his arrival, he found the old viceroy on his death-bed, and his successor indifferent to his claims. He was also arrested and confined in a dungeon; denounced as a smuggler and a spy, and his merchandise seized and condemned as contraband. This act of injustice excited the murmurs of the Spanish populace to such a degree, that he was liberated from confinement, but restricted to the limits of the city. His situation being disagreeable, if not dangerous, he resolved to escape; and in September, 1718, fled from Mexico in the night, procured a good horse by dismounting the rider, and arrived in Louisiana in April, 1719.

The Spaniards, in the meantime, added to their numbers among the Assinois, till the French found themselves too weak to counteract their designs; and the fate of St. Denys, indicating to them what they had a right to expect, they retired in season to avoid the snare intended for them.

The Spaniards, by fraud and deception, and in violation of mutual agreements, thus established themselves within the territory previously discovered and occupied by the French. Hence the origin of the Spanish title to Texas.*

Crozat, and La Motte, his partner, like other adventurers who had preceded him, anticipated a fortune from its mines, and for many years the like hope excited the attention of France and Europe generally. Two pieces of silver ore, left by a traveller from Mexico, being exhibited at Kaskaskia to the royal governor, as the produce of a mine in Illinois, he repaired immediately thither, elated at the prospect, to be in his turn disappointed. He discovered an abundance of lead and copper on the Upper Mississippi, the Missouri, and Lake Superior, which ought, perhaps, to have paid him for all his toil. Silver and gold, however, were his objects: nothing less would satisfy the rapacity of the age. Of these, no discoveries had yet been made.

De La Motte soon afterward died, and was succeeded by Bienville. His accession to the government became a source of vexation. As a statesman and soldier, he was better qualified than his predecessor to stem the tide of adversity; but such was the reduced condition of the province, that he despaired almost of preserving it. All the ports on the Continent being closed against France, he found it difficult to obtain supplies. At this period, the whole population of the province, exclusive of Illinois, was but seven hundred persons, and four hundred head of cattle.

Five years' experience had convinced Crozat that he had nothing to expect from Louisiana. Although he had provided large supplies of men and money, no prospect of indemnity presented itself. Agriculture was the aversion of its settlers, and immense sums of money were expended in the purchase of provisions. During the five years that Crozat held the province, his expenses were four hundred and twenty-five thousand livres, and his receipts arising from its trade three hundred thousand, leaving a balance of one hundred and twenty-five thousand livres.

Under such circumstances, he surrendered his grant to the crown, in 1717, and the province was immediately thereafter granted to the company of the Indies, projected by the celebrated John Law—more particularly known as "the Mississippi scheme."

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* See Stoddart—Louisiana, 35.

NOTE.

The present generation are unacquainted with the sufferings their ancestors endured. The difficulties which attend the settlement of a new country are by many thought severe, but when to those difficulties Indian hostilities are superadded, how much are they enhanced. The following account of the attack upon Haverhill, and the story of Mrs. Dustan are specimens only of what was done and suffered, in that extraordinary age.

On the 15th of March, 1697, during the continuance of the same war waged by France against England, to settle the right to thrones, a party of Indians attacked the town of Haverhill, in Massachusetts, burnt a few houses, and killed and captured about forty of its inhabitants. Arrayed in savage terror, they also attacked the house of a Mr. Dustan, in its vicinity. The husband, when the savages approached, was at work in his field, and his wife the week before had been confined. On hearing the first alarm, he mounted his horse and flew to her assistance, with the hope of rescuing his family—consisting of his wife, her nurse, and eight children—from the inhuman butchers. He instantly directed seven of his children to fly with their utmost speed to an adjacent forest, and repaired, himself, to the apartment of his wife. Before she could leave her bed the savages were upon her. Unable to afford her any assistance, and despairing of succor, he flew immediately to the door, and mounting his horse, determined on overtaking the little group still in sight, to snatch up the child with which he was unable to part, and flee to a place of safety. On overtaking them, however, he was unable to make a choice, and resolved, therefore, to defend them or die by their side. The Indians pursued and fired upon him; he returned their fire, retreating at the same time in rear of his little charge; and by thus firing and thus retreating, alternately, cheering his little group—now trembling with affright, now stumbling and falling among the stumps and bushes, for more than a mile; he was enabled at last, by the aid of Providence, to lodge them safe in a distant house. The party which assailed his dwelling, found Mrs. Dustan in bed, and the nurse, with the infant in her arms, attempting to fly. They ordered the former to rise instantly, and before she could dress herself, obliged her and the nurse to quit the house; which, being effected, they plundered and set it on fire. In company with other captives, they commenced a long and dreary march into the forest—Mrs. Dustan sick, feeble, and terrified beyond measure; partially clad, one of her feet bare, and the season unfit for travelling. They had not proceeded far, when the savage she was directed to call master, thinking, perhaps, that her infant would impede their march, snatched it from the nurse and dashed its head against a tree. Such of the captives as lagged, were immediately tomahawked. Acts like these, however barbarous, resulted not from revenge; nor were they considerd by savages cruel. They were matters only of convenience. Charlevoix, the historian of New-France, a man of talents, of considerable refinement, and a Frenchman, speaks of the murder of defenceless women and children almost with approbation.

The distress felt by Mrs. Dustan on account of her child; her anxiety for those she had left; the unceasing terror with which she was filled, on account of herself and companion; raised this sickly, unprotected woman so far above her nature, that, notwithstanding her exposure to cold, hunger, and fatigue, sleeping on the ground under an inclement sky in March, she reached an Indian settlement, eighty miles distant, without impairing her health.

The cabin, or wigwam, of her master was occupied by twelve persons. In April they set out for an Indian village more remote, and were informed that on their arrival thither, she and her companions would be stripped naked, scourged, and compelled to run the gauntlet. This exceeded their endurance, and they resolved to escape. At this time a young man by the name of Leonardson, who had been taken prisoner some time before, in Wooster, was a captive also. Accident brought him to their cabin. He was at once a partaker of their secrets, and agreed to participate in their toils and dangers. Young Leonardson, before this, had inquired of his master where he "could strike to kill instantly," and how to scalp? There is no period so dark as that which precedes the dawn of day—no time when the faculties of our nature are so thoroughly steeped in forget-fulness. They resolved, therefore, that on the morning of the thirtieth of April, they would attempt an escape. Mrs. Dustan a little before day, when the savages, worn down by previous toil, were asleep, awoke her nurse, and fellow-prisoner. It was a moment of fear and trembling. Home and its joys were present to her view. The savage, who had murdered her child, was before her, and the scalps of her slaughtered relatives were scattered around the cabin. Seizing each a tomahawk, and calling the God of mercy to their aid, ten of the twelve Indians lay dead at their feet. A squaw was wounded, though not mortally, and a child was spared by design. Taking the gun, the tomahawk, and the scalp of him who had murdered her babe, and a bag of other scalps, as trophies, they departed for home. Following the running brook, as their guide, they soon reached the Merrimack, and finding there a bark canoe, they descended the river, and were received by their friends at Haverhill with transports of joy.—DR. DWIGHT.

Such, in part, were the sorrows of that generation. Cruelty became an art, and honor the reward of those who practiced new tortures. To use the language of a faithful chronicler, "Neither the milk-white brows of the ancient, nor the mournful cries of the infant," were any protection. The history of the war during that period, is but a catalogue of misery. The brave and patriotic Schuyler, of Albany, in writing to the Marquis de Vaudrieul, governor of Canada, says: "My heart swells with indignation when I think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the exactest laws of honor which their noble ancestors have illustrated by brilliant examples, is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery. These are not the methods for terminating the war. Would that all the world thought with me on the subject."

The English or American colonists fought like brave men, contending for their families and their homes; but when they penetrated the forests in search of their roving enemies they found nothing but solitude. The Indians vanished when their homes were invaded.

CHAPTER IX.

The Mississippi scheme—Illinois a part of its domain—John Law—Born at Edinburgh in 1671—Loses all his property—Fights a duel—Convicted of murder—Escapes—Flies to the Continent—Supports himself by gambling—Returns to Edinburgh in 1700—Issues proposals for a Land Bank—Rejected—Goes again to the Continent—Expelled from Venice and Genoa—Makes propositions to Louis XIV.—Offers his services to the Duke of Savoy—Becomes acquainted with the Duke of Orleans, afterward Regent of France—State of the French finances—Law proposes a remedy—Bank of France established in 1715, and Law appointed president—Meets with great success—Proposes his famous Mississippi scheme—Letters patent issued in 1717—Its success—Stock rises from 500 livres to 5000 per share—Chancellor of France dismissed, at Law's request—Stock increased—Fortunes made—Law promises a dividend of 40 per cent.—Law's influence irresistible—Fort Chartres built in Illinois—Large tracts of land conceded to individuals—Still held under that title—Public frenzy continues—Impetus given to trade and manufactures—Bank stopped payment, May 27th, 1720—Law dies in poverty and disgrace—Many ruined—South Sea bubble in England—Illinois ceded to the crown, 1731—Fort Massac built on the Ohio—English colonists remonstrate—Their remonstrances disregarded by Sir Robert Walpole—French encroachments continue—Fort Massac taken by the Indians, and its garrison massacred—Illinois ceded to England, 1763.

Louis XIV. having by his extravagance, and by frequent expensive and unprofitable wars, created a debt of three thousand millions of livres, and by so doing, laid a foundation broad and deep, for the wide-spread ruin that followed; died at Versailles on the 1st of September, 1715, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the seventy-third of his reign. He was succeeded by his grandson, Louis XV., then a child five years old, of a feeble and delicate constitution; and the Duke of Orleans, a nephew of the late king, notwithstanding his dissolute morals, and his proximity to the throne, against the will of the late monarch, became Regent of France.

The valley of the Mississippi, including Illinois, was at that time held and occupied by Crozat, under a grant made by Louis XIV. in 1712, as already stated.* The little barter between the inhabitants of Louisiana and the natives, insignificant as it was, and the petty trade between the French and the other European settlements in their vicinity, was rendered almost profitless by the fatal monopoly of the Parisian merchant. The Indians were too numerous and too powerful to be controlled by his factors. The English had monopolized already a portion of the Indian trade.

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* See copy of the grant, page 123. p. 154

Every Spanish harbor on the Gulf of Mexico had been closed against his vessels, and every Frenchman in Louisiana was not only hostile to his interests, but was aiding and assisting to foment difficulties in the colony. Crozat's retrocession, therefore, of Louisiana to the crown, in 1717, was the result of necessity, as well as choice.

A new theatre, however, was about to open, new actors to appear, and new objects to be attained. Military glory, the pride of Louis XIV., more conspicuous during his reign than any, or perhaps every other object, was now dethroned, and the altar of Plutus erected by acclamation, amid dreams of avarice, on its ruins.

The misfortunes of La Salle, the ill success of Ibberville and Crozat, were still remembered, and the bones of deceased emigrants who had sought the Mississippi as their homes, still whitened its valley; yet visions of untold wealth existing somewhere on its tributary waters, were again revived; and mines of silver and gold, plantations of indefinite extent and surpassing beauty, towns and cities, commerce and the arts, again invoked to replenish an exhausted treasury, and preserve, if possible, a sinking empire. Hence the Mississippi scheme, above referred to.

The State of Illinois having once been a part of its domain, having also participated in its bounty, and experienced its reverses, and some portions of its territory being at present held under titles from a company, of which the celebrated John Law was the projector and finisher, a short notice of his singular career, and of the famous Mississippi scheme, which rose and fell with its author, cannot be obtrusive.

History, we are told, is the prophet of events; the present generation, therefore, may derive perhaps some profit, as well as pleasure, from its perusal; and should we in the course of our narrative,

"Give you here a little book,
For you to look upon,
That you may see your father's face
When he is dead and gone;"

the donation, we hope, being kindly intended, will be kindly received.

John Law, who, during his life, and for several years thereafter, strewed the paths of princes and their subjects, sometimes with flowers and sometimes with thorns; was born at Edinburgh, in Scotland, of humble but respectable parents, in 1671. His early career was one of interest—not to be imitated, but to be shunned; and though common at the present day, much instruction, both salutary and useful, may be gathered from its recital.

At the age of fourteen he was received into his father's counting-house, in Edinburgh, as a clerk, and for about three years labored assiduously at his desk. His father's occupation was that of a goldsmith and banker. By his death, in 1688, a considerable fortune descended to this his only son, who, at the early age of seventeen, sallied forth without rudder or compass, into a wide, tumultuous, and deceitful world.

Young, vain, good looking, tolerably rich, and unrestrained, he proceeded to London, where he frequented the most fashionable gaming-houses, and pursuing on all occasions a certain plan, based on abstruse calculations, he won considerable money. Gamblers envied his luck, looked on with wonder, and imitated his example.

In gallantry he was equally fortunate, and ladies of exalted rank smiled graciously upon the handsome Scotchman.

Success, however, soon paved the way for reverses, and as the love of play increased in violence, it diminished in prudence. Great losses could only be repaired by greater ventures, and notwithstanding his long experience, at the close of an unlucky day, he lost everything he had. Goods, chattels, credit, money, and character, even the patrimony now his by a father's bounty.

His gallantry, at the same time, led him into serious difficulty, and a love affair, a slight flirtation with a Miss Villars, afterward the Countess of Orkney, exposed him to the resentment of a Mr. Wilson, by whom he was challenged to fight a duel. He accepted the challenge, killed his antagonist on the spot, was arrested the same day, and soon thereafter was indicted for murder, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. This sentence was afterward commuted for a fine, upon the ground that the offence amounted only to manslaughter. An appeal was entered by a brother of the deceased, and the prisoner detained in jail, from whence, by means yet unexplained, he escaped, and fled to the Continent. The sheriffs were afterward prosecuted, Law was advertised in the Gazette, and a reward offered for his arrest. The advertisement being a caricature, in part, was published, as many supposed, to aid his escape. He was there described as Captain John Law, a Scotchman, twenty-six years old; very tall, black, and lean, well shaped, about six feet high, with large pock-holes in his face, big nose, and speaking broad and loud."

For about three years he traversed the Continent, devoting his mornings to the study of finance and the principles of trade, and his evenings to the gaming-house, and returned to Edinburgh in 1700, where he issued proposals for establishing a council of trade—they excited, however, but little attention. He afterward published the project of a land-bank—a sand-bank, as it was called by the wits of the day, which would wreck the vessel of state. He proposed that its notes should in no event exceed the value of the entire lands of the kingdom; that the holder of its bills should receive legal interest upon his notes, with a right to enter upon and take possession of the lands pledged for their payment, at a certain time and upon certain conditions. This project excited for a time considerable discussion in the Scottish Parliament, had numerous friends in that body, and was ultimately rejected, on the ground that to establish any kind of paper credit and make it current by law, would subject the whole country to the mercy of brokers, and was, therefore, inexpedient to the nation.

Having failed in every project he attempted in Scotland, and his efforts to procure a pardon for the murder of Wilson, having proved abortive, he withdrew to the Continent to resume his occupation as a gambler, and to become the friend and the companion of princes. For fourteen years he roamed about Flanders, Holland, Germany, Hungary, Italy and France, supporting himself by successful play. During that period he studied the European character, became acquainted with the trade and resources of those nations through which he wandered, and was daily more and more convinced, that no country could prosper without a paper currency. At every gambling-house of note, in almost every capital in Europe, he was known and appreciated as a man better skilled in the doctrines of chance than any other. Having been expelled first from France, and afterward from Genoa, by the magistrates, who thought him a dangerous visitor, he repaired to Paris, where he became obnoxious to the police, and was ordered to quit the capital. He had made, however, the acquaintance of the gay Duke of Orleans, who promised to become his patron. Louis XIV. then occupied the throne. Law proposed his scheme of finance to the comptroller of the public funds, who was asked by the king if the projector was a Catholic, and being answered in the negative, Louis XIV. declined his services.

His scheme was next proposed to the reigning Duke of Savoy, who at once told the projector that his dominions were too limited for the execution of so great a project, and that he was too poor a potentate to be ruined. That he had no doubt, however, but the French people, if he knew anything of their character, would be delighted with a plan so new and so plausible, and advised him to go to France.

Louis XIV. being now in his grave, and an infant on the throne, the Duke of Orleans, a friend and patron of Law, assumed the reigns of government, as Regent of France, and a tide of glory at that time setting in, he mounted the topmost wave, and advanced speedily to fortune.

Louis of France, surnamed by courtiers, by flatterers, and by some historians, The Great, was, in truth, the very meanest of kings. He was scarcely entombed, before public hatred, suppressed for years, like a flaming volcano burst forth upon his memory. He was cursed as a tyrant, a bigot, and a plunderer; his statues were pelted and disfigured; his effigies were torn down; the glory of his arms was forgotten; and nothing was remembered but his reverses. His extravagance was condemned, his selfishness reproved, and his cruelty and oppression were themes of every tongue. The elegance of his person, the suavity of his manner, and his patronage of learned men, were, it is true, applauded; but when accomplishments like these are the only recommendations of a prince, (and that Louis had others will not be pretended,) where, it may well be asked, are his pretensions to public gratitude, or to enduring fame? Eclipsed, however, in the career of profligacy, by his successor, his name and character, from that circumstance, were saved for the time being from infamy.

After defraying the expenses of government, about nine millions of livres were all that remained to pay the interest of a debt, originally three thousand millions, now reduced, by arbitrary reductions, to a little more than two, the interest of which, at four per cent., exceeded eighty millions per annum. The national securities, therefore, it will readily be seen, were of uncertain value; the national finances in the utmost disorder, and France itself on the brink of ruin.

The first care of the regent, was to remedy this evil; and a council was therefore called. The Duke De St Simon, advised the regent to convoke the States General, and declare a national bankruptcy. Others represented the expedient as dishonest and ruinous, and this desperate remedy was, for a time, postponed. The one, however, finally adopted, though it promised fair, aggravated the evil. A recoinage was ordered, and the whole currency of the kingdom was depreciated one fifth in its value. A chamber of justice was next instituted to inquire into the malversations of the loan contractors and farmers of the revenue. Extravagant joy at once seized the nation, and fear and alarm were depicted on the countenances of every office-holder. The officers charged, met with no sympathy. The Bastile shortly was filled. The country prisons teemed with guilty and suspected persons, and royal edicts were issued to prevent innkeepers and postmasters from furnishing horses for their escape. Some were condemned to the galleys, and the least guilty to fine and imprisonment; and one, a Mr. Bernard, to death, although he had offered six millions of livres to be allowed to escape. Courtiers and courtiers' wives, however, pocketed the spoils, and the country was poor and distressed as ever. Out of one hundred millions of livres thus collected, eighty millions only were applied to the public debt.

In the midst of this financial confusion, John Law presented himself at court, and was cordially received. He insisted, that all the evils which had befallen France were owing, not to the improvidence, extravagance, or the malversation of those who had been, or were then in power, but to an insufficient currency. That the specie of France, unaided by paper money, was inadequate to its wants, and cited England and Holland as examples. He thereupon proposed to set up a bank, which should have the management of the royal revenues, and issue notes on that and landed security. That it should be administered in the king's name, and be subject to the control of commissioners, to be appointed by the States General.

On the 5th of May, 1716, a royal edict was published, by which Law and his brother were authorized to establish a bank, with a capital of six millions of livres, the notes of which should be received in the payment of taxes. They were issued, payable at sight, and in the coin current at *the time they were issued.* This last was a master stroke of policy, and immediately rendered his notes more valuable than the precious metals. The capital consisted of one-fourth specie, and three-fourths state securities. The stock was, of course, immediately subscribed. A thousand livres of silver might be worth their nominal value one day, and one-fifth less the next; but a note of Law's bank retained its original value. Law, in the meantime, publicly declared, that a banker deserved death, who made issues without means for their redemption. The consequence was, that his notes shortly commanded a premium of "fifteen per cent.," while the notes issued by Government, as security for debts contracted by the extravagance of Louis XIV., were at seventy-eight and a half per cent. discount.

The contrast was so great, that Law's credit rapidly extended itself, and branches of his bank were at the same time established in Lyons, Rochelle, Tours, Amiens, and Orleans. The regent became astonished at its success; and paper money, which could thus aid metallic currency, it was thought could supersede it altogether. On this fundamental error, both the regent and the French people, simultaneously acted.

Law, whose influence was now irresistible, next proposed his famous Mississippi scheme. This became afterward a connecting link between his history and ours, and rendered his name immortal.

Letters patent were issued in 1717, to establish a trading company to the Mississippi, known at first as the Western company, to be divided into two hundred thousand shares, of five hundred livres each. Its capital to be composed of state securities at par; a hundred millions of the most depreciated stocks were thus absorbed, and the Government became indebted to a company, of its own creation, instead of individuals, for that amount. Through the bank previously established by Law, the interest in this portion of the public debt was punctually paid, in consequence whereof, an immediate rise in its value took place, from a depreciation of seventy-eight and a half per cent. to par. The person, therefore, who had purchased a hundred livres of state debts, which he could have done at any time for twenty-one and a half livres, and invested it in stocks of the Western company, was now enabled to realize in cash, one hundred livres for his investment. Large fortunes were thus speedily acquired. Although the union of the bank with the risks and responsibilities of a commercial company, was ominous of its future destiny; the interest of its capital for one year, having been paid—not from its profits, for none had yet accrued, but from other sources, all of them fictitious—public credit was apparently restored, as if by a miracle. Hope is the parent of joy. Humanity abounds in hope. Men acting in masses, frequently with, and sometimes without cause, anticipate the approach of better times. How far these anticipations were realized in the case now under review, will appear in the sequel.

Crozat having resigned the commerce of Louisiana, it was transferred immediately to the Western company, and the valley of the Mississippi inflamed at once the public mind. The whole of France saw, in prospect, its future glory, and beheld the opulence of coming ages already in their grasp.

On the 25th of August, 1717, eight hundred emigrants arrived in three vessels, and cast anchor near Dauphin Island, instead of ascending the Mississippi. They there disembarked; some perished for want of enterprise, some for want of food, some from the climate, and some prospered exceedingly. Du Tissinet, taking a compass and an escort of men, went to Quebec, and returned from thence across the country, with his family. Other hardy emigrants from Canada resorted thither, and these, by their enterprise, were more successful than any other colonists. The city of New-Orleans was immediately founded among cane-brakes, and named after the dissolute regent, who " denied God, and trembled at a star."

Law's bank, in the meantime, had wrought such wonders in France, that new privileges were conferred upon it daily. It monopolized the tobacco trade; it monopolized, also, the slave trade; for the French colonies, it enjoyed the right of refining gold and silver; and was finally, in January, 1717, erected into the royal bank of France. The Western or Mississippi company, was also merged into the " company of the Indies," and new shares of its stock were created, and sold at an enormous profit. New monopolies were granted to it, and the trade to the India seas. The profits of the royal mint, and the profits of farming the whole revenue of France were afterward appended. The Government, whose power was absolute, conspired to give the widest extension to its credit; " and Law," says Marmontel, " might have regulated, at his pleasure, the interest of money, the value of stocks, and the price of labor and produce."

A speculating frenzy at once pervaded the whole nation. The maxims which Law had promulgated, " that a banker deserved death, who made issues of paper without the means of redeeming it," were overlooked, or forgotten. While the affairs of the bank were under the control of Law, its issues did not exceed about 60,000,000 livres; on becoming the royal bank of France, they rose at once to 1,000,000,000. Whether this was the act of Law, or the regent, we are uninformed. That Law, however, lent his aid to inundate the whole country with paper money, is conceded by all; and dazzled by his former success, he may not have foreseen the evil day which was fast approaching.

The chancellor, who opposed the issues, was dismissed at the instance of Law, and a tool of the regent appointed his successor. The French Parliament foresaw the danger, and remonstrated with the regent. Their remonstrances, however, were all in vain. The regent annulled their decrees, and on their proposing that Law, who they considered as the cause of the whole evil, should be brought to trial, and if found guilty, be hung at the gates of the palace of justice; the president, and two of its most prominent councillors, were committed to prison. Law, alarmed for his safety, fled to the Palais Royal, threw himself on the regent's protection, and, for awhile, thus escaped the public indignation.

The danger of personal violence at length being removed, he devoted himself to the Mississippi scheme; the shares of which rose rapidly. In spite of Parliament, fifty thousand new shares were added, and its privileges extended. The stock was paid for in state securities, with only one hundred livres for five hundred of stock; and Law promised to each holder, yearly, a dividend of two hundred livres, upon a share equal to forty per cent. on the whole capital thus invested. Visions so splendid could not be resisted.

The company of the Indies being now connected with the royal bank of France, its first attempts at colonization were conducted with careless prodigality. To entice emigrants thither, the richest prairies, the most inviting fields in the whole valley of the Mississippi, were conceded to companies, or to individuals who sought principalities in America. An extensive prairie in Arkansas, bounded on all sides by the sky, was conceded to Law himself, where he designed to plant a city, and actually expended a million and a half of livres for that purpose. He also purchased, and sent to Louisiana, three hundred slaves. Mechanics from France, and emigrants from Germany were, at his expense, transported thither, and gifts of great value, were lavished by his agents upon those savage tribes with whom they had smoked the calumet. Notwithstanding, however, his efforts and his expenditures, that industry, that economy and perseverance, so essential to the prosperity of a new settlement, was not there; and when a Jesuit priest, in 1729, visited the colony, thirty miserable Frenchmen alone remained, and those had been abandoned by their employers.

During this paroxysm, when every stockholder in the Western company supposed that his coffers were already filled, and his happiness complete, Fort Chartres, near Kaskaskia, in this state, was projected. It was built by the company in 1720, to protect themselves against the Spaniards, with whom France was then at war, and was located near the centre of the French settlements in Illinois. Father Charlevoix, who visited this country in 1721, observes, that "Fort Chartres stands about the distance of a musket-shot from the river, (Mississippi,) and that M. Duque de Boisbriant, a gentleman from Canada, commands there for the company to whom the place belongs." (See note.)

We have already observed, that in spite of Parliament, eighty thousand shares were added to the stock of the royal India company, at one time. For these new shares, three hundred thousand applications were made, and Law's house was beset from morning till night, with eager applicants; and as it was some time before the list of fortunate stockholders could be completed, the public impatience rose to a pitch of frenzy.

Dukes, marquisses, and counts, with their wives and daughters, waited for hours in the streets, before his door, to know the result; and to avoid being jostled by the plebeian crowd, took apartments in the adjacent houses, the rents of which rose from a thousand livres, to twelve, and in some instances, sixteen thousand livres per annum. The demand for shares was so great, induced by so many golden dreams, that it was thought advisable to increase them three hundred thousand more, at five hundred livres each; and such was the eagerness of the nation to become subscribers, that three times the amount, if Government had ordered it, would at once have been taken.

Law was now in the zenith of his glory, and the people in the zenith of their infatuation. The high and the low, the rich and the poor, were at once filled with the visions of boundless wealth; and people of every age and sex, rank and condition, were engaged in buying and selling stock. A cobbler, who had a stall near Mr. Law's, gained two hundred livres a day by letting it out, and finding materials, to brokers and other clients. A hump-backed man, who stood in the street, as the story goes, gained considerable sums by lending his back, as a writing-desk, to the eager spectators.

Law, finding his residence inconvenient, removed to the Place Vendôme, whither the crowd followed him; and the spacious square had the appearance of a public market. Booths and tents were erected for the transaction of business and the sale of refreshments; the boulevards and public gardens were forsaken, and the Place Vendôme became the most fashionable lounge for parties of pleasure. A lease of the Hotel de Soissons, which had a garden of several acres in its rear, was taken, and the garden reserved to the owner. This contained some fine statues, and several fountains, and was laid out with much taste. About five hundred tents and pavillions were here erected, for the convenience of stock-jobbers, and each tent was let at five hundred livres a month, making a monthly revenue of two hundred and fifty thousand livres.

The honest old soldier, Marshal Villars, was so vexed at the folly of his countrymen, that he could never speak upon the subject with any temper; and, passing through the Place Vendôme in his carriage one day, he ordered his coachman to stop, and putting his head out of the carriage-window, harangued the people, till hisses and shouts, and something more tangible, were seen flying in the direction of his head; when he was glad to drive on, and never afterward repeated the experiment.

Peers, judges, and bishops, thronged the Hotel de Soissons; officers of the army and navy, ladies of title and fashion, were seen waiting in the ante-chamber of Mr. Law, to beg for a portion of his India stock. He was unable to see one-tenth part of the applicants, and every species of ingenuity was employed to gain an audience. Peers, whose dignity would have been outraged if the regent had made them wait half an hour for an interview, were content to wait six hours, for the purpose of seeing this wily adventurer. Enormous fees were paid to his servants, merely to announce their names; and ladies of rank employed the blandishments of all their smiles. One lady in particular, who had striven many days in vain to see him, ordered her coachman to keep strict watch, and when he saw him coming, to drive against a post and upset her. At last she espied Mr. Law, and pulling the string, called out to the coachman: "Upset us now." The coachman drove against a post, the lady screamed, the coach was overturned, and Mr. Law, who had seen the accident, came to her assistance. She was led to his house, and as soon as she thought it advisable, recovered from her fright, apologized for her intrusion, and confessed the stratagem. Law, who was a gallant man, could no longer resist, and entered her name in his books as the purchaser of a quantity of India stock. A Madame de Bouchè, knowing that Mr. Law was at dinner at a certain house, proceeded thither in her carriage, and gave the alarm of fire; and while everybody was scampering away, she made haste toward him, and he, suspecting the trick, ran off in another direction.

A celebrated physician in Paris had bought stock at at unlucky period, and was anxious to sell out. While it was rapidly falling, and his mind was filled with the subject, he was called upon to attend a lady who thought herself unwell. Being shown up stairs, he felt of the lady's pulse, and more intent upon his stock than his patient, exclaimed: "It falls, it falls! good God, it falls continually!" The lady, alarmed, started up, and ringing the bell for assistance, "Oh, doctor!" said she, "I am dying—I am dying! it falls!" "What falls?" inquired the doctor, in amazement. "My pulse—my pulse!" said the lady; "I am dying!" "Calm your apprehensions, my dear madam," said the doctor, "I was speaking of the stocks. I have been so great a loser, and my mind is so disturbed, that I hardly know what I was saying." The effect of all this upon the public mind and the public manners, was overwhelming; the laxity of public morals, conspicuous enough before, became more so; and the pernicious love of gambling diffused itself through society, and bore all public and nearly all private virtue before it.

While this confidence lasted, an impetus was given to trade, which it had never known. Strangers flocked to the capital from every part of the globe, and its population was temporarily increased three hundred and five thousand souls. Housekeepers were obliged to make up beds in garrets, kitchens, and even stables, for the accommodation of lodgers. The looms of the country worked with uncommon activity. Provisions shared the general advance; wages rose in the same proportion. The artizan who had gained his fifteen sous a day, now gained sixty. An illusory prosperity everywhere prevailed, and so dazzled the eyes of the victim, that no one could perceive on the horizon a dark cloud, which announced the approaching storm.

Law, at this time, was by far the most influential person in the state; his wife and daughters were courted by the highest nobility, and their alliance sought by ducal and princely houses.

In 1720, an alarm was created. Some specie was demanded; Law became alarmed—the precious metals had left the kingdom. Coin, for more than five hundred livres, was declared an illegal tender. A council of state was held, and it was ascertained that two thousand six hundred millions of livres were in circulation; and on the 27th of May, the bank stopped payment. The people assailed Law's carriage with stones as he was entering his own door, and but for the dexterity of his coachman, he would have been torn in pieces. On the following day, his wife and daughters were attacked by the mob, as they were returning in their carriage from the races. The regent being informed of these occurrences, sent him a guard for his protection. Finding his own house, even with this guard, insecure, he repaired to the palace, and took apartments with the regent. He afterward left the kingdom; his estates and library were confiscated, and he died at Venice, in extreme poverty, in 1729.*

Such was the fate of John Law, who had caused several millions of livres to be expended in Illinois, and, for several years, had used the Mississippi valley as the means, or the instrument, of his ambition. Stock-jobbers and speculators had used it also for a similar purpose; and New-Orleans was more famous in Paris when covered with cane-brakes, than it has been since.

Law held, that the currency of a country was the mere "representative of its moving wealth;" that it need not, therefore, of itself possess intrinsic value; that the wealth of a nation may be "indefinitely increased by an arbitrary infusion of paper;" that credit consisted in the "excess of circulation over immediate resources;" and, that the "advantage of credit is in the direct ratio of that excess." Hence the whimsical project of collecting the gold and silver of a kingdom into one bank, and supplying its place by an exclusive paper currency.

The arbitrary action of Government, which fixed the value of stock, in March, 1720, at nine thousand livres for five hundred, and which forbade certain corporations to invest money in anything else; and prohibited the circulation of gold and silver, except for change; and required all payments to be made in paper, over ten livres; and which punished a person by fine, and exposed his specie to forfeiture, for attempting to convert a bill into metallic currency, was insufficient to sustain fraud and imposition longer. Although the regent's mother was enabled, by this fraud and imposition, to write "that all the king's debts were paid;" France in the end "was impoverished, public and private credit subverted, the income of capitalists annihilated, and labor left without employment." A few wary speculators, it is true, gloried afterward in their wealth, acquired by the toil and misfortunes of the suffering millions; it was, however, a paltry reward for the wretchedness it had caused.

France, however, was not alone in this career of infatuation. The South Sea scheme, devised by Sir John Blount, a man of moderate talents, in England, produced effects in the latter kingdom nearly as ruinous, in 1720, as the Mississippi scheme in France. "Exchange Alley," says Smollet, the historian, "was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, whigs and tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even with a multitude of females. All other professions and employments were utterly neglected, and the public attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of 'bubbles.' A hundred such were projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thousands. The sums proposed to be raised by these expectants, amounted to three hundred millions sterling, which exceeded, at that time, the value of all the lands in England. The nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusion. An obscure projector, pretending to have found a very advantageous scheme—which, however, he did not explain—published proposals for a subscription, in which he promised that, in one month, the particulars of his project should be disclosed. In the meantime he declared, that every person paying two guineas should be entitled to a subscription for one hundred pounds, which would produce that sum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions; and in the evening set out, with his two thousand guineas in his pocket, for another kingdom. During the infatuation produced by this and other infamous schemes, luxury, vice, and profligacy increased to a shocking degree of extravagance. The adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themselves with the rarest dainties, and the most expensive wines, that could be imported. They purchased the most sumptuous furniture, equipage and apparel, though without taste or discernment; they indulged their criminal passions to the most scandalous excess; their discourse was the language of pride, insolence, and the most ridiculous ostentation; they affected to scoff at religion and morality, and even to set Heaven at defiance. It was afterward discovered that large portions of the South Sea stock had been given to several persons in the administration, as well as in the House of Commons, for promoting the passage of the South Sea Act. The ebb," continues Smollet, "of this portentous tide was so violent, that it bore down everything in its way, and an infinite number of families were overwhelmed with ruin. Public credit sustained a terrible shock; the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment, and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. Petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, were presented to the House of Commons, demanding justice against the villainy of the directors; and the whole nation was exasperated to the highest pitch of excitement. At length, in 1721, by the wise and vigorous resolutions of Parliament, the ferment of the people subsided, and the credit of the nation was restored." Our readers may be desirous, perhaps, of knowing what these "wise and vigorous resolutions of Parliament" were, thus spoken of with approbation by the historian. All the estates of the directors and officers of the company, were confiscated by an act of Parliament, and applied toward the relief of the unhappy sufferers. Such "wise and vigorous resolutions," if resorted to by a legislative body in any of our States, at the present time, would unquestionably be considered arbitrary and unconstitutional. The times, however, of which we speak, were not those in which law was uniformly heard, or its dictates universally obeyed.

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* The above history of the Company of the Indies, is taken from "The Memoirs of Extraordinary Delusions," by Charles Mackay. Published at London, 1841.

The Mississippi valley, on the dissolution of the India company, in

1730, being retroceded to the crown, its interests were again fostered by Government, and Louis XV. and his minister, Cardinal Fleury, evinced much anxiety in its behalf. Although Louis XIV. had been liberal in his expenditures, and Crozat, whose whole life had been one of successful enterprise, had assumed its direction; and the Mississippi company, aided by boundless but transient credit, had there laid the foundations of all its hopes; and priests and friars, and Jesuit missionaries, had used all their efforts to propitiate the savages; the valley of the Mississippi, fifty years after the expedition of La Salle, was little else than a wilderness.

Louisiana at this time, in French geography, included the entire valley of the Mississippi, and its tributary streams. Of course, all west of the Alleghany mountains was regarded by France as a part of her domain. The head-springs of the Alleghany, the Monongahela, the Kanawa, the Tennessee, the Cumberland and the Ohio, were claimed to be hers.

The ambitious designs of France at an early day, it was said by the English colonists, interfered with grants made by the British crown; and in 1731, soon after the French had erected a fort at Crown-Point, in the State of New-York, James Logan, secretary of Pennsylvania, prepared a memorial in relation to the state of the British plantations. This was communicated by a member of Parliament to Sir Robert Walpole, prime minister of England; who, at that time, was "too much concerned for his own standing, to lay anything to heart that was at so great a distance."

France was, therefore, permitted to establish her influence throughout the whole valley of the Ohio, and to build strong houses for the Indians, without molestation. The Shawnees were met by Canadian traders, and their chiefs invited to visit the French governor at Montreal. Having done so, Joseph Soncaire, a wily emissary from New-France, descended the Ohio with them, and the whole tribe put themselves under the protection of Louis XV. Fort Massac, or Massacre, was thereupon erected on the north bank of the Ohio, in the State of Illinois, near the dividing-line between Johnson and Pope counties in this State, nine miles below the mouth of the Tennessee river, and about forty miles above its junction with the Mississippi.

The savages becoming afterward dissatisfied with the French, by a curious stratagem effected its capture. A number of Indians appeared in the daytime, on the opposite side of the river, each of whom was covered with a bear-skin, and walked on all fours; the French, supposing them to be bears, crossed the river with a considerable force, in pursuit of the supposed bears, and the remainder of the troops left their quarters, and resorted to the bank of the river in front of the garrison, to observe the sport. In the meantime, a large body of warriors, who were concealed in the woods near by, came silently up behind the fort, and entered it without opposition; and a few only of the French garrison escaped the carnage.

The French afterward built another fort on the same ground, and, in

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[*] See Stoddart's Sketches of Louisiana.

commemoration of this disastrous event, called it Fort Massac, or Massacre, which name it still retains.*

It was occupied by the French until about 1750, when it was abandoned. After the revolutionary war, it was repaired by the Americans, and garrisoned for several years; but is now, like most of the ancient forts in this country, a heap of ruins.

During the war between England and France, which terminated in 1748 by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the petty conflicts in America were lost in the conflagration of Europe; and nothing in particular occurred which affected the interests or prosperity of Illinois. It was not, however, so in the war of 1756, which terminated by the treaty of Paris, in 1763. This State, including all of the Mississippi valley east of the river, was then ceded to England; and the lilies of France waved no longer upon its prairies.

Inasmuch, then, as the English title to Illinois was settled on the plains of Abraham, where the gallant Wolf fell, and expired in the arms of victory, a brief history of the campaign, so far as it affects the West, cannot be unwelcome.

NOTE.

In 1756, at which time it was rebuilt by the government of France, it was half-a-mile from the water's edge; in 1776, eighty paces; in 1770, an English officer, in speaking of Fort Chartres, observed, "The bank of the Mississippi is continually falling in, being worn away by the current, which has been turned from its course by a sand-bank, now increased to a considerable island, covered with willows."

In 1772, the river (Mississippi) inundated its banks, and formed a channel so near the fort, that one side of it, and two of its bastions, were thrown down. This circumstance induced the British, by whom it was occupied as a garrison, to abandon it. It is now a heap of ruins. Trees of considerable magnitude are growing within its walls, and its only use is, to furnish building materials for the neighborhood.

Captain Pittman, a British officer, whose "History of the European settlements on the Mississippi," was published in 1770, speaking of this fort, says:

"Fort Chartres, when it belonged to France, was the seat of government of Illinois. The head-quarters of the English commanding officer is now here. It is an irregular quadrangle; the sides of the exterior polygon, are four hundred and ninety feet. It is built of stone, and plastered over, and is only designed as a defence against the Indians. The walls are two feet and two inches thick, and are pierced with loop-holes, at regular distances, for cannon in the faces, and two in the flanks of each bastion. The ditch has never been finished. The entrance to the fort is through a very handsome rustic gate. Within the walls is a banquette raised three feet, for the men to stand on, when they fire through the loop-holes. The buildings within the fort, are a commandant's and commissary's house, the magazine of stores, corps de guarde, and two barracks; these occupy the square."

After describing the other buildings minutely, Captain Pittman concludes as follows: "It is generally believed, that this is the most convenient, *and best built* fort in North America."

When the Western or royal India company was in possession of Illinois, claiming title thereto from the crown of France, several extensive grants of land were made to individuals, which have since been confirmed by the government of the United States. Some thousands of acres are thus held, at the present day.

We find on record at Kaskaskia, in Randolph county, in this State, a paper executed more than a hundred years ago, which, translated, is in the words and figures following:

"Pierre Duque Boisbriant, knight of the military order of St. Louis, and first king's lieutenant of the province of Louisiana, commanding at the Illinois, and Marc Antoine de la loire des Ursins, principal secretary for the royal India company.

On the demand of Charles Danie, to grant him a piece of land, of five arpents in front, on the side of the Michigamia river, running north and south, joining to Michael Philip, on one side, and on the other, to Melique, and in depth, east and west, to the Mississippi.

In consequence, they do grant to the said Charles Danie (in soccage) the said land, whereon he may, from this date, commence working, clearing, and sowing, in expectation of a formal concession, which shall be sent from France by messieurs, the directors of the royal India company.

And the said land shall revert to the domain of the said company, if the said Charles Danie do not work thereon within a year and a day.

BOISBRIANT,
DES URSINS.

May 10th, 1722.

We find also a grant, or concession, bearing date on the 14th of June, 1723, to Philip Rinault, including the village and establishment at St. Philips, of one league on the Mississippi, and two leagues back from thence, "to enable him to support his establishment at the mines of Upper Louisiana," in Illinois. Between 1722 and 1731, at which time the company was dissolved, and Louisiana retroceded to the crown, other grants of the same kind, were made to a considerable extent.

These grants, or concessions, however, executed as they were, without pecuniary consideration, added nothing to the income or profits of the company. The settlements, or rather the colonization of Louisiana, so far from increasing the wealth (other than imaginary,) of the company of the Indies, served to embarrass it exceedingly. The amount expended by the company in 1720, when Fort Chartres was erected, is, we believe, unknown. Evidence, however, of great prodigality almost everywhere exists; and in 1722, we find the sum of 1,163,256 livres (See Stoddart's Louisiana, 45,) disbursed in Louisiana alone, to effect objects of comparative insignificance.

CHAPTER X.

French Encroachments—War of 1756—Said untruly by Smollet, the English Historian, to be "a native of America"—Occasioned a transfer of the State of Illinois from the French to the English—The title to Illinois settled on the Plains of Abraham—Ohio Company—English Traders arrested—Discharged at the solicitation of the Earl of Albemarle, English embassador at Paris—The Ohio Company cause surveys to be made—Jealousy of the Indians excited—Indians take sides with the French—Major Washington sent by Governor Dinwiddie, with a message to the French head-quarters on the Ohio, 1753—Leads a Military Expedition thither in 1754—Colonel Washington attacks and defeats a party of French and Indians—Builds Fort Necessity—Is attacked, and capitulates—Receives the thanks of his countrymen—Resigns his commission on account of orders being sent from England, denying Provincial officers rank when serving in the Line—Retires to Mount Vernon—General Braddock's Expedition—Colonel Washington invited to enter his family as Aid—General Braddock defeated and killed—Expedition against Crown-Point and Niagara—Abortive—War declared by England against France, and by France against England, in 1756—Attack on Niagara, Crown-Point, and Ticonderoga contemplated—Postponed—Oswego taken by the French—Its garrison inhumanly massacred in part—Fort William Henry taken by the French—Attack of Louisburgh by the English postponed "to a more convenient opportunity"—William Pitt—Elected to Parliament—Made a member of the Privy Council—Dismissed—Appointed Secretary of State—Attack on the French coast—Louisburgh taken—St. John surrenders—Fort Frontenac taken—Fort Du Quesne abandoned—English attack Ticonderoga, and are repulsed—Ticonderoga and Crown-Point abandoned—General Wolf lays siege to Quebec—Battle of Montmorenci—English defeated—Extraordinary Adventure—Battle of Quebec—The latter surrenders—General Wolf killed—Honors paid to General Wolf—also to Marquis de Montcalm—The whole of Canada surrenders—Pontiac—Pontiac War—Mackinaw surprised and taken by the Indians—Other places also taken—Attack on Detroit—Indians repulsed—Major Campbell massacred—Pontiac assassinated—Peace of 1763—Illinois ceded to England.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, was only a truce. Eight years, however, of successful and unsuccessful war, had rendered peace desirable. During the progress of hostilities, nothing had been gained by either party but an accumulation of debt. Humanity had suffered without an object, and without a result. Everything taken during the war was restored, and the boundaries between the English and French colonies in North America as unsettled as before. The important questions which had provoked hostilities were still unadjusted. The continuance of public tranquillity was intrusted to standing armies; and the balance of power, which had puzzled so many statesmen, remained as unfixed and uncertain as ever.

Although able men had negotiated the treaty, and supposed, and perhaps believed, themselves the arbiters of mankind—the pacificators of the world, their insight into futurity must have been limited, indeed, if they supposed that the workings of avarice and ambition would therefore cease, or that standing armies, mortified by defeat or flushed with victory, were suitable depositors of Europe's safety or of man's repose.

While the British ministry were depending on the success of their conferences at Paris, the French in North America were executing their plans of encroachment upon the English colonies; and in order to engross the whole trade in fur with the Indians, had made some progress, as we have already remarked, in erecting a line of forts between Canada and New-Orleans. Their commercial spirit, however, did not keep pace with their ambition. They could not, or rather did not, supply the Indians with the necessaries they wanted; many, therefore, resorted to the English settlements upon the Atlantic coast, and a spirit of rivalship was thenceforward excited. The English undersold the French trader. The Indians saw, and marked the difference, and sometimes wavered in their political faith.

The spirit of commercial monopoly thus unreasonably excited, in a few years, notwithstanding the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, roused the whole civilized world once more to arms. The war which followed (in 1756,) being, as Smollet, the English historian (untruly) observes, "a native of America," and producing in its result a change of masters for a considerable portion of this vast Continent, (including the whole State of Illinois,) demands on this occasion something more than a few passing remarks.

Previous to the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, the English colonists had scarcely ventured as far as the Ohio. The Appalachian and Alleghany chain of mountains, seemed for awhile to have bound them in an orbit, beyond which none save the solitary hunter, or the indefatigable vender of English merchandise, had sought to penetrate. The latter, however, in their excursions saw it was a goodly land; and the restless foot of English adventure is never satisfied with transient impressions.

A plan had previously been formed in Virginia, to organize a company to colonize this beautiful valley. The design, however, had been frustrated, partly by the indolence and timidity of the English ministry, who were either afraid or unwilling to give umbrage to the French, and partly by reason of jealousy and divisions which existed among the colonists. These circumstances, while they retarded the march of English enterprise, stimulated the French to new and reiterated efforts.

Soon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the organization of "the Ohio company" was revived, and an extensive tract of land, south of Pennsylvania, was patented to certain individuals by the English crown. An exclusive privilege at the same time was granted to the company, of trading with the Indians on the banks of the Ohio.

While this design was yet in contemplation, and before an attempt had been made to carry it into execution, the French Governor of Canada took the alarm, and wrote letters to the Governors of New-York and Pennsylvania, giving them to understand that they were about to encroach on the territories of France, and requesting them to desist immediately from their purposed undertaking. To this intimation no regard was paid. The English, however, continued their traffic with the Indians, as before, and three of their number were arrested by the French, taken to Canada, and their effects afterward confiscated. A remonstrance was thereupon made to the French government by the Earl of Albemarle, the English embassador at Paris, and the English traders were immediately set at liberty. The court of Versailles promised also to send orders to the French governors in North America, requiring them at all times to use their influence and authority to prevent, as much as possible, disputes between rival traders, that would tend to disturb, and perhaps destroy, the harmony and good-will which then existed between the French and English nations. The orders, however, transmitted, to all intents and purposes contradicted their professions. The French officers in Canada, their partisans and agents, instead of heeding such friendly admonitions, became afterward more active than before, and strove harder than ever to embroil the Indians in a war with the English. They redoubled also their efforts to weaken the influence of the latter, and to strengthen their own; and in so doing, were aided to a considerable extent by the folly and presumption of the Ohio company.

The Indians, having been told by the French traders that their lands had been given away without their knowledge, and that forts were about to be erected in their country without their consent, became alarmed; and Mr. Gist, who had been employed by the company to survey the banks of the Ohio, having had recourse to some foolish expedients to conceal his designs, and having behaved in a dark and mysterious manner, the jealousy of the natives, often inquisitive, and sometimes addicted to suspicions, was naturally aroused.

The incorporation of an exclusive company, calculated, of course, to deprive individual traders of a profitable branch of industry, was offensive also in its character to a class of individuals, who, if not the most respectable, are often the most numerous and influential upon the borders. Opposition to the English arose, therefore, in a quarter from whence it was not expected; and the concurrence of the savages, having neither been obtained nor solicited, they regarded the English with an evil eye, and their unauthorized inroads as the invasion of their country. It was reasonable then for the Indians to seek, and natural for the French to lend, assistance to the savages in the war that ensued. That the Indians thus situated, should have subsequently fought under the banners of France, ought not then to excite, even for a moment, our wonder or surprise.

The French during this period fortified themselves at leisure, and harassed the English traders with impunity.

Complaints, however, soon reached the Governor of Virginia; and in the fall of 1753, he dispatched Major Washington, (afterward commander-in-chief of the American armies,) then in the twenty-second year of his age, with a letter to the French commandant on the Ohio, wishing to be informed, "by whose authority his Britannic majesty's territories had been invaded;" and "requiring him to depart in peace." Major Washington having received instructions from Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., at that time Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, set out in obedience thereto on the same day he received them, and on the 14th of November reached Will's Creek, then a frontier settlement in his native State.

Proceeding from thence without delay, by incessant toil, now fording rivers, now crossing morasses, exposed during the whole journey to the elements, he reached at last the head-quarters of the French commandant, near Lake Erie. On the 12th of December he delivered his message, received an answer, and on the 16th of January following, (1754,) returned to Williamsburgh, then, and for a long time afterward, the capital of Virginia.

Although the answer was one of defiance, and the mission therefore abortive, the manner in which its duties were performed reflected credit on Major Washington, and constituted the first link in the chain of events which rendered his name immortal.

The French commandant, having indicated in his letter no intention to withdraw, preparations were at once commenced in Virginia to assert her rights. A regiment of three hundred men was immediately raised, and Major Washington appointed its lieutenant-colonel. Arriving with two companies in advance of his regiment at the Great Meadows, among the Alleghany mountains, in April, 1754, he was informed by some friendly Indians, that the French, having dispersed a party of workmen employed by the Ohio company, to build a fort on the southeastern branch of the river, were themselves erecting a fortress at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, (now Pittsburgh,) and that a detachment from thence, apparently with hostile views, were approaching his camp. Hostilities had not yet commenced. The British territories, however, were invaded, and self-preservation appealed to his sober judgment for advice. Amid forests remote from aid, and surrounded by savages, hostile or of doubtful attachment, such appeals are frequently made, and among prudent, reflecting men, never in vain. The advancing party having withdrawn at some distance from the path, and encamped for the night in a thick bottom, as if for concealment, furnished of itself, as Col. Washington supposed, evidence of unfriendly intentions. He resolved, therefore, to anticipate their attack; and availing himself of the offer made by the friendly Indians, who brought intelligence of their approach, to serve him as guides, he proceeded at once in a dark and stormy night to the French encampment. Marching in perfect silence, he encompassed it before day on every side, and as soon as the first glimmerings of light appeared, his troops fired, rushed in upon and captured (with one exception,) the whole party without a struggle. One man alone, M. Junonville, the commanding officer, was killed. Reinforced, soon afterward, by two additional companies from Virginia, and succeeding, by the death of a senior officer to the rank of colonel, he erected, with as much expedition as possible, a small stockade fort at the Great Meadows, which he called Fort Necessity, and advanced toward fort Du Quesne, (Pittsburgh,) intending, if possible, to drive the French garrison from thence. Having proceeded about thirteen miles in that direction, he was met by some friendly Indians, who informed him that the French and their savage allies, "as numerous as the pigeons in the woods," were advancing to meet him. Being satisfied from different sources, that the hostile detachment consisted of eight hundred French and seven hundred Indians, and being destitute almost of provisions, and the ground he occupied ill adapted for defence, he returned to Fort Necessity, and commenced a ditch around the stockade. Before, however, it was completed, the little garrison was assailed by about fifteen hundred French and Indians, commanded by M. de Villier. A violent attack was immediately commenced, and the engagement lasted from ten in the morning until dark, and was conducted with great intrepidity on both sides. The French commander, however, in the evening, desired a parley, and offered terms of capitulation. Several propositions were made and rejected, and others substituted in their places. During the night a capitulation was signed, and the fort was surrendered. Its little garrison marched out with the honors of war, and with their arms and baggage proceeded according to stipulation, without interruption, to the inhabited parts of Virginia. The Americans lost fifty-eight, in killed and wounded, and the French considerably more. Great credit was given to Colonel Washington by his countrymen, for the courage and conduct displayed by him on this occasion, and the Legislature of Virginia passed a unanimous vote of thanks.

The regiment having returned to Winchester, was immediately recruited, and being joined by some companies from North Carolina and Maryland, were ordered by the Governor of Virginia, with the advice of his council, regardless of the number and condition of the force opposed to them, and against the advice and remonstrance of Colonel Washington, "to march immediately over the Alleghany mountains, and expel the French from Fort Du Quesne, or build another in its vicinity."

Not a shilling, however, was advanced for the recruiting service; and the Assembly having adjourned, without having made any provision for prosecuting the war, the expedition, conceived in madness, was for the present abandoned.

In the meantime, orders were received from England, directing "that all officers commissioned by the king, or by his general in North America, (when serving with provincials,) should take rank of all officers commissioned by the governors of the respective provinces, and that the general and field officers of the provincial troops, should have no rank when serving with the general and field-officers commissioned by the crown." Colonel Washington, unable longer to serve his country without dishonor, immediately resigned. An elder brother having then recently died, and left him an estate on the Potomac, Colonel Washington withdrew to this delightful spot, and resolved in future to cultivate the arts of peace.

His brother, having served under Admiral Vernon in the mad expedition against Carthagena, Colonel Washington, in compliment to the admiral, called his estate on the Potomac Mount Vernon, thus conferring on the name of Vernon, more just celebrity than the admiral had done by his arms.

England and France, though at peace, were each of them preparing vigorously for war. In 1754 and '55, the affairs of America began to excite interest even in England; and on the 14th of January, 1755, Major General Braddock, with Colonel Dunbar and Colonel Halket's regiments of foot, sailed from the town of Cork in Ireland for Virginia, where they all landed previous to the first of March. In order to give the Virginians a lucrative job, their march was retarded until the 12th of June; the horses, wagons, and provisions for the army, were then furnished by some gentlemen from Pennsylvania, whither its destination ought originally to have been. This, however, was among the least of its misfortunes. General Braddock, though a man of courage, and expert at a review, (having been brought up in the English guards,) was haughty, positive, and difficult of access—qualities ill-suited to the nature of his command. His military education, on which he prided himself, unfitted him, in many respects, for Indian warfare; and the contempt with which he regarded the American militia, "because they could not go through their exercises with the same dexterity as a regiment of guards in Hyde Park," filled the measure of his incompetency, and insured his defeat. Before he left England, he received from the Duke of Cumberland a set of instructions, in which he was cautioned against surprise. Instead, however, of regarding this salutary admonition, his overweening confidence in his own abilities rendered him superior to advice, especially from provincial officers, whose opinions were of any value. His haughtiness toward the Indians who had sought his camp, and whose services would have been exceedingly desirable to any other than "a supercilious fool or madman," was also of such a nature as to induce them to forsake his banners.

Under these disadvantages, he began his march from Fort Cumberland on the 12th of June, at the head of two thousand two hundred troops, most of them gallant soldiers, who had served with reputation upon the Continent—unfit, however, with such a leader, to meet in battle the tawny sons of the forest.

General Braddock having heard of Colonel Washington—of his merits and motives, in retiring from the service some time in March, invited him to enter his family as a volunteer aid. Anxious to serve under an officer supposed to possess some knowledge of war, he accepted the appointment, and early in June, joined the army. Colonel Washington, impatient of delay, at once suggested to his commander the propriety of using pack-horses instead of wagons, for conveying their baggage. The commander, however, was so attached to the usages of regular war, that this salutary advice was at first rejected. Its propriety, however, when the army commenced its march, became too obvious to be neglected.

On the third day after leaving Will's Creek, (June 15th,) Colonel Washington being seized with a fever, and being unable to ride on horseback, was conveyed in a wagon, and General Braddock, finding the difficulties of the march greater than he anticipated, occasionally sought his company, and sometimes his advice. Colonel Washington, on this occasion, urged the general to leave his heavy artillery and baggage, with the rear division of the army, and press forward at the head of a chosen body of troops and a few pieces of light artillery, with the utmost expedition, to Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburgh.) In support of this advice, he stated that the French were then weak on the Ohio, but expected reinforcements daily; that during the excessive droughts which then prevailed, they could not arrive; that a rapid movement, therefore, might enable him to carry the fort, before this expected aid, now detained by reason of low water, could reach them; that the whole force of the French, in all probability, would then be concentrated, and the success of the expedition, in that event, would be doubtful.

This advice received at once the approbation of the commander-in-chief, and was adopted. It was then agreed, in a council of war, that twelve hundred select men, with ten pieces of light artillery, to be commanded by General Braddock in person, should advance with the utmost expedition, and that Colonel Dunbar with the residue, and all the heavy baggage, should bring up the rear.

The hopes, however, so fondly cherished by Colonel Washington of its rapid movements, were not fulfilled. "Instead of pushing on with vigor," says Colonel Washington, in a letter to his brother, written during the march, "without regarding a little rough road, the whole detachment was constantly halting to level every mole-hill, and erect bridges over every brook." Four days were thus spent in marching nine miles. Colonel Washington was too ill, at that time, to accompany the army further, and remained behind, under the protection of a small guard, with a promise that means should be placed at his disposal to overtake the main body before its arrival at Fort Du Quesne, and General Braddock, in the meantime, advanced without care or caution, "as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the further he was removed from danger," and on the eighth of July encamped within ten miles of Fort Du Quesne. Colonel Dunbar was then about forty miles in the rear, and several officers, especially Sir Peter Halket, who commanded one of the regiments, earnestly entreated him to advance with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians who were with him to reconnoitre the woods and thickets through which he was about to pass. Such, however, was the general's infatuation, that when he resumed his march on the tenth, no efforts had been made to obtain intelligence; no scouts sent forward to explore the country. As he was thus carelessly advancing, he was saluted about noon with a tremendous fire of musketry upon his front and left flank, from an enemy so artfully concealed, that not a man of them could be seen. The vanguard fell back upon the main body, and in an instant the panic was general. Most of the troops fled with great precipitation, notwithstanding the efforts of their officers, many of whom conducted with extraordinary bravery. Instead of scouring the thickets with grape-shot from his artillery, or sending out flanking parties against the enemy, he remained obstinately upon the spot where he was; and gave orders to the few brave officers and men who remained with him, to form regularly and advance as if he had been upon the open prairie, and his enemy in full view. In the meantime his officers, singled out by unseen marksmen, one after another were killed or wounded, and his men fell thick upon every side. At last the general, whose obstinacy had increased with his danger, and under whom three horses had already been killed, received a musket-shot through his right arm and lungs, and fell. His troops fled immediately in disorder. As soon as he had fallen, the confusion which prevailed before, was changed into a disorderly flight. Although no enemy was seen, all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left to the enemy, without any one appearing to claim them, and among the rest, the general's cabinet with his letters and instructions. The panic continued till they met the rear division, and so infected the latter with their terrors, that the whole army retreated without stopping till they reached Fort Cumberland. Although no enemy appeared in sight, either in the battle or afterward, "it was," says Smollet, the historian, "the most extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the farthest flight that ever was made." The English loss was about seven hundred in killed and wounded, and the whole force opposed to them, as the French afterward reported, about four hundred, mostly Indians.

Colonel Washington, weak as he was, had joined the army previous to the battle, and discharged the duties of a friend and volunteer aid to the commander-in-chief. Soon after the action commenced, he was the only aid alive and unwounded; the principal duty devolved, therefore, on him. During the whole action he manifested that coolness, self-possession, and fearlesness of danger which always marked his course, and form the principal ingredients in the character of a soldier. Two horses were killed under him, and four balls passed through his coat. To the astonishment of all, he escaped unhurt, while every other officer on horseback was killed or wounded. General Braddock was brought off the field in a tumbril by Colonel Washington, Captain Stewart of the guards, and his servant, and on meeting the rear division expired.

Colonel Washington, writing afterward to Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie, and speaking of the regular troops, says: "They were struck with such an inconceivable panic, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The Virginia companies behaved like men, and died like soldiers. Out of three companies, scarcely thirty were left alive. Captain Perouny, and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed. Captain Poulson's company had almost as hard a fate, for only one escaped." In another letter, he says: "We have been beaten—shamefully beaten, by a handful of men, who only intended to molest or disturb our march. Victory was their smallest expectation."

Braddock's defeat left the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, for some time exposed to French and Indian incursions. Some settlements were entirely broken up; some houses were burnt; their crops were destroyed, and men, women, and children were captured and massacred. The troops stationed among them were inadequate to their protection, and occasionally were blocked up themselves in their forts.

Had the shattered remains of Braddock's army continued at Fort Cumberland, as they ought to have done, they would have been a check upon the French, and have saved much of the misery that followed; instead, however, of doing so, they commenced their march in August, for Philadelphia, where they could be of no manner of service, under pretence of going into winter-quarters. The whole expedition then, instead of aiding the colonies, was prejudicial to their interests; inasmuch as it drew down upon unoffending women and children, the effects of savage vengeance.

In order to gratify the cupidity of a few merchants in London who traded to Maryland and Virginia, the Ohio company was formed—its conduct provoked a war—defeat and disgrace succeeded, and the colonists suffered.

On the death of General Braddock, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, succeeded as commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. His son had been secretary to General Braddock, and was killed at Braddock's defeat. Governor, now General Shirley, planned two expeditions against the enemy—one to be led by General, afterward Sir William Johnson, against Crown-Point, in New-York—the other by himself, against Fort Niagara; both of which proved abortive. The campaign of 1755, begun under flattering auspices, conducted by experienced officers, and supported by disciplined soldiers, thus passed away, and nothing was effected.

General Shirley being "no ways qualified to conduct military operations," early in 1756 was recalled, and General Abercrombie appointed his successor. Two British regiments, in March, 1756, accompanied him to America. The Earl of Loudon, appointed to the government of Virginia, was to act as commander-in-chief, and was vested with power and authory but little inferior to that of a viceroy.

England and France during all this time were at peace. Hostilities by sea and land, it is true, had been carried on with considerable vigor, and battles had been fought and won: still, their majesties of England and of France were exchanging the most cordial salutations.

On the 18th of May, 1756, the King of England declared war against France, and in the beginning of June, the King of France reciprocated the compliment, and declared war against England. The declaration of the latter was couched in terms of uncommon asperity.

The British monarch, in his declaration, admits "that he had given orders for seizing the ships of the French king and his subjects at sea. He accuses the latter, among other things, of invading Minorca in a hostile manner, and threatening to invade England, and concludes by observing, that he "could no longer, consistently with the honor of his crown and the welfare of his subjects, remain within those bounds which, from a desire of peace, he had hitherto observed." All this, it will be recollected, was subsequent to Braddock's expedition against the French posts upon the Ohio, and the expeditions of General Shirley and Sir William Johnson —one against Fort Niagara, the other against Crown-Point—all of which had failed for want of skill and conduct in their execution.

The King of France, laying aside that politeness and decorum on which his people valued themselves above all the nations of the earth, in his declaration, charged England "with piracy, perfidy, inhumanity, and deceit."

It would seem, then, that the war was not, as Smollet alleges, a "native of America"—that it had its origin in other sources—and if the protection of American colonists had been its only object, peace might have existed even to the present day.

The subject is no otherwise important, than as it furnished Great Britain with some little pretext for afterward saying, that "she had fought our battles and shed her blood in our cause." Be that, however, as it may, England and France were now at war.

Public expectation was at once turned to America.. General Abercrombie, as the successor of Governor Shirley, arrived at Albany (in New-York) on the 25th of June, 1756, immediately took command of the forces there assembled, and much was anticipated. It had previously been determined in a council of war, held at New-York, "to attack the fort at Niagara; to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point; to besiege Fort Du Quesne, and to detach a body of troops, by the river Kennebec, to alarm the capital of Canada:" all of them important objects, and essentially necessary to preserve an extensive frontier from the tomahawk and scalping-knife. General Abercrombie, however, thought proper to postpone their execution till the arrival of Lord Loudon, who was daily expected. The reason for his lordship's detention is unexplained. Smollet intimates, that it was owing "to the neglect and procrastination of an English ministry." Whether it was so or not, is immaterial. The season was too far advanced for military operations; "many fair opportunities had been lost," and the whole armament was rendered useless for a year.

In the meantime the French, with inferior force, succeeded in all they attempted. The garrison at Oswego, in New-York, consisting of one thousand four hundred men, commanded by Colonel Mercer, (who was killed,) surrendered to the Marquis de Montcalm, a French officer of great vigilance and enterprise, on condition that "they should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. After the surrender, some of the British officers were insulted by the savages, who robbed them of their clothes and baggage—massacred several men as they stood defenceless on the parade—assassinated Lieutenant De La Court, as he lay wounded in his tent, and barbarously scalped all the sick in the hospital; and to conclude the scene, Montcalm, in direct violation of the articles, as well as in contempt of common humanity, delivered up about twenty of the garrison to be put to death by the most excruciating tortures."

Those who countenance the perpetration of cruelties "at which human nature shudders with horror," indignantly exclaims the British historian who describes the scene above related, "ought to be branded as infamous to all posterity:"—a sentiment to which we shall have occasion hereafter to call the attention of our readers, in reviewing the conduct of British officers during the revolutionary war, as well as during that which has occurred in our own days, and in reviewing transactions which have taken place in sight of the very spot where we are now sitting.

While the British army was laying thus idle at Albany, Indian massacres of defenceless men, women and children, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, were almost daily occurring, and serious apprehensions in relation to the future destiny of the British colonies in North America, filled the whole nation with alarm.

The Earl of Loudon, finding the season (1756,) too far advanced to admit of any enterprise of note against the enemy, exerted himself in making preparations for an early campaign in the ensuing spring. With this view, Fort Edward and Fort William Henry, in New-York, were put in a proper posture of defence, and secured with numerous and well-appointed garrisons.

Although much was expected in 1757, "every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation." The attack upon Crown-Point, which had long been meditated, was abandoned, and an expedition against Louisburgh substituted in its place. Lord Loudon, having collected an army which raised great expectations, consisting of twelve thousand men, and a large naval force, in July proceeded thither. On his arrival, he found "the face of affairs altered:"—the garrison was much stronger and better supplied than he anticipated. He thereupon concluded it was best "to postpone an attack for the season," or, as the council expressed it, "to some more convenient opportunity."

Lord Loudon's departure from New-York with all the forces he was
able to collect, provincials as well as others, afforded the active and [illegible]
lant Montcalm an opportunity of profiting by his former su[illegible] vigi-
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Monroe, and covered by

an army of four thousand more at no great distance, under the command of General Webb. After a siege of six days, the garrison surrendered. The same promises were made as in the case of Fort Oswego, and as perfidiously broken. The savages in the French interest, either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted from views of policy, "to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part." They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, and despoiled them of their few remaining effects; dragged the Indians in the English service out of the ranks, and assassinated them with circumstances of unheard of barbarity.

"Thus," says Smollet, "ended the third campaign, where, with an evident superiority over the enemy—an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power; not less than twenty ships of the line—we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the shame and disgrace of the British name."

A new scene, however, was about to open. The defeat of Braddock; the capture of Oswego and the other forts in America; the delay of armaments; the neglect of opportunities; ineffectual cruises; absurd disposition of fleets and squadrons; disgraces in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, began at last to be regarded by the public as the misfortunes of state, originating from the crude designs of a weak, vacillating, and dispirited ministry.

Previous to this, a young cornet of dragoons, from the little town of Boconnock, in Cornwall, by his wonderful talents, had filled the metropolis of England with his fame. He now arose amid surrounding gloom, and "with one hand smote the Bourbons, and in the other, wielded the democracy of England;" infused, as if by magic, new life into her councils; and in the space of a few years stripped France of her superiority—annihilated her navy, reduced her colonies to subjection, and compelled her to acknowledge, in the face of Europe, herself defeated in every part of the globe. 'T is needless, perhaps, to inform the reader that we allude to the elder Pitt, afterward Earl of Chatham.

He was the son of Robert Pitt, of Boconnock, and was born at Cornwall, in 1708; was educated afterward at Eton and Oxford, and on quitting the university, became a cornet in the Blues. In 1735, he represented the borough of Old Sarum, in the House of Commons, where he [illegible]cted universal attention. By expressing himself with more freedom than became [illegible] a young man and an officer, in the opinion of Sir Robert Walpole, he incurred [illegible] the displeasure of the "great minister," whose influence was then paramount, [illegible] and was deprived of his commission. He afterward received, on accoun[illegible] of his [illegible] patriotism, a legacy of ten thousand pounds from the Duchess of Ma[illegible]lborough; [illegible] and at a later period, a considerable [illegible]state from Sir William Py[illegible]nsant. In eloquence, he had seldom, perhap[illegible] never, been surpas[illegible]ed. His elegance and dignity of manners—his fine voice, and masterly gesticulation, (in which even Garrick allowed him to be his superior,) prepossessed every one in his favor ; while the perspicuity and power of his arguments produced conviction in almost every mind. Integrity, disinterestedness and patriotism, indefatigable industry, promptitude and sagacity, were in him united. His speeches were always pertinent, uniformly bold, frequently sublime ; and his influence over those he addressed was, at times, irresistible.

In 1746, he became a member of the Privy Council, and in 1755, was removed. In 1756, he was again received into the administration, together with his friend, Mr. Legg, and the former was appointed secretary of state. The new ingredients, however, could not, or would not mix with the old leaven ; and the administration became (as was said,) an emblem of Nebuchadnezzar's image in his dream. "Its leg was of iron, and its foot was of clay." The old Junto, finding their new associates wholly unfit for their purposes, made such representations to the king, (George II.) that on the 9th of April, 1757, Mr. Pitt was again dismissed.

It frequently happens, that what is intended as a disgrace has a contrary tendency ; it sometimes destroys, and it sometimes elevates and ennobles its object.

Mr. Pitt, by his majesty's command, having given up the seals, the whole country rose up as one man to vindicate his fame. Every mouth was opened in his praise ; a number of respectable cities and corporations presented him with the freedom of their respective societies, inclosed in gold boxes of very curious workmanship ; and addresses, "dutifully and loyally expressed," almost without number, were poured into the royal ear, soliciting his restoration to employment, and alleging in bold, but respectful terms, that those who had reduced their country to the verge of destruction, were not the persons to effect her redemption.

What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolize. The whole kingdom had caught fire at his removal ; and the power, the artifice, and cunning of a faction, could no longer support itself against the united voice of Great Britain. On the 29th of June, 1757, Mr. Pitt was reappointed secretary of state ; and other promotions were made, which afforded universal satisfaction.

The accumulated losses of three campaigns were now to be retrieved, together with the credit of the British arms and councils. A mighty effort was requisite—that effort was made—those losses were retrieved—and the credit of the British arms and councils redeemed.

A war upon the Continent was then raging, in which England was a party ; and the Duke of Cumberland had been driven from every post he had occupied in the electorate of Hanover. In order to draw a portion of the French army from thence to defend their own coasts, and to destroy their shipping, so as to prevent the transportation of additional troops to North America ; a secret expedition to France was resolved upon, Europe beheld, with astonishment, the vast preparations that were making; and the public, big with expectation, but confident of success, wondered where the bolt would descend. Several impediments were interposed to prevent its embarkation, and the secretary expressed uneasiness at its delay, repeatedly urging the different commanders to expedite their departure.

An order having been issued to the board of admiralty, directing a certain number of ships to be got ready for sea, by a given day, the secretary of state was politely waited upon by the secretary of the board, and informed that it was impossible to execute the order. "Tell my lords of the admiralty," said the secretary, writhing at the time under a fit of the gout, and rising as he spoke, (the sweat standing in great drops on his face,) "that they have to deal with a minister who tramples on impossibilities." 'T is needless here to remark, that the ships were ready for sea, and sailed on the day appointed.

On the 8th of September, 1757, a fleet, at the expense of a million sterling, was equipped and sailed for France. The little isle of Aix, with its garrison of six hundred men and thirty pieces of cannon, was immediately taken, and its fortifications demolished. The French became alarmed; a descent upon their coast since the days of the Edwards and the Henrys, had not been heard of before. The scene, therefore, was as unexpected as novel. Little, however, was effected. The object of the expedition, though in part attained, was unsatisfactory to the nation, and the squadron immediately thereafter sailed for America, thenceforward the theatre of important operations.

The campaign of 1758 opened with an army of fifty thousand men, twenty-two thousand of whom were regular troops. The Earl of Loudon, having returned to England, General Abercrombie succeeded him as commander-in-chief. The objects, however, of the campaign being different, separate commands were assigned to each. General Amherst, with an army of twelve thousand men, being joined by a naval force, commanded by Admiral Boscawen, succeeded by great efforts, in which he was aided by General Wolf, in the capture of Louisburgh. St. John's immediately afterward surrendered to Lieutenant Colonel Rollo; Fort Frontenac was taken by Colonel Bradstreet; and Fort Du Quesne abandoned by the French, and taken possession of by General Forbes, who gave it the name of Fort Pitt, after the great minister, who with singular felicity then governed the nation.

General Abercrombie, at the head of seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials, in July, 1758, made an attack upon Ticonderoga and was repulsed. Having failed, the attack, as usual in such cases, was attributed to rashness, and his retreat considered pusillanimous. With this exception, the British arms were everywhere triumphant, and the whole campaign one continued series of victories.

The expedition against Fort Du Quesne would, in all probability, have been abortive, had not other victories paved the way for its success.

General Forbes himself was entitled to but little credit, other than what accident itself conferred.

Late in July he was at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, sick, and was yet undetermined whether to take the Braddock road, which would enable him, as Colonel Washington observed, to reach Pittsburgh in thirty-four days, or to open a new rout from Raystown thither. Having settled on the latter, by the advice of Colonel Boquet, and against the opinion of Colonel Washington, the army commenced its march. Colonel Washington, having commanded on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and being more thoroughly acquainted with the several routes than a perfect stranger, thought he had a right to speak on this occasion, and thus wrote to the aid of General Forbes:

"If Colonel Boquet succeeds in this point with the general, all is lost—our enterprise is ruined—and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter."

In September, Colonel Washington again wrote: "We are still encamped here, very sickly, and dispirited at the prospect before us: that appearance of glory which we once had in view—that hope—that laudable ambition of serving our country, and meriting its applause, are no more." "Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue." And again: "We have certain intelligence, that the French strength at Fort Du Quesne did not exceed eight hundred men the 13th ultimo, including about three or four hundred Indians. See how our time has been misspent. Behold how the golden opportunity is lost, perhaps never to be regained. How is it to be accounted for? Can General Forbes have orders for this? Impossible! Will then our injured country pass by such abuses? I hope not. Rather let a full representation of the matter go to his majesty. Let him know how grossly his glory and interests, and the public money, have been prostituted."

On the 21st of September, Major Grant, with a select corps of eight hundred men, was sent forward to reconnoitre the country about Fort Du Quesne. This detachment was defeated, with the loss of two hundred and seventy-three killed and forty-two wounded; and Major Grant, its commanding officer, and Major Lewis, were taken prisoners.

On the 8th of October, it was determined that the main body should advance. They did so, and on the 5th of November, "through a road indescribably bad," reached the camp at Loyal Hanna, where a council of war determined "that it was unadvisable to proceed further this campaign." This was the very spot where Colonel Washington had predicted, in July, the expedition would terminate.

Fortunately, however, some prisoners had been taken, from whom information was received, that the fort was in great distress for provisions; that its garrison was weak; that no aid had been received from Canada, and that the Indians had mostly deserted. These encouraging circumstances altered their decision, and the general resolved to proceed.

Colonel Washington led the advance, and with immense labor opened a way for the main body. The troops moved on with slow and painful steps, until they reached Fort Du Quesne, of which, on the 25th of November, they took peaceable possession.

The naval power of Britain had intercepted their reinforcements. The capture of Fort Frontenac had prevented aid from thence, and the pressure upon Canada had cut off their supplies. Fort Du Quesne surrendered therefore without a struggle; and its garrison, having set it on fire, proceeded in boats down the river. (See note 1.)

The "miracle" of which Colonel Washington had spoken in July, was now verified; and General Forbes became an important personage by accident.

Previous to 1759, a treaty, through the influence of Sir William Johnson, had been negotiated with several Indian tribes, in which he was materially aided by the victories of the preceding year. This treaty was concluded at Easton in the State of Pennsylvania, on the 26th of October, 1758. In speaking of this treaty, Smollet the historian, after observing that the Indian deputies were gratified with valuable presents, and among other things "with a few suits of lace clothes for their chieftains," says, "to crown their happiness, the stores of rum were opened. They drank themselves into a state of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their respective places of habitation."

The influence of the French had now in a measure ceased. The charm which had bound the Jesuit and the savage in unity, was now dissolved; and the entire conquest of Canada, hitherto projected, apparently at hand.

Three expeditions for that purpose were resolved upon: one against Niagara—one against Ticonderoga and Crown Point—and the other against Quebec.

The first was intrusted to General Prideaux, who was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, soon after the garrison was invested. He was succeeded by Sir William Johnson, who, having defeated a reinforcement of twelve hundred French and Indians sent thither from Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle, effected his object; and six hundred and seven disciplined soldiers of France marched out of Niagara with the honors of war on the 24th of July, 1759, and were embarked in vessels upon Lake Ontario for New-York.

General Amherst, in the meantime, marched with an army of twelve thousand men, including provincials, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, both of which were abandoned by the French at his approach; the former on the 27th of July, and the latter on the 4th of August. General Amherst immediately thereafter fitted out a squadron, and sailed down the lake, (Champlain,) in order to overtake his retreating foe, and if possible, assist General Wolf in the reduction of Quebec. The season however for action had mostly elapsed; the winds were adverse; a storm came on, and he was compelled to abandon the undertaking. Returning, therefore, to Crown Point on the 21st of October, having first secured to the British arms entire ascendency upon the lake, he disposed of his troops in winter quarters.

During the summer, no intelligence had been received from General Wolf, except a few hints, in a letter intercepted from the Marquis de Montcalm. From these General Amherst was given to understand, that the British had landed near Quebec—that General Wolf had honored him (Montcalm) with several notes—"sometimes in a soothing, and sometimes in a threatening strain"—that he (Montcalm) intended to give him battle; and that a few days would determine the fate of Quebec, and the French power in North America.

The reduction of Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown-Point, being less important than that of Quebec, the inquiry has often been made—Why a force so inadequate to its reduction, should have been sent against the latter? and how did that force succeed against such wonderful odds?

The first question we admit is of difficult solution—an answer to the latter will be found, in the singular adventures and surprising events which there occurred, exhibiting a spirit of enterprise, and displaying scenes of horror, in all the varieties of desolation, before unknown, especially in this western hemisphere.

Early in February, 1759, a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape Breton, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, officers of great experience and extraordinary merit; and on the 21st of April came in sight of Louisburgh. The harbor being choked with ice, they bore away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. Admiral Saunders soon afterward returned to Louisburgh, and taking on board his fleet a detachment of eight thousand troops, proceeded from thence up the St. Lawrence. The army destined for Quebec was commanded by Major General Wolf, and Brigadiers Moncton, Townsend, and Murray, were among his subalterns.

The first was born a soldier—the son of Major General Wolf, a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity. During the siege of Louisburgh, in the preceding campaign, the young and gallant Wolf had exhibited uncommon genius, and gathered laurels in every field. He was, therefore, though still young, a veteran in experience. The other three resembled each other, not only in age, but capacity and station. They were the sons of noblemen, were bred in affluence, and heirs each to a peerage. They had studied the military art with uncommon eagerness, and impelled by a desire for glory, had burst the bands of domestic felicity, and bidding adieu to friends, to country and home, now sought the favor of their prince, and the applause of their country, by exposing their ease, their health, and everything dear, to the perils of a disagreeable voyage, the rigors of an inhospitable climate, and the hazards of an expedition fraught with danger.

The fleet destined for Canada, sailed up the river without opposition; and the army intended for its conquest, early in June was quietly and peaceably disembarked, in two divisions, upon the Isle of Orleans, a little below Quebec.

General Wolf there issued a manifesto to the French inhabitants of Canada, in which he offered them "the sweets of peace amid the horrors of war." He exhorted them to remain neutral; and promised them, in that event, security in their persons, their property, and their possessions. He promised them also in the name of his sovereign, the free enjoyment of their religion. The declaration, however, produced no sensible impression.

The English had for some time been regarded by the Canadians, as the most savage enemies upon earth. The French colonists prepared, therefore, to abandon their dwellings, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin, rather than confide in English protection; and joining the scalping parties of Indians, they skulked among the woods, fell upon the English stragglers by surprise, and butchered several without mercy.

General Wolf, like other brave men, revolted against wanton and perfidious cruelty, and immediately wrote to the French commandant, and represented in glowing colors, that such enormities were against the rules of civilized warfare—dishonorable to France, and disgraceful to human nature—and desired that the French colonists and the savages might be restrained. To this Montcalm, the enterprising commander of Quebec, made no reply. With an army superior in number to the invaders, he had resolved to depend on the natural strength of the country, as well as upon his own resources; and aware of the approaching storm, had fortified Quebec with consummate skill, secured it with a numerous garrison, and supplied it plentifully with provisions. He had reinforced, too, his army with five additional battalions; had disciplined all the Canadians in the neighborhood, and summoned a body of Indians to his aid.

To undertake the siege under such circumstances, and against such fearful odds, was a departure, not only from the established maxims of war, but against the dictates of common sense and ordinary prudence.

The British commander was acquainted with all the difficulties of his position, but knew that while the English squadron maintained its station in the river, he had a place of refuge, in case of emergency. He was also in hopes of being joined by General Amherst; and above all, was stimulated by an unconquerable thirst for glory, which no dangers, however desperate, could allay.

Understanding that a body of French troops was posted with cannon at Point Levi, on the south side of the river, opposite to Quebec, he dispatched Brigadier Moncton with four battalions, in the night, to dislodge them. The attack was successful. Colonel Carlton, at the same time, with another detachment took possession of a point on the west end of the Isle of Orleans, to anticipate the French—both of which were immediately fortified. Point Levi, being situated within cannon-shot of the city, a battery was commenced upon its summit; and Montcalm, foreseeing its probable effects, detached a body of one thousand six hundred men immediately across the river, to attack and destroy the works there commenced before they were completed. The detachment, however, fell into disorder, and fired upon each other; and being attacked by a British force, fled in confusion. The battery being at length completed, the English commenced firing upon the city, and in a short time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower reduced to a heap of rubbish.

The English fleet, during this period, was exposed to imminent danger. Soon after the army had disembarked a storm arose, and several transports became disabled. Several of the small craft foundered, and several of the large ships lost their anchors. The French, seeing the confusion, at once prepared, and at midnight sent, fire-ships down from Quebec among the transports. The scheme, though well contrived, and admirably executed, was rendered abortive by the energy of the British admiral and the dexterity of his seamen. The latter resolutely boarded the fire-ships, towed them ashore, and left them to burn without injury or danger to the squadron.

The works intended to secure the hospital and military stores, being now completed, and the British army having crossed the north channel in boats, encamped in triumph upon its shore—the rivers Montmorency and St. Charles alone dividing them from the city. The next morning a company of English rangers was attacked by the French and Indians, and totally defeated. Reinforced, however, from the main body, they renewed the attack, and repulsed the Indians in turn. The banks of the Montmorency were steep and covered with wood; they were also so intrenched on the opposite side, as to render an attack exceedingly hazardous. An attack, however, on the last day of July was made. The British crossed the stream at a ford below the falls—attacked the French, stormed their intrenchments, and after displaying the most signal courage, were compelled to retire with the loss of five hundred killed and wounded. The Indians massacred the living who had ceased to resist, and scalped the dead in sight of their companions. (See note 2.)

A short time previous to the battle, some ships with troops on board, sailed up the river, and passed the city of Quebec without injury. General Wolf was among them, and carefully examined its banks near the city. He at once saw they were difficult of access, and that these difficulties were increased by the foresight and precaution of the French commander.

Soon after the battle, a little skirmish ensued, and some prisoners were taken. From these, General Wolf received intelligence, that Niagara had fallen, that Ticonderoga and Crown-Point had been abandoned, and that General Amherst was making preparations to follow up his victory.

The disaster at the Falls of Montmorency, and the success of the conquerors of Niagara and Ticonderoga, made an impression on the sensitive mind of Wolf, which nothing but death or victory could eradicate. His spirit could not brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace. He knew the character of the English people: "Rash, impetuous, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the least gleam of success; dejected even to despondency, by the most inconsiderable frown of adverse fortune; sanguine even to childish hyperbole, in applauding those servants who have prospered in their undertakings; and clamorous even to persecution, against those who have miscarried in their endeavors, without an investigation of their merit, or the consideration of their circumstances."*

A sense of their peculiarities—a desire to retrieve the laurels which some, perhaps, thought he had lost at the Falls of Montmorency, and the despair of finding such an occasion, affected the frame of Wolf, naturally fragile, and disordered his constitution. Among those who shared his confidence, he was known frequently to sigh, sometimes heard to complain, and in transports of mortification, declare that he never would return without success—never be exposed, as other unfortunate commanders had been, to the censures and reproaches of an ignorant, ungrateful populace. This tumult of mind, added to the fatigues of body he had undergone, produced a fever which, for some time, totally disabled him.

A council of war, in the meantime, was held, and it was determined the troops should be transported up the river, in order, if possible, to bring on a general engagement. An assault, it was then thought, could not be hazarded with any prospect of success.

In consequence of this resolution, the troops were reëmbarked at Point Levi, and afterward transported up the river; and as no possibility appeared of annoying the enemy, the plan of operations was changed, and it was resolved, that the troops should descend the river in boats at midnight, and land about a league above Cape Diamond; that from thence they should ascend the heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly from the river, and take possession of the ground immediately in the rear of the town, where it was but slightly fortified. The difficulties attending the execution of this plan were so numerous and complicated, that nothing, short of desperation, could have led rational men to embrace it. The stream was rapid, the shore was shelving, the bank of the river was lined with sentinels; the landing-place was so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the ground was difficult to ascend, even in the daytime, when there was no opposition. The least intimation from a spy, or deserter; any mistake in the time or place of embarkation, or any alarm given by a sentinel, would either of them have defeated the whole scheme, and proved fatal to the whole, or a considerable portion of the detachment.

These objections did not escape the penetration of Wolf; still he adopted the plan as his last resort, and though laboring under a fever which had exhausted his constitution, and reduced him to the extreme of weakness, he resolved on executing it in person.

Monsieur de Bougainville, with fifteen hundred men, had previously been detached from Quebec to watch the motions of the English, and this circumstance aided materially the designs of the latter.

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* Smollet.

The twelfth of September, 1759, having been fixed upon for its execution, a little after midnight the first embarkation took place, under the command of Captain James Cook, the famous circumnavigator. The garrison of Quebec expected, during that night, a convoy of provisions down the river from the detachment above, commanded by Monsieur de Bougainville. The boats of the assailants fell down the stream with the tide, and without disorder, glided quietly along. Owing, however, to the rapidity of the current, and to the darkness of the night, the troops landed a little lower than they intended. They had no sooner disembarked, than the boats were sent back for the second detachment. A British ship of war was at that time lying at anchor near the shore, and two French deserters being taken on board, as the English boats were drifted along, the deserters began to shout and make a noise as though it was a part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who commanded the British ship, ignorant of General Wolf's design, and believing the boats to be a part of the expected convoy, gave orders immediately to point his guns at the British troops, and nothing prevented their discharge (which would have alarmed the town and frustrated the whole scheme,) but the instant rowing alongside of General Wolf himself, who, in an undertone, countermanded the orders. Another extraordinary circumstance (for extraordinary circumstances always accompany genius,) aided this delusion. The French had posted sentinels along the shore, to challenge boats and give alarms. As the first English boat descended it was challenged. "Qui vit?" said the sentinel. "La France," said an English captain, well acquainted with the language and customs of the French. "A quel regiment?" (To what regiment?) demanded the sentinel. "De la Reine," replied the captain. This the captain had learned, by accident, was the name of one of the regiments commanded by Bougainville. The sentinel, taking it for granted that it was a part of the expected convoy, exclaimed "passe," and all the boats passed without further interruption. The next sentinel, however, was a little more wary; and in addition to the ordinary questions, asked, "Pourquoi est ce que vous ne parlez plus haut?" (Why do n't you speak with an audible voice?) To this interrogation the captain, with admirable presence of mind, and in a soft tone of voice, replied, "Taire toi! nous serons entendres." (Hush! we shall be overheard.) This appropriate answer at once silenced inquiry, and the troops were quietly disembarked. When they reached the foot of the precipice, and General Wolf saw the difficulty of its ascent, he observed to the officer who commanded the advance guard, in a familiar tone: "I do n't believe there is any possibility of getting up, but you must do your endeavor." The narrow path that slanted up the hill had been broken up, and rendered impassable by cross-ditches and an intrenchment at the top, and the soldiers were obliged to leave the ordinary path, and pull themselves up by the roots of the trees that grew on either side. On arriving at the summit, they dislodged a sergeant's guard, which defended the only accessible avenue to the heights above. The light-infantry and

Highlanders followed as soon as possible, and the whole army were at once drawn up in line, and the banners of England for the first time waved on the plains of Abraham.

Montcalm, having learned that the English had gained the heights, which in a manner commanded the town in its most vulnerable part, resolved immediately to give them battle.

Having collected his whole force, he advanced early in the morning to the encounter. His right was composed of half the colonial troops, two battalions of disciplined soldiers, and a body of Canadians and savages; his centre consisted of two other regular battalions, and his left of one battalion and the residue of the colonial troops. He also posted fifteen hundred of his best marksmen in the bushes and corn-fields, to keep up an irregular, galling fire upon the English, with directions to single out their objects.

General Wolf, seeing the enemy cross the river St. Charles, and knowing that an action was unavoidable, began immediately to form his line. It consisted of six battalions and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right was commanded by General Moncton, the left by General Murray, and Colonel Howe's light infantry were posted in the rear.

The French commandant having indicated an intention, as he advanced, to outflank the English on the left, General Townsend, with the regiment of Amherst was sent thither, and formed instantly so as to present a double front to the enemy. The English reserve, consisting of one regiment of infantry, was drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large spaces between.

Both armies were nearly destitute of artillery; the French having but two small pieces, and the English but a single gun, which a few seamen, with great difficulty, had drawn up from the landing.

The two opposing armies, on the 13th day of September, 1759, at nine o'clock in the morning, were thus put in battle-array, and a territory, equal in extent to one half of Europe, was dependent on its issue. General Wolf took his position on the right of the British troops, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisburg grenadiers. Lieutenant-General, the Marquis De Montcalm, on the left of the French division. The latter advanced to the charge with great vivacity, and in excellent order; their fire, however, was irregular and ineffectual. The British reserved theirs until the French had approached to within about forty yards of their front. The discharge was then tremendous, and continued with such deliberation and spirit, as to produce at once considerable impression. General Wolf being on the right, where the action was hottest, and standing conspicuous in front of the line, was aimed at by several marksmen, and early in the action, received a wound in his wrist. Wrapping, however, his handkerchief around it, he continued giving his orders as though nothing had happened, and without discovering the slightest emotion. The British fire having at length made a deep impression upon the enemy's line, and the latter beginning to recoil, General Wolf advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, and just as the French were about to give way, received a musket ball in his breast, and fell "in the arms of victory."

Every regiment now exerted itself, as though the honor and safety of England and its own, were dependent on the issue. The right pressed on with their bayonets; General Murray advanced with the troops under his command, and broke the centre; and the Highlanders, drawing their broadswords, drove the French with great slaughter before them, across the river St. Charles, and into the city.

General Wolf, on receiving his mortal wound, (being unable to stand,) withdrew a short distance from the scene, and leaning on the shoulder of a lieutenant who sat down for that purpose, seemed, notwithstanding his injury, absorbed by the battle. A messenger at that moment arriving, he eagerly asked, "How are our troops?" And being told that "the enemy were visibly broken," he wished to be lifted up, that he might once more view the field. His eyes were glazed in death—his vision nearly extinguished. The attendants wishing, however, to obey his last behests, were about to lift him up, when an officer standing by, exclaimed: "They fly!—they fly!" "Who?" said the expiring Wolf. "The French!" answered the lieutenant. "Then," said the gallant hero, "I die happy!" and expired.

The ball that pierced his bosom had caused a thrill of pleasure, as the immortal spirit, disembodied from its earthly tenement, rose on the wings of battle to meet its God.

General Wolf being slain, and General Moncton dangerously wounded, the command devolved on General Townsend, who hastened to the centre, and finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them again with all possible expedition. This was scarcely effected, before M. De Bougainville, with two thousand fresh troops, assailed him from the rear. A detachment of two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, being sent against the latter, he retreated to the woods and swamps, and thus eluded pursuit. The victory was now complete; five hundred French had been slain in battle, and a thousand were now prisoners to the English, including a number of officers. The French general, M. De Montcalm, was mortally wounded, and conveyed to Quebec, where he died on the next day, after having written a letter to General Townsend, recommending the French prisoners to his humanity. His second in command was wounded also, and left on the field, from whence he was conveyed to the English fleet, and died on the following day. On the part of the victors, but fifty were killed, including nine officers, and about five hundred wounded. Preparations were at once made for investing the upper and lower towns, by the fleet and army. Before, however, any battery was finished, the town capitulated, and the French power in North America was effectually broken.

One or two attempts were afterward made by the French, to regain possession of the city. They proved, however, abortive; and the English banners from that time forward till now, have waved on the castle of St. Louis, superseding those of France, after one hundred and fifty years possession.

After the battle, and defeat at the Falls of Montmorency, General Wolf had dispatched an officer to England with a detail of that disaster, written with great accuracy and elegance, in which he observed: "We have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In such a choice of difficulties, I am myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favorable event."

Although the public acquiesced in the conduct of General Wolf, they were exceedingly mortified at the result, as he seemed to despair of being able to strike any other stroke of importance for the accomplishment of their hopes, which had aspired to nothing less than the conquest of Canada. Their first transports of chagrin, however, had scarcely subsided, when an account of the victory and surrender of Quebec arrived. The fact was immediately communicated to the public in a gazette extraordinary. The public joy rose in proportion to their former despondence—all was rapture and riot, triumph and exultation.

The all-accomplished hero, who had lost his life in the contest, was exalted to a ridiculous degree of hyperbole. "A day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed by proclamation, throughout all the dominions of Great Britain." The city of London, the universities, and many other corporations, presented congratulatory addresses to the king; and the secretary of state, (Mr. Pitt,) at the opening of Parliament, expatiated on the success of the campaign—the transcendent merit of the deceased general, and the conduct and courage of the admirals, officers, and soldiers, who had assisted in its capture.

The House of Commons unanimously resolved to present an address to the king, desiring the erection of a monument to the memory of General Wolf, in Westminster Abbey. A beautiful monument was accordingly erected. (See note 3.)

The whole of Canada fell with Quebec, and General Townsend, leaving a garrison of five thousand effective men in the latter, commanded by Brigadier Murray, victualled from the fleet, embarked for England.

In succeeding, however, to the power, it was discovered at an early day, that the English had not succeeded to the influence of the French over the aborigines. There is something in the character of a Frenchman, which adapts him in a peculiar manner to the habits and feelings of the savage—something, which the English never learned or never practiced. "When the French came hither," said a Chippeway chief once in council, "they came and kissed us—they called us children, and we found them fathers: we lived like children in the same lodge." It was never so in regard to the English; when the latter, therefore, obtained possession of the country after the surrender of Quebec, a spirit of dissatisfaction became visible among the numerous savage tribes that resided in the west. This dissatisfaction led afterward to the formation of a plan, conceived with great boldness and executed with wonderful address, for exterminating the English altogether.

There lived at that time near Detroit, an Ottowa chief by the name of Pontiac; one of those high and heroic men, who stamp their own character upon their country and the age. Major Rogers, who commanded the first British force which arrived and took possession of Detroit, in speaking of Pontiac says: "He puts on an air of majesty and princely grandeur, and is greatly honored and revered by his subjects." "As I approached Detroit at the head of a military force," continues Major Rogers, "I was met by an embassy from him, who came to let me know 'that Pontiac was at a small distance, coming peaceably; and that he desired me to halt, until he could see me with his own eyes.' His embassador had orders also to inform me, 'that he was Pontiac the king, and lord of the country I was in.' When we afterward met, 'he demanded my business into his country, and how I dared to enter it without his leave.' I informed him, that it was not with any design against the Indians that I came, but to remove the French out of the country, who had prevented a friendly intercourse between the English and the Indians. He thereupon told me, 'that he stood in the path I travelled in till morning;' and gave me a string of wampum, as much as to say, 'You need not march further without my leave.' When he departed for the night, he inquired if 'I wanted anything that his country afforded; and if I did, he would send his warriors to fetch it.' I assured him, that any provisions they brought should be paid for; and the next day we were supplied with parched corn and other necessaries. At our second meeting, we smoked the calumet together, and he assured me he had made peace with me and my detachment, and that I might pass through his country unmolested, and relieve the French garrison; that he would protect me and my party; and as an earnest of his friendship, he sent one hundred warriors to protect and assist us in driving one hundred fat cattle we had brought from Pittsburgh for the use of the army. He sent also to several Indian towns, to inform them that I had his consent to enter the country. He attended me constantly till I arrived at Detroit, and was the means of preserving the detachment from the fury of the Indians, who had assembled at the mouth of the strait to cut us off." Notwithstanding the friendly relations apparently subsisting between Pontiac and Major Rogers, the former, it seems, became afterward dissatisfied. The causes of that dissatisfaction are yet unknown. That he was wholly separated from the British interest, is unfortunately too true; and that he afterward connected the western tribes into a confederacy, to inflict the most signal vengeance on his oppressors, is too apparent to require elucidation.

Pontiac reasoned as well as felt, like Philip of Pokanoket before, and Tecumseh afterward; he apprehended danger to his dominions, and to the Indian interests at large, from the English. Danger from their superiority in arms, their ambition, and their eagerness to possess every military post on the Continent. Pontiac saw, or thought he saw, a want of cordiality among the English toward the Indians. The French had lived with them—had sent them necessaries—had invited them to their councils—had made them presents—had talked and traded with them, and manifested an interest in their affairs. On the other hand, the English, to use Pontiac's own phrase, "neglected all those circumstances, which made the neighborhood of the French agreeable, and which might have made their own at least tolerable. The conduct of the French never gave rise to suspicion; the conduct of the English never gave rest to it."

Pontiac looked into futurity, far enough to foresee the consequences to his race, which would, in all human probability, accompany the English usurpations; and his affection for the French, which does him honor, predisposed him to believe that the English had done his old friends and companions, the French, great injustice. It is possible that the latter may have convinced him, that the English had done injustice to Pontiac himself. That they "had treated him with neglect," is certain. He resolved, therefore, "to shut up the way;" and began first to make speeches, and afterward to dream dreams. The wild and reckless multitude heard with eagerness the story of their wrongs, as it fell from his lips, and his offers of revenge; and a plan of operations was finally concerted, to secure their coöperation along the whole length of the English frontier, exceeding considerably a thousand miles.

One of Pontiac's speeches, being somewhat remarkable, we insert a portion of it here:

> "Englishmen. It is to you that I speak—and I demand your attention. Englishmen. You know that the French king is our father. He promised to be such, and we, in return, promised to be his children—this promise we have kept.
>
> "Englishmen. It is you that have made war with this, our father. You are his enemy—how then could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children? You know that his enemies are ours!
>
> "Englishmen. We are informed that our father, the king of France, is old and infirm; and that, being fatigued with making war upon your nation—he is fallen asleep. During his sleep you have taken advantage of him, and possessed yourselves of Canada. But his nap is almost at an end—I think I hear him already stirring, and inquiring for his children the Indians—and when he does awake, what must become of you? He will destroy you utterly!"

We have already remarked, that Pontiac called to his aid the prevalent superstitions of the savages, and "dreamed dreams." In an interview between the Great Spirit and his chosen minister, the Indians were directed to abstain from "ardent spirits, and to cast from them the manufactures of the white men." "Why," said the Great Spirit, "do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country, and take the land I give you? Drive them from it! and when you are in distress I will help you."

Like other emperors and kings on the eve of war, Pontiac "began to make money." Major Rogers, (in his journal above referred to, published at London, in 1765,) speaking of Pontiac's money, says: "He appointed a commissary, and began to make money, or bills of credit, which he hath since punctually redeemed. His money was the figure of what he wanted to exchange for it, drawn upon bark, and the shape of an otter, (his arms,) drawn under it. Pontiac's 'bills of credit,' were the first money issued in Michigan, and however strange it may appear," says Major Rogers, "they were punctually redeemed." It would afford us great pleasure to say the same, if we could with equal truth, of certain bills issued since, with a "wild cat," instead of an otter, upon them.

Pontiac's scheme was nothing less, than a sudden and cotemporaneous attack upon all the British posts upon Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, including also the forts at Niagara, Presque Isle, Le Bœuf, Venango and Pittsburgh. His plan was to carry them all by treachery, and to massacre their garrisons. He next intended to take possession of the country, and to oppose the introduction of any British force into his dominions. He calculated, also, that success would give confidence to the western tribes, and unite them all into one grand confederacy.

His preparations being at length completed, the Indians, in the month of May, 1763, commenced a simultaneous attack upon each of the twelve British posts between Green Bay and Pittsburgh, nine of which were immediately captured.

His measures had been taken with such secrecy, that the storm burst upon each garrison before the English had time to prepare for it, and before they had even learned the intentions of their enemy. A more signal proof of the hostile feelings of the Indians, and of the influence exercised by Pontiac over them, can nowhere be found. A frontier exceeding a thousand miles in extent, secured by fortified posts, in a time of peace was simultaneously attacked, and that, too, without the slightest suspicion on the part of the British that an attempt of that kind was even contemplated.

The circumstances attending the surprise of Mackinaw are somewhat extraordinary. The fort was then upon the main land; the Ottowas, to whom the assault was committed, prepared for a great game of ball, to which the British officers were invited. While engaged in play, one of the parties inclined toward the fort, and the others pressed after them; the ball was once or twice thrown over the pickets, and the Indians were suffered to enter and procure it. Almost all the garrison were present as spectators, and those upon duty were negligent and unprepared. Suddenly the ball was again thrown into the fort, and all the Indians rushed after it. "The residue of the tale," says Governor Cass, "is soon told. The troops were butchered, and the fort destroyed." Niagara and Pittsburgh, being regular fortifications, were successfully defended; and Detroit, regarded by the Indians as the most important, was assailed by Pontiac in person.

The garrison, at that time, consisted of a hundred and twenty-two men and officers; there were also about forty traders and engagees residing in the fort; and Major Gladwyn, a few days before the attack, had superseded Major Campbell in the command.

On the 8th of May, 1763, Pontiac, with a number of warriors, presented himself at the gate, and requested an audience with its commanding officer. His plan was happily conceived, and but for its publicity, might have succeeded. It was this: Pontiac was to have met the British commander in council, and at a given signal, (which was to have been the presentation of a belt of wampum in a particular manner,) his attendants were to massacre all the British officers, open the gates, and admit a body of warriors, who were to be ready on the outside for entrance; they were then to slaughter the whole garrison, demolish the fortress, and thus annihilate the English power. The Indians, previous to this intended assault, had sawed off their rifles, so that they could conceal them without difficulty under their blankets. Unfortunately, however, for Pontiac, Beaufait, a respectable French gentleman then living in Detroit, and he, were friends; and Pontiac wished to save him. Meeting his friend at the Bloody Bridge, Pontiac threw aside his blanket, and exhibited the shortened rifle, intimating, at the same time, the project he had in view. Whether M. Beaufait disclosed Pontiac's scheme to Major Gladwyn, or whether it was made known by an Indian woman named Catharine, as pretended, we are yet uninformed. Apprehensions of serious consequences to his friendly monitor, at all events, induced the parties at that time to conceal the fact, if any such intelligence was given. The whole plan, however, was disclosed; and fortunately for the garrison, it was believed. Preparations were therefore made for their reception; the fort was strengthened, the arms were examined, the ammunition arranged; and every man in the fort, civil and military, was directed to be ready for instant and urgent service. The officers, during the whole preceding night, walked also upon the ramparts. In the meantime, everything was silent, except the songs and dances in the Indian camp, which alone broke upon the ear. Anticipating success, they spent the night as savages usually do, previous to any great enterprise, in songs and revelry.

In the morning, Pontiac and his warriors sung their war-song, danced their war-dance, and repaired to the fort; they were admitted at once, and conducted to the council-house, where Major Gladwyn and his officers were prepared to receive them. Pontiac, as he entered the gate and passed through the streets, observed an unusual movement among the troops. He saw that the garrison was under arms, that the guards were doubled, and that the officers were armed with swords and pistols; and inquired of the British commander the cause of this unusual movement. He was told that it was always necessary to keep young men to their duty, lest they should be ignorant and idle. The council was then opened, and Pontiac proceeded to address Major Gladwyn. His speech was bold and menacing, his manner and gesticulations were vehement; they became still more so, as he approached the critical moment when he was about to present the belt to Major Gladwyn, and all was breathless expectation. The drums suddenly rolled the charge, the guards levelled their pieces, and the officers drew their swords. Pontiac trembled. He had led his warriors frequently to victory, and triumphed in many a hard-fought battle: the unexpected and decisive proof that his treachery was discovered and prevented, now entirely disconcerted him. After pausing a moment, he presented the belt in the usual manner.

Major Gladwyn thereupon approached the savage, and drawing aside his blanket, discovered the shortened rifle. After reproaching him for his treachery, he instantly ordered him to leave the fort. The Indians retired, and as they passed the gate, gave a yell and fired upon the garrison. They also murdered an aged Englishwoman and her two sons, and a discharged sergeant and his family, in the vicinity. They afterward commenced an attack upon the fort, which lasted several days, and were finally repulsed, with but little loss or injury to the English or the Indians.

Major Campbell, though superseded, still remained in the fort. He had commanded the garrison ever since the country had surrendered, and was known and esteemed by the Canadians and the Indians. Pontiac, through two French gentlemen in Detroit, with whom he was still in communication, expressed a desire to see Major Campbell, that they might smoke the calumet together; and solemnly promised that he might go and come in perfect safety. Such was the anxiety of all to bring this irksome warfare to a close, that Major Campbell, (by the advice of some gentlemen who had visited Pontiac, and were deceived by his professions and promises,) together with Lieutenant McDougald, repaired to his camp. They were received at first with politeness; but afterward, in violation of Pontiac's plighted faith, were forcibly detained. Pontiac afterward offered Major Campbell his life for the surrender of the fort. "The melancholy fate of this self-devoted officer," says Governor Cass, "adds another to the many proofs, which an intercourse with the Indians has furnished, of the little confidence to be placed in savage promises during war." Lieutenant McDougald afterward fled, and reached the garrison at Detroit, in safety. Major Campbell's vision being imperfect, he declined the attempt, and was massacred by the nephew of an Ottawa chief, who was killed during one of the sorties from the fort.

In justice, however, to Pontiac, we ought perhaps here to remark, that he was indignant at the murder of Major Campbell, and used every exertion in his power to apprehend the murderer; who had fled, apprehensive of Pontiac's vengeance, and probably would have atoned by his death for the atrocious act, in case he had been arrested.

On the 3rd of June, 1763, intelligence was received at Detroit, of peace between England and France. The subsequent events in the Pontiac war became, therefore, of but little importance. Pontiac soon relaxed in his efforts. General Bradhurst arrived with an army of three thousand men, and all the tribes in the vicinity of Detroit resorted thither.

England and France being now at peace, the tomahawk was buried, and the war-whoop ceased to echo through our vales.

Pontiac, either distrusting the professions of the English, or too much exasperated to live cordially with them, declined any intercourse with their troops, and took no part in the pending negotiations. He abandoned the country and repaired to Illinois. Here, owing to some cause which has not been explained, he was assassinated by a Peoria Indian. (See note 4.) Such was the respect inspired by his talents and services, that the Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and Chippeways, considered his death a public misfortune, and its atonement a sacred duty. They thereupon commenced a war upon the Peorias, in which that tribe, together with the Kaskaskias and Cahokies, were almost exterminated, and from which they never recovered. The memory of the great Ottawa chief is yet held in reverence among his countrymen; and whatever fate shall hereafter await them, his name and deeds will live in their traditionary narratives, increasing in interest as they increase in years.*

Notwithstanding the cession of an immense territory by France to the British crown, no effort was made by the latter to promote its settlement. A system of conciliation toward the Indians was now adopted; and in a few years that bitter animosity, which was the fruit of a century of hostilities, gradually gave way, and the Indians became attached to the English interest.

By the treaty of peace signed at Paris, on the 10th of February, 1763, France renounced all pretensions to Nova Scotia, ceded to England the whole of Canada and its dependencies, and all that portion of Louisiana east of the Mississippi river, together with the French posts and settlements on the Ohio. Spain, having at the same time relinquished her claims to Florida—all that part of North America between Hudson's Bay on the north, and the Capes of Florida on the south, and between the Atlantic on the east, and the Mississippi on the west, became a part of the British empire.

We need not remind our readers, that the State of Illinois was included in the above cession; and after the 10th of February, 1763, acknowledged the supremacy of England.

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* See Gov. Cass's historical discourse.

NOTE I.

A humorous anecdote is told of Gen. Forbes, while on the route, which serves to illustrate the Indian character; and taking into consideration the character of the general, it is really amusing.

"While on the march, Gen. Forbes, on account of his illness, was carried in a close litter; and to this the officers went to receive their orders. Some hostile Indians having arrived in camp on an embassy, and observing that all commands emanated from this litter, inquired the cause. The British officers, thinking the savages would despise their general, if told he was sick, were at first puzzled to give the inquirers an answer. After a moment's reflection, however, one of them, remarkable for his shrewdness, replied to the

Indians, 'that in that litter was their general, who was so fierce and strong, that he felt it necessary to bind himself hand and foot, and lie still until he came into the enemy's country, lest he should do the embassadors, or even his own men, mischief.' The red men gave their usual grunt, and placed some miles of forest between themselves and this fierce chieftain, as soon as possible."

NOTE II.

In the attack and defence of the French forts on the banks of the Montmorency, a scene occurred, in the presence of both armies, which makes humanity shudder.

In General Moncton's brigade, there was a British captain by the name of Ochterlony, by birth a Scotchman; and an ensign, by the name of Peyton; the latter was of Irish origin. They were of the same age, about thirty, and connected together by ties of mutual friendship. The former had fought a duel, before the battle of Montmorency, with a German officer, and received a dangerous wound. His friends, therefore, insisted that he should remain in the camp during the day. His spirit, however, revolted at the thought of a scratch, as he called his wound, received in a private rencontre, preventing him from doing duty when his country required his services. In leading up his men to the intrenchment, he was shot through the lungs, and fell; recovering from the shock, he continued to advance, until by loss of blood he was compelled to desist. Peyton, at the same time, was lamed by a shot, which shattered the small bone of his left leg.

The British soldiers, in their retreat, with tears in their eyes, begged that Captain Ochterlony would allow them to carry him and their ensign off the field. Bigotted to a point of honor, he refused to quit the ground, but desired them to take care of his ensign. Peyton, with generous disdain, refused their offers, declaring he would never leave his captain in such a situation. The soldiers thereupon retired, and the captain and ensign were in a short time the only survivors on the field.

Captain Ochterlony sat down by his friend, and, as they expected nothing but immediate death, they took leave cf each other. They indulged, however, in their forlorn situation, some lingering hope; and, seeing a French officer with two Indians approaching, Captain Ochterlony started up, and accosting the officer in French, which he spoke perfectly well, expressed his expectation that they would treat him and his companion as officers and gentlemen. The two Indians were apparently controlled by the Frenchman. The latter first snatched the laced hat from Peyton's head; he proceeded next to rob the captain of his watch and money. The Indians regarded this as a signal for them to rob and pillage, also. One of them thereupon advancing, clubbed his firelock, and struck at Ochterlony from behind; he missed however his head, and the blow fell upon his shoulder. The other poured the contents of his musket into the captain's bosom; on which he exclaimed: "Oh! Peyton! the villain has shot me." The barbarian then sprung upon him with the ferocity of a tiger, and with his scalping-knife stabbed him in the groin. The captain having no weapons, as none of the officers wore swords in the action, and being still alive, the three ruffians endeavored to strangle him with his own sash. As he was on his knees, struggling with surprising exertion, Peyton, having a double-barrelled gun in his hand, and seeing the distress of his friend, fired, and one of the Indians fell dead upon the spot; the other, thinking Peyton an easy prey, advanced upon him, when the latter, taking aim, at about four yards distance, discharged his second barrel, apparently to no effect. The savage fired in his turn, and wounded Peyton in his shoulder; then, rushing upon him, thrust him through with his bayonet. As he was about to repeat the blow, Peyton parried it, and received a wound in the left hand. Seizing, at the same time, the Indian's musket, he pulled him forward, and drawing a dagger, plunged it into the barbarian's side. A struggle ensued, in which Peyton was uppermost; and, repeating his strokes, he succeeded in killing his antagonist outright. An unaccountable curiosity now seized him, to know whether his former shot had taken effect; and stripping a blanket from the tawny savage, then lying upon the ground, he perceived that the ball had passed through his breast. Having thus obtained a dear-bought victory, he started upon one leg, and saw his captain, about sixty yards distant, standing by the enemy's breastwork, with a French soldier attending him. Peyton thereupon called aloud: "Captain Ochterlony, I am glad to see you at last under protection. Beware of that villain—he is more barbarous than a savage. God bless you, my dear captain. I see a party of Indians coming this way, and expect to be murdered immediately." A number of these barbarians had been employed on the left, in scalping the dying and the dead, and about thirty were then in march for Peyton. Anticipating no mercy at their hands, he snatched up his musket, and notwithstanding his broken leg, ran about forty yards without halting. Unable to proceed farther, he loaded his piece, and presented it to the two foremost Indians, who stood aloof, waiting for their companions; while the French, from their breastworks, kept up a continual fire of cannon and small arms, upon this poor, solitary, wounded gentleman. While in this situation, he discovered at some distance a Highland officer, with a party of men, skirting the field of battle. Waving his hand in token of distress, and being at once perceived by his friend, a party of three men came to his assistance; and, passing through a tremendous fire, they bore him off upon their shoulders. The Highland officer was Captain McDonald, of Frazier's battalion. Having learned that a young gentleman and a kinsman had fallen, he proceeded at the head of a party, and patrolled the battle-field, driving a considerable number of French and Indians before him; and, finding his relative still unscalped, caused him to be borne to a place of safety."—SMOLLET'S ENGLAND.

The advocates of war will here pause for a moment, and consider.

NOTE III.

The above monument is particularly described in "Westminster Abbey and its Curiosities."

"The subject is the tragic story of the general's death, in the very moment of victory. He is represented in the last agonies of expiring heroism, with his hand closing the wound which the ball that killed him had made in his breast, and falling into the arms of a grenadier, who catches, and endeavors to support him. While with one hand he holds his feeble arm, with the other, he points to glory, in the form of an angel, in the clouds, holding forth a wreath ready to crown him. On the pyramid, in bas-relief, is the faithful Highland sergeant who attended him; in whose countenance the big sorrow, at the mournful sight of his dying master, is so painfully and faithfully expressed, that the most insensible human being cannot look upon him without sharing in his grief."

The inscription carries no mark of ostentation, but simply records the facts in the following words:

To the memory of JAMES WOLF, major-general and commander-in-chief of the British land forces, in an expedition against Quebec—who, after surmounting by ability and valor, all obstacles of art and nature, was slain in the moment of victory, on the 13th of September, 1759—The King and Parliament of Great Britain dedicate this monument.

While the British nation were thus doing honor to the victor, the French were not insensible to the fame of the vanquished. There is now and then a spot in the horizon of war, which the patriot and the philanthropist delight to contemplate. Its rarity gives it peculiar interest. The following being of that nature, we insert with pleasure the correspondence between M. Bougainville, a member of the French Academy of Sciences, at Paris, and Mr. Pitt, then Secretary of State.

TRANSLATION.

SIR: The honors paid during your ministry to the memory of Mr. Wolf, give me room to hope, that you will not disapprove of the grateful efforts made by the French troops to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis de Montcalm. The corpse of that general, who was honored with the regret of your nation, is buried in Quebec. I have the honor to send you an epitaph, which the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres have wrote for him; and I would beg the favor of you, sir, to read it over, and if there be nothing improper in it, to procure me permission to send it to Quebec, engraved on marble, to be put over the Marquis de Montcalm's tomb. If this permission should be granted, may I presume, sir, to entreat the honor of a line to acquaint me with it, and at the same time to send me a passport that the engraved marble may be received on board an English vessel, and that Mr. Murray, Governor of Quebec, may give leave to have it put up in the Ursuline church. I ask pardon, sir, for taking off your attention even for a moment from your important concerns, but to endeavor to immortalize great men and illustrious citizens, is to do honor to you.

I am, etc. BOUGAINVILLE.

Paris, March 25th, 1761.

This letter, it will be observed, was written when the English and French nations were at war.

MR. PITT'S ANSWER.

Sir: It is a real satisfaction to me, to send you the king's consent on such an interesting subject as the very handsome epitaph, drawn by the Academy of Inscriptions, at Paris, for the Marquis de Montcalm, which is desired to be sent to Quebec, engraved on marble, to be set upon the tomb of that illustrious warrior. The noble sentiments expressed, in the desire to pay this tribute to the memory of their general, by the French troops who served in Canada, and who saw him fall at their head in a manner worthy of him and worthy of them, cannot be too much applauded.

I shall take pleasure in facilitating a design so full of respect to the deceased, and as soon as I am informed of the measures taken for embarking the marble, I shall immediately grant the passport you desire, and send orders to the Governor of Canada for its reception.

As to the rest, be assured, sir, that I have a just sense of the obliging things said to me in the letter with which you honored me, and that I think it a singular happiness to have an opportunity to express the sentiments of distinguished esteem and consideration, with which I have the honor to be, etc.

WM. PITT.

April 10, 1761.

A translation of the inscription is as follows—

Here lieth,
In either hemisphere to live for ever,
Lewis Joseph De Montcalm Gozen:
Marquis of St. Veran, Baron of Gabrial,
Commandatory of the Order of St. Louis,
Lieutenant-General of the French army,
Not less an excellent citizen than soldier,
Who knew no desire but that of true glory.
Happy in a natural genius, improved by literature,
Having gone through the several steps of military honor
With uninterrupted lustre.
Skilled in all the arts of war,
The juncture of times and the crisis of danger,
In Italy, in Bohemia, and in Germany,
An indefatigable General,

He so discharged his important trusts
That he always seemed equal to still greater.
At length, grown bright with perils,
Sent to secure the province of Canada
With a handful of men,
He more than once repelled the enemy's forces
And made himself master of their forts,
Replete with troops and ammunition.
Inured to cold, hunger, watchings, and labor,
Unmindful of himself,
He had no sensations but for his soldiers.
An enemy with the fiercest impetuosity,
A victor with the tenderest humanity,
Adverse fortune he combatted with valor,
The want of strength, with skill and activity,
And with his counsel and support,
For four years he protected the fate of the colony.
Having with various artifices
Long baffled a great army,
Headed by an expert and intrepid commander
And a fleet furnished with all warlike stores,
Compelled at length to an engagement,
He fell in the front rank in the first onset,
Warm with those hopes of religion which he had always cherished,
To the inexpressible loss of his own army
And not without regret of the enemy,
XIV. September, A.D. MDCCLIX. XLVIII. of his age.
His weeping countrymen
Deposited the remains of their excellent General
In a grave
Which a fallen bomb had excavated for him,
Recommending them to the generous faith of their enemies.

Whether the Marquis De Montcalm deserved all that is said of him by partial friends, is perhaps doubtful. He was unquestionably an active, efficient officer. Brave and conciliating, and by his personal efforts contributed much, without doubt, to arrest the downfall of the French power in North America. A less pretending epitaph, however, we think would have been more becoming. The idea of his weeping countrymen depositing the remains of their excellent general in a grave excavated by the explosion of a fallen bomb, we think is inimitably fine.

NOTE IV.

Carver says, that in 1767 Pontiac was assassinated by an Indian of the Peoria tribe—either commissioned by some one of the English garrison, or instigated by the love he bore the English nation. That this savage attended Pontiac as a spy; and being convinced from the speech he made in council, that he still retained his former prejudices against those for whom he professed a friendship, he plunged a knife into his heart, and laid him dead on the spot.

CHAPTER XI.

The Population of Illinois, at the time of its cession to England in 1763, about 3,000—Habits of the French Settlers—Common fields—Commons—The French Settlers and Puritans compared—King's proclamation, October 7th, 1763—Indian grants—Opinions of Lord Camden and others in relation to their validity—Carver's purchase—The French retain possession of Illinois till 1765, at which time Captain Stirling arrived, took possession, and established his head-quarters at Fort Chartres—General Gage commander-in-chief—His head-quarters in 1764, at New-York—Proclamation—Catholic Religion tolerated in Illinois—Captain Stirling succeeded by Major Farmer, and the latter by Colonel Reid in 1766—Colonel Wilkins arrives at Fort Chartres in 1768, takes the command, and organizes Courts of Justice, by the direction of General Gage—French emigrate to Missouri—Other emigrants arrive—Population, about stationary—Colonel Wilkins issues patents for land—Becomes interested in one-sixth of each, "the better to promote the service"—English authority established over the Indians—English debt increased by the War of 1756—Attempt to increase the revenue—Excise Duties in England—The American Stamp Act—Earl of Bute Prime Minister—Grenville Ministry—Sir Robert Walpole's opinion of the Stamp Act—Roman Colonies—Greek Colonies—American colonization—Stamp Act becomes a law in 1754—Its effect on the Colonies—House of Burgesses in Virginia meet—Patrick Henry—Debate on the Stamp Act—Grenville Ministry dismissed—Succeeded by the Buckingham Ministry—Stamp Act repealed—Declaratory Act passed—Exultation in the Colonies at the repeal of the Stamp Act—War in India—Cause of the American Revolution in part—Grafton Ministry—Lord North—The latter in power at the commencement of hostilities—Battle of Lexington—Lexington in Kentucky, founded and named—Policy of England—Dr. Johnson's pamphlet, "Taxation no Tyranny"—Employment of Indians—Earl of Chatham—George Rogers, Clarke—Goes to Williamsburg in Virginia, and communicates his plan of an Illinois expedition to Patrick Henry, the Governor—Expedition to Kaskaskia—Takes the place by surprise—Monsieur Cere—Cahokia surrenders—American authority established in Illinois—Governor Henry's private and public instructions to Colonel Clarke.

Eighty years had now elapsed since La Salle first planted the banners of France upon the Illinois. During that period, large sums of money had been expended, principally by "the Western company," or the company of the Indies, in order to promote its settlement. Kings and princes had been its patrons. Ministers of state and ministers of the gospel had lent their aid. Incorporated and other companies had expended their means, and private individuals had exhausted their resources with like views, and, apparently, to but little purpose. The whole population of the State (exclusive of Indians) when ceded to England, in 1763, could not have exceeded three thousand souls. These were principally French, and resident upon the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. Their largest towns were Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The former contained about one hundred families, and the latter between forty and fifty. There were other small villages in their vicinity, and one at Peoria, on the Illinois river. Prairie Du Rocher, near the rocky bluffs, from which it derives its name, in 1776, contained fourteen families, and Prairie Du Pont, a short distance from Cahokia, contained nearly the same. There was also a considerable settlement in and about Fort Chartres; all, however, put together, would fall short of, rather than exceed the estimate already mentioned.

The French population in their habits, manners, customs and character, were about the same then as now, and similar to what they had been for half a century before. That simplicity of character, and those habits peculiar to early times, are yet visible among them, and at the time of its cession, were analogous to those prevalent in Normandy and Picardy, previous to the French revolution. Each of their villages had, and some of them still have, their "village lots," their "common fields," and their "commons," the American settlers having never sought to disturb the repose of these "ancient and venerable communities."

The French and Spanish governments, in forming settlements in this country, and especially upon the Mississippi river, had reference, not only to personal convenience, but to protection against the savages. They were laid out in the form of villages or towns, and lots of convenient size for a house, a small garden, some fruit trees, and a stable, were assigned to each family. To each village a tract of land for "common fields," and another for "commons," was also appended.

A "common-field" contained several hundred, and sometimes several thousand acres, inclosed by the joint labor of all, each contributing his share; and each family possessing an individual interest in certain portions, set off by definite bounds. Their interest in this separate portion was held in fee simple, and subject to sale and conveyance as other real estate. Their fences were repaired in common. The time of excluding cattle in the spring, and of gathering the crops and opening the field to cattle in the autumn, was regulated by special ordinances, equally obligatory with statute laws, and better enforced, because every individual had an interest in their observance.

A "common" contained frequently several thousand acres, and was granted to the town for wood and pasturage. In this, each villager had a joint or common, but not a separate interest.

A community thus organized, dependent for its prosperity on the Indian trade, and having but few aspirations beyond it, unless their propensity for mining (wholly ungratified) be taken into view, it could hardly be expected would advance rapidly either in wealth or improvement. Hence a few thousand acres only were reclaimed in the whole State by eighty years of toil; less than the same number of "Yankees"* would have reclaimed in as many months.

The "Pilgrims," six years only after the settlement of Boston, founded a college at Cambridge, and the General Court of Massachusetts voted a sum of money equal to a year's rate of the whole colony, for the erection of buildings. In 1638, John Harvard (who came thither but to die) gave the institution, which afterward acquired his name, one-half of his estate and all his library. Connecticut and Plymouth sent in their little offerings, and every family in each of the above colonies once gave to this parent institution "twelve pence in cash, or a peck of corn, or its value in unadulterated wampum peag."

In King Philip's war, which took place in 1675, the losses and disbursements of Massachusetts alone, were estimated at half a million of dollars. More than six hundred men, chiefly young men, the flower of the country, of whom "any mother might have been proud," perished in the field, and more than six hundred houses were burnt. Of the able bodied men, one in twenty was slain in battle, and one family in twenty was burnt out. The loss of lives in proportion to their number, and of property in proportion to its value, in one year, was greater than in the whole revolutionary war. There was scarcely a family in the province from which death had not selected a victim.

The Puritans, however, were a different people from the first settlers of Illinois. As early as 1689, the former rose in arms "with the most unanimous resolution" that ever inspired a people, and defended insurrection "as a duty to God and their country." "We commit our enterprise," said the people of Boston, "to Him who hears the cry of the oppressed, and advise all our neighbors for whom we have ventured ourselves to join with us in prayer, and all just action for the defence of the land." They also arrested their governor in the street, "when he first displayed his scarlet coat and arbitrary commission, and marched him and his fellows to the town-house, and afterward to prison." This was done by Puritans, the advocates of religion and order—"a class of men," says Bancroft, "who, disdaining ceremony, would not bow at the name of Jesus, nor bend the knee to the King of kings." Although "new fashions" afterward prevailed among the younger sort of women, and "superfluous ribbons" were sometimes worn on their apparel, they consoled themselves with the reflection that "musicians by trade," and dancing-schools, were not licensed by statute. And to justify the establishment of "the congregational church" in its "purest" and most athletic constitution by law, they said, that "the people were led into the wilderness by Aaron not less than by Moses."

While each family of the Puritans has multiplied on an average to one thousand souls, and their system of free schools, their habits of industry and economy, their ingenuity, enterprise and perseverance have pervaded every sea, and extended their improvements from the Atlantic almost to the Pacific Ocean, the French population of Illinois slept almost for a century; and were they, like the talent in Scripture, which had been buried, to be now awoke and all enumerated, it is questionable, perhaps, whether they would exceed their original number.

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* When the English first arrived in New-England, they were called by the Indians, Yanguese." Hence, the word Yankees being a corruption of the word Yanguese; derived, perhaps, from the French word "Anglois."

A new era, however, was at hand. The Anglo-Saxon race was approaching, and the banners of England were about to wave on the banks of the Mississippi. The principles of English liberty, however, did not accompany their march—the doctrines of self-government and the capacity of man for the possession or enjoyment of either, were unfortunately overlooked or foolishly discarded. English supremacy, therefore, instead of a blessing, was converted into a curse.

The talented men, under whose administration the British arms had triumphed on every sea and in every land; who had controlled for several years the destiny of England, by the folly of a youthful and inexperienced prince, or the wickedness of a profligate junta, were driven from power, and another king "who knew not Joseph," had arisen, and England bled "at every pore."

The first act of George the Third in relation to the ceded territory, emanated in great wisdom, and being about the only one of that character apparent of record, deserves to be particularly mentioned.

On the 7th of October, 1763, a proclamation was issued by the king, with the advice of his privy council, declaring it to be his royal will and pleasure, that no governor or commander-in-chief "grant warrants of survey, or pass patents, for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest, or upon any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved to the Indians."

It also strictly forbids, "on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of Indian lands without our special leave or license, for that purpose first obtained."

Its concluding paragraph we insert at length, as attempts have recently been made to establish titles derived from Indian deeds, executed in violation of its provisions; and as those titles have within the last few years been the subjects of speculation here:

"And whereas, great frauds and abuses have been committed in purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent; we do, with the advice of our privy council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians, of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlements. But that, if at any time any of the Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander-in-chief of our colony respectively, within the limits of any proprietors, conformably to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose."

Notwithstanding, however, the above proclamation, several deeds were made and executed by chiefs and warriors residing in Illinois and its vicinity, to individual subjects of the British crown. Among the most important are those made at Kaskaskia, on the 5th of July, 1773, to William Murray, of the Illinois country, and others, signed by the Kaskaskia and Cahokia chiefs in council, representing all the tribes of the Illinois Indians, of two separate tracts. The first beginning at the mouth of Huron creek, about a league below the mouth of the Kaskaskia river—thence a northeast course to "the hilly plains," eight leagues or thereabouts—thence to the Crab-tree plains, seventeen leagues or thereabouts, be the same more or less—thence in a direct line to a remarkable place, known by the name of the "Big Buffalo hoofs," seven leagues or thereabouts—thence to Salt-lick creek, about seven leagues—thence easterly in a direct line, to the Ohio river—thence down the Ohio to the Mississippi river, about thirty-five leagues—thence up the Mississippi thirty-three leagues or thereabouts, to the place of beginning. The second piece or parcel of land, is situated on the east side of the Mississippi river, beginning at a point opposite the mouth of the Missouri—thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois—thence up the Illinois river, by the several courses thereof to Chicagoue, or Garlick creek, about ninety leagues or thereabouts, be the same more or less—thence nearly a northerly course, in a direct line to a certain place remarkable, being the ground on which an engagement or battle was fought, about forty or fifty years ago, between the Peoria and Renard Indians, about fifty leagues, be the same more or less—thence a north-of-east course, in a direct line to a remarkable spring, known to the Indians by the name of Foggy Spring, about fourteen leagues, be the same more or less—thence the same course in a direct line, to a great mountain to the northwest of the White Buffalo plain, about fifteen leagues, be the same more or less—thence nearly a southwest course in a direct line to the place of beginning, be the same more or less—and also all minerals, ores, etc. thereunto belonging. The above deeds were pronounced by three of the most celebrated lawyers in England, Pratt, Yorke, and Dunning—two of whom, Yorke and Pratt, (afterward the famous Lord Camden,) became chancellors of England—to be valid, in an opinion officially given by them to the king as crown-lawyers.

"In respect (said they) to such places as have been, or shall be acquired by treaty or grant from any of the Indian princes or governments, your majesty's letters-patent are not necessary. The property of the soil vesting in the grantee by the Indian agents, subject only to your majesty's right of sovereignty over the settlements as English settlements, and over the inhabitants as English subjects, who carry with them your majesty's laws wherever they form colonies, and receive your majesty's protection by virtue of your royal charter."

The principles and policy of our government being adverse to the opinion above expressed, we shall resume the subject when we come to speak of public lands.

Carver's purchase, exceeding in its dimensions several states in Europe, near the Falls of St. Anthony, in the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa; is of a similar character, except that the latter is not as well authenticated, nor was it as fairly obtained.

Carver was a captain in the British service, and purchased, as he alleges, an extensive tract of the Sioux, for which he paid a valuable consideration. Several attempts have been made to procure its confirmation by Congress—all, however, to no effect. The present generation of Indians appear not to know, and say they never heard of any such chiefs as those whose names are appended to Carver's grant. It is said, however, when Carver was here, there were Sioux of the hill and Sioux of the plain. The former were a migrating tribe, living on the head waters of certain streams which empty into the Mississippi near the Falls of St. Anthony. The former may have executed such a deed, and probably did so. The Sioux of the plains, however, whose habitations were upon the river, and as permanent as Indian habitations usually are, never, we believe, recognized its validity. "Land script," therefore, in Carver's purchase we hope will shortly (if they have not already,) cease to circulate. They are, in fact, of less value than "Pontiac's bills of credit," drawn upon bark, during the Pontiac war.

Although the State of Illinois was ceded to England, in 1763, it continued in the possession of France until 1765, at which time Captain Stirling, of the royal Highlanders, arrived, assumed its government in the name of his Britannic majesty, and established his head-quarters at Fort Chartres.

General Gage, who commanded the British troops in Boston, at the commencement of the American revolution, was at that time commander-in-chief of the king's forces in North America. The head-quarters of General Gage were in the city of New-York. Captain Stirling brought hither a proclamation of the commander-in-chief, granting to the Roman Catholic subjects of his majesty, in Illinois, the full and free exercise of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church; and as this document is somewhat rare, we insert it at length.

> "Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois, by the troops of his majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon; we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—
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> "That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois, the liberty of the Catholic reli-

gion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, in the same manner as in Canada.

"That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian king, (the King of France,) may retire in full safety and freedom wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana; although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty, (the King of Spain,) and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretence whatever, except in consequence of debts, or of criminal processes.

"That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his majesty, shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and the liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the king.

"That they are commanded by these presents, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of Sieur Stirling, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants, to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding, by a wise and prudent demeanor, all cause of complaint against them.

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the forts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an enemy into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that these presents be read, published, and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at head-quarters, New-York—signed with our hand—sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our secretary, this 30th of December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE.

"By his excellency, G. MATURIN."

Captain Stirling remained in Illinois for a short time only; he was succeeded by Major Farmer; and the latter relieved by Colonel Reed, in 1766.

The administration of justice was at that time in the hands of the military commandant, and very odious to the public. Complaints of grievous oppressions were frequently made, but with little or no success. Colonel Reed soon afterward left the colony, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-colonel Wilkins, who arrived at Kaskaskia on the 5th of September, 1768.

On the 21st of November following, Colonel Wilkins issued a proclamation, in which he stated, he had received orders from General Gage, the commander-in-chief, to establish a court of justice in Illinois, for setling all disputes and controversies between man and man, and all claims in relation to property, both real and personal. Seven judges were therefore appointed by the military commandant, who met and held their first term at Fort Chartres, on the 6th of December, 1768. Courts were held thereafter, once in every month. This system, however preferable to the military tribunal it superseded, was far from being satisfactory. The people insisted on a trial by jury, and this being denied them, the court itself became unpopular. A few improvements only were made, and but little change was produced in the situation or condition of the colony, until the breaking out of the American Revolution. Some of the French inhabitants crossed the Mississippi, and took up their residence in Upper Louisiana, (now Mississippi,) which being at that time under the dominion of Spain, and the Catholic religion predominant, was preferred by them to a government administered by Protestants. A few English emigrants also came hither. Its population, therefore, was about stationary ; and the enterprise which usually accompanies the arts and arms of England, unfelt and unseen.

Of Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins's administration, but little is known. It appears, however, "that John Wilkins, Esq., lieutenant-colonel of his majesty's eighteenth or royal regiment of Ireland, governor and commandant throughout the Illinois country," on the 12th day of April, in the ninth year of the reign of "our sovereign lord, George III., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland," (1769) made extensive grants of lands to several of his friends in Illinois and elsewhere, "for the better settlement of the colony ;" in which, "the better to promote said service," the said Lieutenant-Colonel John Wilkins "agreed to be interested in one-sixth part thereof."* It appears also that the lands contained in these grants, and particularly in one of them, containing thirty thousand acres, (made without authority,) were afterward patented by Governor St. Clair, of the Northwestern Territory, to John Edgar and John Murray St. Clair, whose title was derived by assignment from Colonel Wilkins's patentee.†

If Lieutenant-Colonel John Wilkins, governor and commandant throughout the Illinois country, etc., was interested in one-sixth part of all the lands he thus granted without authority, the same having been also granted without any pecuniary consideration whatever, and the title to those lands has since been confirmed by the United States government to John Edgar and John Murray St. Clair, assignees, the office of governor in Illinois might have been, and probably was, (laying aside principle,) more lucrative in former times than at present.

The English authority was now established in Illinois, to all human appearances, upon a permanent and substantial basis. Causes, however, began shortly to operate, which rendered this authority not only precarious, but transient in its duration.

The war of 1756 had made a resort to extensive loans necessary in England ; the public debt had increased beyond all former example, and its magnitude became alarming.

Several expedients were proposed by ministers for the payment of its interest, and the final extinction of its principal :—the time not having yet arrived, when a public debt was regarded by the English people as a "public blessing."

Among those expedients were excise duties in England, and the American Stamp Act ; the latter of which being followed by others of a similar character, a few years thereafter, severed the British Empire in twain, and produced an explosion that was heard and felt throughout the globe.

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* See American State Papers, vol. 2. page 180, public lands.

† See State Papers, vol. 2. page 113.

The Earl of Bute, a Scotch nobleman, "of talents somewhat exceeding mediocrity,"* had been a tutor of George III. before he ascended the English throne. The king, having a favorable opinion of his talents from what he had seen and known, and supposing him to be qualified for a higher department, in 1760, introduced him into his cabinet, and shortly thereafter made him his prime minister.

Sir Robert Walpole, in the zenith of his power, had previously attempted to introduce excise laws into England, and on account of their unpopularity, had abandoned the scheme, fearful of its consequences, not to the nation, but to himself. The attempt was now repeated, and though violently opposed, succeeded, and the bill became a law.

The "cider tax," which made those who "choose to regale themselves with a distillation from apples, contribute to the revenue, as well as those who choose to regale themselves with a distillation from barley," being included among others, created loud and violent clamors. Mr. Pitt having resigned the office of secretary, and being now a member of the House of Commons, directed against the latter the whole force of his eloquence. Mr. Grenville, the colleague, and afterward the successor of Lord Bute, replied, and said the tax was unavoidable. Turning to Mr. Pitt while the debate was yet pending, he unfortunately asked, with an air of considerable triumph, "Where can you lay another tax?" repeating this expression several times over, "Where can you lay another tax?" Mr. Pitt rose, and in the words of a favorite song, replied in a musical tone, and a manner that was perfectly irresistible, "Gentle Shepherd, tell me where." Mr. Grenville, though successful in carrying the bill through both houses of Parliament, ever afterward retained the tile of "Gentle Shepherd."

This act was represented, by the opposition, as a part of the general scheme formed by Lord Bute for plundering England, to gratify the rapacity of Scotchmen, and for establishing absolute power; and Lord Bute having, as he said, restored peace to the world, finding himself "generally hated,"† suddenly and unexpectedly resigned, and in 1763, was succeeded as prime minister by the Hon. George Grenville, (the Gentle Sheperd,) above referred to. Of Mr. Grenville, Burke, in his speech on American taxation says: "With a masculine understanding, and a strict and resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied. He took public business, not as a duty he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy; and he seemed to have no delight out of this house, except in such things as some way related to the business that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself, not by the low pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public service, and to secure himself a well-earned rank in Parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its institution, and a perfect practice in all its business. He was bred to a profession; the profession of the law, which is, in my opinion, one of the first and noblest of sciences—a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in persons happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind exactly in the same proportion. Mr. Grenville thought better of the wisdom and power of human legislation, than in truth it deserved. He conceived, and many conceived along with him, that the flourishing trade of this country, was greatly owing to law and institution, and not quite so much to liberty; for too many are apt to believe regulation to be commerce, and taxes to be revenue."

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* Bisset's reign of George III.

† See Bisset's George III.

During the year 1764, the Middlesex election, (John Wilks's case,) the North Britain, and other subjects of a similar character, occupied, to a considerable extent, the attention of ministers; and the affairs of America were consequently neglected.

Of John Wilks's case, Lord Mansfield said, that he was "decidedly against its prosecution; his consequence," said his lordship, "will die away, if you let him alone; but by public notice of him you will increase that consequence, which is the very thing he covets." Lord Mansfield's opinion, however, was disregarded; and the ministry afterward, to their sorrow, felt its effects. During this year a law was passed, for levying certain duties, etc., in order "to encourage trade with the sugar plantations." It was also, in this year, that Mr. Grenville proposed his famous scheme, "that toward further defraying the expenses of protecting, and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the colonies; a scheme pregnant with important consequences. No bill, however, was introduced during the session of Parliament in '64, and the whole matter was postponed, to give the colonies an opportunity to offer a compensation for the revenue which such a tax might produce." This proposition was answered by petitions and remonstrances, "denying the right of the British Parliament to tax them in any case whatever." In the session of '65, these petitions and remonstrances being read in Parliament, the justice and expediency of taxation became the subject of animated discussion. Being the first link in the chain of events, which brought on the American Revolution, and including, as it did, the assertion of a new pretended claim, and involving new and important principles, it deserves some further consideration.

The Stamp Act became a law in 1765. Captain Stirling, during the same year, in the name of his Britannic majesty, took possession, as already stated, of Illinois, and established his head-quarters at Fort Chartres. So far, then, as Illinois is concerned, British arms and British oppression, if taxation without representation be regarded as such, went hand in hand.

This State, we have already shown, was included in the charters granted to the London and Plymouth companies, and although neither had extended their possessions thither, its subsequent conquest and annexation to the empire, by the united efforts of all its parts, did not extinguish, as of course, the claims of Massachusetts or Virginia, or prevent those who should thereafter inhabit it, from assuming the duties, and asserting the rights, of British subjects; and not only its legality, but its justice and expediency.

In discussing the bill for raising a revenue in America, the general objects of colonization, the means by which they had been effected, and the state, condition, and sentiments of the British colonies in particular, came under review. The bill, though financial in its nature, was pregnant with political consequences of the highest moment; and in fact equal, or perhaps superior, in importance, to any which had hitherto engrossed the attention of an English Parliament.

The same questions at issue, had been agitated during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole; and that minister had frequently stated, that such a tax was unconstitutional. "I will leave the taxation of America," said he, "to my successors, who may have more courage than I have, or be less a friend to commerce and the constitution than I am." The same questions too, had been argued and determined by the British people, during the revolution. "The glorious revolution," as it has usually been called by British historians. The house of Hanover then reigned by virtue of a principle, and in consequence of its triumph, which the opponents of the Stamp Act sought to establish. The question in relation to ship money, in the reign of Charles I., and the questions involved in the Stamp Act, were the same. The payment of twenty shillings by John Hampden, when called upon by the collector, "would not have impaired his fortune; but the payment of half of twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave." Hence the civil war, the elevation of Cromwell, and the death of Charles, for doing precisely what the Grenville administration was now attempting.

In arguing the bill, many, by referring to former times, and to the practice of ancient nations, and especially to the Greeks and Romans, were led into errors respecting the issue between England and her colonies.

The motives for colonization have been different in different ages, countries, and circumstances; and from the want of similitude, there arose a diversity of relations between the mother country and the plantations. Small states, of limited extent and increasing population, were frequently obliged to send their surplus inhabitants abroad, in quest of other homes. This was the case in Phœnicia, and in some of the Grecian states, whose settlements in Asia, Africa, Italy, and elsewhere, from their nature, were wholly independent of the mother country. Such colonies resembled the children of a family, setting out to seek their fortunes abroad, because they had no means of subsistence at home. Whatever might have been their affection, they were no longer under the command or control of the parent.

Some of the Roman colonies were planted under different circumstances, and of course stood on a different footing. The state, increasing at home in population, and abroad in territories, found conquered countries abounding in cultivated land, but drained of their inhabitants by long and disastrous wars. Settlers, in such cases, were sent thither from Rome, to prevent such countries from becoming wild and solitary wastes. Here the mother country afforded subsistence to her offspring, for their exertions in her behalf, and protection to them as the price of their allegiance. Such colonies were not adventurers sent forth to seek their fortunes, with "the world all before them," but children settled by parents on farms dependent on themselves. Such plantations were, and from their nature must have been, parts and parcels of the empire. The subjugation of Roman colonies to the parent state, or the independence of Greek migrations, under circumstances already related, were not, therefore, cases in point. The American colonies were not established at the cost of the mother country: England founded none of them. The colonists first escaped from oppression, and afterward, at their own cost and by their own toil, erected their own dwellings in the wilderness. Virginia, we have already seen, was founded by a private company. New-England was "the home of the exile." Their unnatural parent first thrust them out, and then claimed them as her children merely to oppress them.

On the other hand, it was urged by ministers, that the colonies had been "planted by their care, nourished by their indulgence, and protected by their arms;" that it was, therefore, reasonable, that America should contribute its share in sustaining the empire. Although every position they assumed was false; although the connection of America with Europe was fraught only with danger—the rivalry of European powers merely transferring the scenes of their bloody feuds to the wilds of America—the bill passed by a large majority, on the 22nd of March, 1765; and became an important event, not only in the reign of the English sovereign, but in the history of Europe, and the world.

The effect of its passage in the colonies was electric. The first legislative body that convened after intelligence of this event reached America, was the Assembly of Virginia. There was, at that time, in the House of Burgesses, an obscure country lawyer, by the name of Patrick Henry. He was then about twenty-nine years of age—poor, ill-dressed, rather illiterate and inexperienced. He had practiced law with some little success, for four or five years, in the upper counties of Virginia, and had acquired the reputation of being eloquent.

"He now stood forth to rouse the drooping spirits of the people, and to unite all hearts and hands in the cause of his country." A Mr. Johnson, early in 1765, had been elected a member of the House of Burgesses, for the county of Louisa; after his election, intelligence of the passage of the Stamp Act having been received, Mr. Johnson vacated his seat, and on the 1st of May, a new election was ordered; and on the 20th of the same month, Mr. Henry was returned as a member, and took his seat in the house—to shake the brightest jewels from the crown of England, and make its sovereign tremble on his throne.

Mr. Henry having, as he says, "waited in vain for some step to be taken by his seniors, till within three days of the close of the session," introduced his famous resolutions on the subject of the Stamp Act; the fifth and last of which is as follows:

> "Resolved—That the General Assembly of this colony, have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

In discussing this and the other resolutions, he had not only to contend hand to hand, with a powerful party—unprepared as yet for decisive measures—but also to cheer on the timid band of followers, that were trembling, fainting, and drawing back below him. "It was, says Mr. Wirt, in his Life of Patrick Henry, "an occasion that called forth all his strength; the cords of argument, with which his adversaries flattered themselves they had bound him fast, became packthread in his hands; he burst them with as much ease as the unshorn Sampson did the bands of the Philistines. He seized the pillars of the temple, shook them terribly, and seemed to threaten his opponents with ruin. It was an incipient storm of lightning and thunder, which struck them aghast. The faint-hearted gathered courage from his countenance, and cowards became brave while they gazed on his exploits."

"In the midst of this debate," says Mr. Wirt, "while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious acts, he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god: 'Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third——' 'Treason! treason!' echoed from every part of the house. It was one of those trying moments which are decisive of character. Henry faltered not for an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis: 'and George the Third *may profit by their example*. If this be treason, make the most of it.'"

The resolutions, after a stormy debate, passed by a small majority, and the last by a majority of one. Peyton Randolph, the attorney-general, coming out of the house immediately afterward, said, as he entered the lobby: "By G—! I would have given five hundred guineas for a single vote." One vote would have divided the house, and Robinson, the speaker, would have negatived the resolution. Mr. Henry left them in the evening, and the above resolution was expunged the next morning; the majority being as yet unprepared for the bold and decisive measures which Henry had proposed. An impulse, however, was given to the revolution, and to the cause of liberty, which nothing thereafter could resist.

The Legislature of Massachusetts next assembled, and echoed the voice of Virginia. It was like the "mountain replying to the thunder," or like "deep calling unto deep."

In the meantime, the English cabinet lost entirely the favor and confidence of their sovereign. Mr. Grenville, though a man of great industry, and respectable talents, was unable to meet on equal terms the powerful opposition arrayed against him. He could not "adapt the exertions of his genius to circumstances yet untried;" he was, in fact, "unequal to the situation in which he was placed." The odium attached to the excise laws, (however unjust and unreasonable,) the clamor excited by the expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons; the alienation of America caused by the Stamp Act; and the insolence of the Duke of Bedford (president of the council,) to his sovereign, (his colleagues adhering to their president,) produced such an effect upon the king, that the whole of the administration, in the latter part of 1765, were dismissed from office.

An application was thereupon made by the king to Mr. Pitt, to assist his majesty in the formation of a new one. Mr. Pitt refused at once to accede to any terms short of a complete change of men, measures, and counsels; and would not even gratify the court by leaving to its appointment the subordinate officers. The king deeming it inexpedient to purchase at such a price even the services of Mr. Pitt, appointed the Marquis of Rockingham prime minister, and among other appointments, the Duke of Grafton and General Conway, secretaries of state. The great object of the Rockingham administration appears to have been popularity. The cider-tax (though productive) was thereupon repealed, and in order to satisfy both parties upon the subject of American taxation, Parliament passed a declaratory law, "that Great Britain had a right to tax America," and on the 18th of March, 1766, repealed the odious Stamp Act, by a majority of 275 to 167. Temporizing measures are seldom the offspring of wisdom, and less frequently the parent of success. If England had a constitutional right to tax America, the repeal of the Stamp Act was exceedingly injudicious; and if she had no such right, the declaratory act was superlative folly.

Intelligence, however, of its repeal was received in the colonies with transports of joy, and the House of Burgesses in Virginia, in a paroxysm of feeling, voted a statue to the king and an obelisk to the British patriots, by whose exertions the repeal had been effected. Their joy, however, was of short duration. While the controversy between England and her colonies was pending, a war was raging in India, and the attention of Parliament was consequently divided. In the latter, says an English historian, the British conquerors directed their pursuits to one object exclusively, the acquisition of money. In their modes of exaction from the feeble natives, they observed the systematic regularity of commercial habits. They pillaged, not with the ferocity of soldiers, but with the cool exactness of debtor and creditor. Instead of saying to the sovereign of Hindostan: You have a very rich country, and we must have a part of its products, (which would have been the language of robbers,) they adopted a mercantile mode: We shall collect your revenue for you—retaining for our services only eighty per cent.* The unprecedented influx of wealth thus obtained from India, produced an immediate change in the habits, sentiments, and pursuits of the English people; and, like the plunder of South America by the Spaniards, excited the cupidity, inflamed the arrogance, and increased the self-will and obstinacy, not only of Parliament, but of the nation. India became thus an accessory to the American war. The arms of England having triumphed on the Ganges, many Englishmen supposed that the colonies would fall an easy prey; and regarding them as property, the English Parliament, by its subsequent legislation, closed the door of reconciliation for ever.

We have neither time nor space to speak of that legislation, except in general terms. The Quebec bill, as it is usually called, passed in 1766. (By this bill Illinois was annexed to, and became a part of, Canada.)

The bill for laying duties upon glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea; the Boston port bill—the bill for altering and revoking charters—the bill for quartering troops upon the colonists—the bill for transporting persons charged with offences, beyond the high seas for trial—the bill for depriving the colonists, in some cases, of trial by jury—are a part only of the grievances of which the colonists had reason to complain.

The Rockingham administration endured but for a season, when it was succeeded by the administration, of which the Duke of Grafton was premier, and Lord Hillsborough secretary for the colonies. Of this administration, Mr. Pitt, created Earl of Chatham, was a member. He was too ill, however, to participate in its acts, and therefore not responsible for its follies. The Grafton administration was succeeded by Lord North's; and the latter was in power at the commencement of American hostilities. During the ten years preceding that event, four several administrations in England had followed each other in rapid succession, to their political graves—neither of which had evinced stability of purpose, talents, or integrity.

The acts of oppression before enumerated, and others of a similar nature—all of which are referred to in our Declaration of Independence, which every citizen in this country peruses with exultation, and to which we now with pleasure refer—at last alienated the American colonists from their parent and sovereign, and produced a combination against the whole system of British legislation, which nothing could resist.

Of the commencement of hostilities in 1775, and of their progress afterward, 't is not our intention here to speak. They would require another volume. The facts, however, which preceded the first military aggression, demand consideration.

The colonists, driven nearly to extremities by a series of oppressive acts, began early to provide for their own security. The manufacture of arms was at first encouraged—efforts to instruct the militia how to use them followed thereafter—and the collection of military stores at different points, indicated to all, in the spring of '75, the approach of danger.

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* See Bisset's England.

A quantity of the latter having been collected at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts, General Gage, then governor of the colony, and commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, in an evil hour devised a plan, either to destroy or to reduce them to his own possession. In order to render the proposed expedition sure, the strictest secrecy was required; and the highest officers in the British army, at nightfall on the 18th of April, were as yet unapprised of the meditated blow.

At nine o'clock in the evening of that eventful day, Lord Percy repaired to the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief, pursuant to a summons for that purpose, in order to receive instructions; and returning from thence to his lodgings, heard the movements, just communicated to him in confidence, openly discussed by a group of patriots in the street. He thereupon hastened back to the general, and told him that he was betrayed. Orders, therefore, were immediately issued that no American should leave the town. The orders, however, were about five minutes too late. The patriots, in and about Boston, were already acquainted with their design. Lanterns (the preconcerted signal) had been lighted up in the North Church steeple in Boston. Trusty messengers had been dispatched in every direction with the intelligence, and the whole country was now alarmed.

When, therefore, the British troops were mustered at ten o'clock in the evening on Boston Common, "and one day's provision was dealt out to them," the patriots in Charleston and Cambridge, in Concord and Lexington, were on their guard.

At midnight the disciplined armies of a brave, a Christian, and kindred people, led by gallant officers—the pride and glory of England—marched forth in all the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," to destroy a few military stores hastily collected, and to seize and secure for the halter, men, whose only crime was that of uttering, in the English tongue, on this side of the ocean, those principles which gave to England her standing among nations; and to plunge their swords into the breasts of men, who fifteen years before, on the Plains of Abraham, had fought and conquered by their side.*

They did not, however, go unobserved. Intelligence of their march had preceded them. Faithful messengers had aroused the citizens and soldiers from their slumbers. Alarm guns had been fired; the tocsin had been sounded, at an unusual hour, from steeples that never before rang with any other summons than the gospel of peace; and the air of midnight bore on its wings the mingled notes of preparation, and the sounds of gathering bands resolved to be free.

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* Everett.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 19th day of April, 1775, a day to be for ever remembered, the British army, which had been mustered at ten o'clock the preceding night on Boston common, reached Lexington. It consisted of eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the royal army, "with gleaming bayonets, headed by their mounted commanders, their banners flying and drums beating a charge." Between sixty and seventy Lexington militia appeared on the green, and were drawn up in double ranks.

A larger number had assembled during the night, the roll had been duly called, and some had answered to their names for the last time on earth. They had been ordered to load with powder and ball, and after waiting with intense anxiety for several hours the return of their companions sent forth to reconnoitre, (and no certain intelligence of the march of the British troops having reached them,) they were dismissed, to appear again at beat of drum. When Major Pitcairn, therefore, at the head of a British column came in sight, about sixty only of the militia were under arms. To engage an army of eight hundred disciplined soldiers under such circumstances would have been madness. To fly at their approach they disdained.

The British troops on their march thither had heard the old New-England drums beat to arms. They had heard them before at Louisburgh, at Quebec, at Martinique, and at the Havana, and there were officers in the British line that knew the sound; they had heard it in the deadly breach, beneath the black, deep-throated engines of the French and Spanish castles, and knew what followed when that sound went before.*

Seeing a company of militia drawn up on the green, this legion of England's proud chivalry rushed furiously on. Their commander, with mingled threats and execrations, ordered the little band of patriots to lay down their arms and disperse, and at the same time, the British troops to fire;—a moments delay, as of compunction, followed. The order was repeated with vehement imprecations, and they fired. No one fell. The little band of self-devoted heroes, most of whom had never seen an armed troop before, stood firm in front of an army of ten times their number. Another volley succeeded, and several dropped, some of them killed and others wounded. The fire was returned, and the Lexington militia, by an overwhelming force, were driven from the field. A scattering fire succeeded while the militia were yet in sight, and when no longer visible, the eight hundred British regulars fired a volley, and gave a shout in honor of their victory.

"The genius of America, awakened by its echo on this, the morning of her emancipation, rose on the wings of battle, and in a voice of prophetic fulness, proclaimed on every hill and in every valley of our wide, expanded Republic, that the invisible tie, the last ligament that bound the descendants of England to the land of their fathers, was severed for ever."

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* Everett.

Lexington thus opened on the 19th of April, 1775, the first scene in the great drama which, in its progress, exhibited the most illustrious characters which have appeared on any stage, and closed with a revolution, not only glorious to its actors, but important to the world.

The Saxon race at that time had scarcely crossed the Alleghanies, except for purposes of traffic, of war, and the chase. Some hunters, however, of Kentucky, a short time before, had erected their cabins near a remarkable spring, "over the mountains and far away," and hearing, in their retreat, of the battle of Lexington and its cause, "in prophetic commemoration of the event, gave to their little encampment the name of Lexington." Hence the origin of Lexington, in Kentucky.

Liberty, hitherto regarded as a fabled goddess, existing only in imagination, was now enthroned as a real divinity. Her altars rose on every hand, and the hunter, the planter, the merchant, and the yeomen throughout the whole length and breadth of the United Colonies, bowed with deferential homage at her shrine.

"Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is always won."

The population of Illinois was then about the same as when ceded to England; that is, about three thousand, mostly French and Catholics. A small English garrison was stationed at Kaskaskia, another at Cahokia, one at Saint Vincents or Vincennes, in Indiana, one at Detroit, and another at Mackinaw.

The English, by promises and presents, had finally succeeded in pacifying the savages, and the Western Indians, fearful of new and other encroachments upon their lands, and being paid for scalps, and supplied by the English traders with arms, ammunition and money, became, henceforth, the allies of England. For what purpose, and with what effect, remains to be seen.

The first English, or rather American settlements west of the Alleghany mountains, with the exception of a few trading-posts on the Ohio, were made in Kentucky. Among its first settlers, we find the names of John Finley, and of Daniel Boone, "who, on the first of May, 1769, left his peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina," and on the seventh of June following, "from the top of an eminence saw the beautiful level of Kentucky," and "the buffaloes browsing on the leaves, and cropping the herbage on its extensive plains." We find also the name of John Stewart, "the first victim offered by the Indians to the god of battles," in the desperate and ruthless war of Kentucky. Also the name of Colonel James Knox, who led a party thither, which, by their long absence, obtained "the name of the Long Hunters." We find also the names of Taylor, and the MacAfees, renowned in Indian warfare, who came thither in May, 1773; and of Thomas Bullet, who, arriving at an Indian village undiscovered, till he was seen waving his white flag in token of peace; and being asked why he did not send on a runner to announce his approach, said, "He had come among his brothers to have a friendly talk with them; that he had no runner swifter than himself, and that he was in haste, and could not wait the return of a runner. Would you," said he, "if you were hungry, and had killed a deer, send your squaw to town to tell the news and wait her return before you eat?" We find, also, the names of John Floyd, Simeon Kenton, and James Harrod, who built the first log-cabin in Kentucky, at Harrod's town. Hugh McGary, Richard Hogan, Thomas Denton, John Harmon, James Ray, and last and most conspicuous of all, George Rogers Clarke, who came thither from Virginia, in 1775, to entwine "his memory with honor as lasting as the country brought by his genius under the American arms." General Ray, in speaking of Clarke's first visit to Kentucky, says, "when a lad of sixteen, he had killed a small, blue-winged duck, that was feeding in his spring; and having roasted it nearly, at a fire about twenty steps east from his house, he had taken it off to cool, when he was suddenly acosted by a fine, soldierly-looking man, who asked him his name, and if he wasn't afraid to be alone in the woods? After satisfying his inquiries," says General Ray, "I invited him to partake of my duck, which he did, without leaving me a bone to pick; his appetite was so keen. I then inquired of the stranger his name and business in this region. 'My name,' said he, 'is Clarke. I have come out to see what your brave fellows are doing in Kentucky, and to lend you a helping hand if necessary.'" This was in 1775.

Hostilities had no sooner commenced between England and her revolted colonies, than the tomahawk was again unburied; and the savages roused to vengeance by the promises of England, and stimulated by the arms, ammunition, and clothing supplied by her agents, became once more to the frontier settlers a formidable foe. The tremendous struggle that now raged from Georgia to Maine, involving everything dear to a free and generous people, demanded, of course, their whole energies on the Atlantic coast. No visible means, therefore, existed for the defence of so remote, and apparently so defenceless a frontier. When, however, the will exists, means are always at hand. Every man, woman and child, becomes then a hero, and every defile a Thermopylæ.

The policy of England in employing the savages, has frequently been questioned; and their conduct in doing so against their own kindred, universally condemned. When France, in the war of 1756, resorted to Indian aid, and the merciless savage accompanied her armies, laying waste whole settlements with fire and sword, the British people were loud in their complaints. No sooner, however, did opposition to parliamentary oppression array itself in the colonies, than they were threatened with savage vengeance, and Indian alliances were the theme of every tongue. We ought not, however, from thence to infer that the English were savages. We are aware

"If self the wavering balance shake,
It 's rarely right adjusted."

England has often been charged with keeping a pair of scales to *weigh her neighbors;* and was her conduct to be tested by those moral precepts which she professes to inculcate, and were her actions, during the last century, to be weighed in the great moral scales which she herself has erected, it is to be feared that her arm of the balance, like that of which Milton speaks, and with which it would be indecorous, perhaps, to compare England,

"Would be seen aloft."

The conduct of England, from the very commencement of hostilities, and before, was marked with peculiar atrocity. Some of it would have disgraced their "friends and allies" the Indians, and caused even the latter to blush. The sexton who lighted the lanterns on the North Church steeple in Boston, to apprise the Americans of the march of British troops from town, was arrested "two days thereafter, while discharging the duties of his office at a funeral, tried, and condemned to death; but respited on a threat from General Washington, and finally exchanged.*

A pamphlet was published in England previous to the commencement of hostilities, "in answer to the resolutions and addresses of the American Congress," by a person of high literary attainments, and as some pretend, of a respectable moral character, in which sentiments were uttered that would disgrace a barbarian. That person, too, was the hireling of a Christian prince, and the effort itself, a signal prostitution of learning at the foot of a tyrant and his coadjutors—demanding, in imperative terms, the execration of Christendom. I allude to a pamphlet written by the celebrated Doctor Johnson, in 1775, entitled, "Taxation no Tyranny."

"A merchant's desire," says he, in the pamphlet above referred to, "is not of glory, but of gain—not of public wealth, but of private emolument. He is therefore rarely to be consulted about war and peace, or any designs of wide extent and distant consequence."

"A charter," continues this pamphleteer, "which experience has shown to be detrimental, is to be repealed—because general property must always be preferred to particular interest." "*Let us,*" says this distinguished moralist, "*give the Indians arms and teach them discipline, and encourage them now and then to plunder a plantation.*"

"If their obstinacy (meaning the Americans,) continues, it may perhaps be molified by turning out the soldiers to free quarters."

And again—"It has been proposed that the slaves should be set free, an act which the lovers of liberty cannot but commend." "If they are furnished with fire-arms for defence, and utensils for husbandry, and settled in some simple form of government within the country, they may be more grateful and honest than their masters."

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* Everett.

The idea of providing arms for the Indians, of teaching them discipline, and encouraging them "now and then to plunder a plantation"—the idea of "turning out British soldiers to free quarters"—and the idea of holding out inducements to slaves, (brought hither by English legislation, in opposition to the acts of provincial assemblies,) to rise upon their masters, require no comment here. That attempts were afterward made to effect all this, and even more, is but too true—and that such attempts were signally defeated, is equally so.

The concluding paragraph of this celebrated pamphlet (being prophetic,) we insert entire:

"If we (says Doctor Johnson,) are allowed upon our defeat to stipulate conditions, I hope the treaty of Boston will permit us to import into the confederated cantons such products as they do not raise, and such manufactures as they do not make and cannot buy cheaper from other nations, paying like others the appointed customs; that if an English ship salutes a fort with four guns, it shall be answered at least with two; and that if an Englishman be inclined to hold a plantation, he shall only take an oath of allegiance to the reigning powers, and be suffered, while he lives inoffensively, to retain his own opinions of English rights unmolested in his conscience by an oath of abjuration."

The author, it seems, in the last sentence prophesied correctly, with two exceptions only: The oath of abjuration, as well as the oath of allegiance, is in most cases required; and in firing salutes gun for gun is always exchanged, in order that Americans may never be out-done in courtesy. In cases of war, American vessels, it is said, do something more.

Doctor Johnson, though exceedingly learned, mistook, as he says of Junius, "the venom of the shaft for the vigor of the bow;" and his pamphlet convinced those only who had no doubts before. It is true, an English Parliament thought as he did, or rather he thought as Parliament did, and when the addresses and resolutions of Congress came up for discussion, in 1775, the Earl of Chatham rose in the House of Peers, and said:

"When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their daring firmness and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation, and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress of Philadelphia."

And when the question in relation to the employment of savages, which Doctor Johnson had recommended, came up for discussion, the same noble earl, in reply to Lord Suffolk, then secretary for the northern department, said: "My lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such sentiments coming near the throne, polluting the ear of majesty."

The speech, however, of Lord Chatham, notwithstanding its ability, was entirely lost. A chamiel had been formed in the English mind, and neither truth nor justice, reason nor benevolence, could assuage the torrent, or divert its raging billows from their course. That was left for George Rogers Clarke, a young man of twenty-five, hitherto unknown, "a hunter of Kentucky," and other kindred spirits on this side of the Atlantic.

Clarke saw at once the cause of Indian ravages, and traced them, as he supposed, with unerring certainty to the British settlements at Detroit, at Vincennes, and Kaskaskia. Their heart-rending devastations early in '77, approached near to his dwelling. The cries of women and children, expiring in agony, were then wafted on every breeze, and mingled with every echo from the forest and the prairie. He roused, therefore, his friends and neighbors to arms, and, like other hardy pioneers, sighed for adventure.

Possessing that quick and accurate perception—that instant decision—that fruitful resource—that influence over others, and that confidence in himself, which accompany genius, and unite in forming the victorious commander; he was fitted, apparently by Providence, for the troubled scenes that revolutions engender. No matter whether the theatre be great or small—an empire or an Indian station—the intellect of such a person leads him to command, as surely as such qualities lead him to victory.

In 1777, Harrod's station, in Kentucky, was attacked by the Indians; George Rogers Clarke, however, was there, and among others, a young man by the name of James Ray, (afterward General Ray,) the same who had escaped massacre, when a brother was shot, by outrunning the warriors of Blackfish, a celebrated chief, and whose duck Clarke had so greedily devoured in 1775, both of whom were present, and aided in its defence. Ray and one M'Connel, a few days before, when shooting at a mark near the fort, were attacked by a party of warriors, and the latter killed upon the spot. Ray, a lad of seventeen, (every boy, it will be recollected, was then a hero,) perceiving the enemy at a distance, thought at first to avenge the murder of his friend; but finding himself attacked by a large body of savage warriors, who had crept up unseen, retreated with his usual speed, in a direction toward the fort, exposed during the time to a brisk fire from the enemy. On arriving thither, his friends did not dare to open the gate for his admission. Being thus exposed, pursued by savages, and refused shelter by his friends, he threw himself on the ground behind a stump, just large enough to protect his body, and lay for several hours under the whole fire of the Indians, whose balls sometimes entered, and sometimes grazed the stump. In this perilous situation he remained for four hours, within seven steps of the fort;—his mother within, and in sight of her boy. What a spectacle! A party of savages shooting at the son—the balls passing above, around, and on every side—the mother a spectator of the scene, and unable to afford him succor. In a moment of anguish, he exclaimed, so as to be heard by the garrison, "For God's sake! dig a hole under the cabin-wall, and take me in." Strange as it may seem, the expedient was adopted, and the gallant youth thus saved to his country.

'T is needless here to remark, that the fort thus manned, was successfully defended. During the attack, Clarke and Ray, each killed an Indian.

The affair of Lexington, in Massachusetts, at the commencement of hostilities, and the battle of Bunker Hill, which occurred shortly thereafter, tended in their results to show England and the world, that the subjugation of freemen was an arduous task. Although the battle of Long Island, the surrender of Fort Washington, the evacuation of Fort Lee, and the retreat of the American army, through New-Jersey, near the close of '76, led some to despair, and many to believe that the struggle was ended, and that further opposition to British authority was futile; the victories of Trenton and Princeton, which immediately followed, at once operated like "a resurrection from the dead," and every arm was nerved to the conflict. The victory of Saratoga, which, in '77, burst upon the world in a blaze of glory, broke "the spell of British regulars," and convinced the whole of Europe, that America was "as powerful in arms as she had been humble in remonstrance."

The alliance with France which succeeded the latter—whether to humble a proud and hated rival, or to gratify the feelings of wounded honor and mortified resentment; or to advance, as by some is pretended, the cause of human freedom in this western hemisphere, it would be invidious here to inquire—presented an opportunity for extending the arms and influence of the United Colonies to these (at that time) unexplored and distant wilds.

Clarke had witnessed the rise and progress of American colonization west of the mountains, and with instinctive genius foresaw the glory that would await the extension of American conquests beyond the Ohio. The streams of Indian hostility, which had deluged the land of his adoption with horror, he knew would be dried up, and a counter influence among the savages at once be established. With these views, he determined immediately to raise a force and "to attack the foe," at a point too, where least expected. Impressed with its importance, in the fall of 1777, he sent two spies to Kaskaskia, (Moore and Dunn,) on purpose to reconnoitre. Returning from thence, they reported that great activity prevailed among the French population in that quarter—that the Indians were encouraged by its inhabitants generally, and by the English agents more particularly, in their predatory excursions—and that the French and Indians had been told by English traders and others, and the fact was generally believed, that the Virginians were more barbarous than the savages themselves. They also reported, that strong evidence of affection for the Americans existed among some of its inhabitants.

Having thus gained the information he sought, Clarke hastened to Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, and opened his plan "for the Illinois campaign" to Patrick Henry, then Governor of the State. His ardent and impressive representations excited an interest about the capital, and the governor was captivated with the thought of striking an important blow against the enemy fifteen hundred miles distant, in the centre of their savage allies. The service, however, was exceedingly hazardous, and the attempt daring in the extreme. To insure even a prospect of success, the utmost secrecy was indispensable; and the plan, therefore, could not be submitted even to the Legislature. A few prominent individuals, however, were consulted, and among others, George Wythe, George Mason, and Thomas Jefferson. Clarke, then apparently a lad, (though in his twenty-fifth year,) being asked by the gentlemen above named, what he would do in case of a repulse, (which seemed probable,) "Cross," said he, "the Mississippi, and seek protection from the Spaniards." After several interviews with the governor and council, his intended expedition was highly approved of, and the patriotic gentlemen we have mentioned, having pledged themselves in writing, to obtain from the Legislature (in case of success,) a bounty of three hundred acres of land for every person who should enlist and accompany the expedition—and the governor having advanced to Colonel Clarke twelve hundred pounds in depreciated currency, and given him authority to raise seven companies of militia, of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner; and an order on the commandant of Fort Pitt for ammunition, etc., and two sets of instructions, one public, directing him to proceed to Kentucky for its defence; and the other, to attack the British post at Kaskaskia, in Illinois; he set off on the 4th of February, 1778, as he says, "clothed with all the authority he could wish,"—to plant the banners of the Republic on the banks of the Mississippi.

The instructions given by the governor to Colonel Clarke, considering the provocations which then existed, are an honor to human nature. "It is," said Governor Henry, "earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects and other persons as fall into your hands." "If the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and its neighborhood give evidence of their attachment to this State, (for it is certain they live within its limits,) let them be treated as fellow-citizens, and their persons and property duly secured," but if otherwise, "let them feel the miseries of war, under the direction of that humanity which has hitherto distinguished the Americans, and which, it is expected, you will ever consider as the rule of your conduct, and from which you are in no instance to depart."

What a commentary on the acts of the British Parliament and the conduct of the British king. When the hired mercenaries of the latter were laying waste our seaboard with fire and sword, and the merciless savage, encouraged by his bounty, was scalping women and children along an extended frontier of two thousand miles; and the best and bravest of American patriots were perishing for want of food, in prison-ships and in dungeons; the Governor of Virginia, "a rebel," who fifteen years before had been an obscure practitioner at the bar in the county of Louisa, was erecting to his memory a monument of glory, beneath whose shade "kings will moulder and dynasties be forgotten."

Colonel Clarke, on arriving at Fort Pitt, (Pittsburgh,) met with some difficulties on account of its disputed dominion, it being claimed at that time by Pennsylvania and Virginia. His public instructions having been exhibited, and being precluded, as he thought, from exhibiting any others, some pretended that the sending of troops to Kentucky would be a wanton and unnecessary diversion of strength. Others thought it would be better to remove the Kentuckians, than to weaken the adjacent country by attempting their defence.

The idea, however, of removing the Kentuckians, "as so many chattels," met with little encouragement. "The innate vigor, the indomitable energy" of backwoodsmen could not have been maturely weighed, or the project would never have been thought of.

While these discussions were progressing, Colonel Clarke received letters from Major Smith, informing him that he had raised four companies for the expedition, in the settlements upon the Holstein, and that the strength of Kentucky had increased considerably since he left it. This intelligence, coupled with certain knowledge that Captain Helm's and Captain Bowman's companies would join him on the Monongahela, made him less urgent in levying troops in and about Pittsburgh, than before. He therefore left the latter, with three companies only, and a considerable number of "families and private adventurers." On arriving at the mouth of the Great Kanawa, he was urged by Captain Arbuckle, who commanded a little fort on the Ohio, which had been attacked the day before by a party of two hundred and fifty Indians, who had now directed their course to the settlements upon the Greenbrier, to join in their pursuit. However great the temptation, the importance of his own expedition he thought was still greater; and therefore continued his course, till he reached the mouth of the Kentucky. Here he landed, and thought at first of erecting a fort, but on further reflection, abandoned the intention for a position more desirable at the Falls of the Ohio. On reaching the latter he halted, and fortified Corn Island, opposite Louisville. The Ohio boatmen, being there detained for the purpose of making preparations to pass the rapids, were frequently attacked by the savages. Colonel Clarke thought, therefore, and correctly, that a fort in that vicinity would guard the boatmen against future attacks; and Corn Island was thereupon selected and fortified, as well to protect the boatmen, as to secure his little detachment against surprise.

He had previously learned, with extreme mortification, that Captain Dillard's company alone, of the four companies promised by Major Smith, had arrived in Kentucky. He thereupon wrote to Colonel Bowman, informing the latter that he intended to establish a post at the Falls, and *having in view an object of great importance to the country*, desired him to repair thither with all the men enlisted by Smith, and as many more as could be spared. On the arrival of Colonel Bowman's party, it was found that the country was too weak to justify the withdrawing of many troops from thence. Clarke therefore engaged but one company, and about half of another, from that quarter, expecting them to be replaced by those recruited by Smith.

Here Colonel Clarke disclosed to the troops his real destination; and however strange it may seem at the present day, the information was received by the whole detachment (except Dillard's company,) with rapturous applause. Avarice had not then closed the avenues to human sympathy, nor had a desire for wealth benumbed every faculty of the soul. The gallant sons of Kentucky thought with their commander, that the secret of Indian hostilities lay somewhere at the west, and demanded therefore to be conducted thither.

Colonel Clarke, intending to start on the next day, ordered the boats to be well secured, and sentinels to be stationed at every point where he supposed the Ohio fordable. Notwithstanding, however, these precautions, it was discovered, before day, that a considerable portion of Captain Dillard's company, with a lieutenant, (whose name Colonel Clarke, in his journal, has spared,) had passed the sentinels unperceived, and reached the opposite shore. "The disappointment," says Clark, "was cruel, and its consequences alarming." A party, mounted on horseback, was dispatched immediately for the deserters, with orders to "kill all who resisted." The fugitives were overtaken about twenty miles from thence, and with the exception of seven or eight who were brought back, dispersed themselves through the woods. After enduring every species of distress, they reached Harrod's town, where the people, swayed by that generous impulse which actuates noble and exalted minds, felt the baseness of the lieutenant's conduct so keenly, and resented it with such indignation, that on arriving at the fort, the lieutenant and his party were for some time refused admission.

The troops sent by Clarke in search of the fugitives, having returned, a day of rejoicing was had between those who were about to descend the river for Kaskaskia, and those who were about to return to defend Kentucky—a duty of equal peril and danger.

After reviewing his little army of four companies, (the number in each is nowhere given,) commanded by Captains Montgomery, Helm, Bowman and Harrod, and equipping them in the simplest Indian manner for a march across the country, (to mask his design) from the nearest point on the Ohio to Kaskaskia; he passed the falls at Louisville on the 24th of June, 1778, during a remarkable eclipse of the sun, and descending the river to a point above Fort Massac, he landed his troops and concealed his boats, intending from thence to march through the State of Illinois by the nearest and most practicable route, to "the ancient French village of Kaskaskia."

The eclipse above alluded to, though it occasioned some curious remarks in his camp, did not excite that terror and alarm with which armies in ancient times had been filled; nor did it for a moment arrest his progress. It served merely to fix the time, when the first army of the Republic descended the Ohio in search of a hostile foe.*

Colonel Clarke had previously meditated an attack upon the British fort St. Vincent, (now Vincennes, in Indiana,) but on account of the insufficiency of his force for that purpose, thought it safer to prosecute his original design. The vicinity of Kaskaskia to the Spanish settlements in Upper Louisiana, whither he proposed to retreat in case of a repulse, added force to this conclusion ; and the hope of attaching the French residents to the American interest, and through the influence of the former, which he knew to be extensive over the savages, give peace to an extended and now bleeding frontier, after much reflection, induced him to persevere.

While descending the Ohio, he was overtaken by a messenger from Colonel Campbell, of Fort Pitt, who apprised him that an alliance, offensive and defensive, had been entered into at Paris, between the United Colonies and the King of France, and that a fleet and army of the latter would shortly be sent hither. This circumstance, as subsequent events showed, became afterward important. He had scarcely landed and concealed his boats near Fort Massac, when a person by the name of John Duff, and a party of hunters, were stopped by his guard. Duff was an American by birth and was directly from Kaskaskia. With great freedom, he now communicated to Colonel Clarke intelligence that was all important. Among other things, he stated that Mr. Rocheblave (or Rocheblawe, as Mr. Jefferson writes it,) commanded there—that the militia were well disciplined—that sentinels were posted along the Mississippi—and that the Indians and hunters were ordered to keep a sharp look out for "the rebels," the Virginians or Big Knives, as they were sometimes called. He further stated, that the town had no regular garrison—that its military operations were matters only of parade, and that no one supposed it necessary to guard even against surprise—that the fort, however, which commanded the town was in good condition, and capable, in case of an attack, were it anticipated, of making, by the mere force of the place, a formidable resistance. He confirmed also the statements of Dunn and others sent thither before, in relation to the horrid apprehensions which the inhabitants entertained of Virginians. He stated further, that if they could reach Kaskaskia without discovery, success he thought would be certain. Duff and his party offered their services, and sought to be employed. The offer was accepted—the information, thus obtained, acceptable, and every circumstance indicated a prosperous issue.

The dread and horror in which the Virginians were regarded by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and its vicinity, Clarke resolved immediately to enlist into his service, and to employ it as an auxiliary to his little army—an expedient worthy of a Hannibal.

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* It will be found by referring to Ferguson's tables, that an eclipse of the sun happened in 1778, and on the 24th of June in that year.

On the last day of June, the party, with its commander at their head, sharing in every respect the condition of his men, started in a northwest direction for Kaskaskia. Its distance was one hundred and thirty miles, and the intervening country being low and flat, intersected by numerous streams, and covered with luxuriant vegetation, and being also without roads or bridges and in a state of nature, was, except to backwoodsmen, almost impassable. Through this region the intrepid leader of this gallant band marched on foot, with "his rifle upon his shoulder and his provisions upon his back;" sustaining two days' march, after his provisions were exhausted, till on the evening of the 4th of July, he arrived within a few miles of Kaskaskia. Their march, though arduous, was attended with no peculiar difficulties, other than what were common in those days of privation; perhaps none beyond the ordinary sufferings which accompany military expeditions through forests, where game and water are scarce.

A circumstance, however, happened on the third day of his march, which excited for the time some considerable emotion, and led almost to a disastrous issue.

John Saunders, the principal guide, lost his way, and got so bewildered that he was unable to direct their course. Suspicion was at once excited in relation to his fidelity, and a cry immediately arose among the men to "put the traitor to death." He sought, however, and obtained permission of the colonel to go into the prairie and try to recover himself. The application was granted, and a guard appointed to accompany him thither, by whom he was told, that if he did not conduct the detachment into the hunters' road to Kaskaskia, which he had frequently described and travelled, and which led through a country that no woodsman could well forget, he should be hanged. After searching a considerable time, the poor fellow discovered a spot that he recollected, and his innocence was at once established.

On arriving near Kaskaskia, they waited till dark, when they continued their march. There stood at that time on the west side of the river, and about three-quarters of a mile above the village, a small house, into which the Americans first entered, and there learned that the "militia had been called out the day before; but as no cause of alarm existed, they had been dismissed, and that everything was quiet—that there was a great number of men in the town, and but few Indians; the greater part having recently gone." Some boats were immediately procured, and two divisions of the party crossed the river, with orders to repair to different parts of the village, while Colonel Clarke himself, with the third division, was to take possession of the fort on the east side of the river, commanding the town. Orders were given, that in case Clarke's division should succeed, and the fort should be taken without resistance, the two divisions on the west bank of the river, on a signal given for that purpose, should possess with a shout certain quarters of the town; and that persons who could speak French should be sent in every direction, and give notice to the inhabitants, "that every man who should appear in the streets would be shot down." These dispositions were attended with complete success—the fort was taken—Clarke entered it by a postern gate on the river side left open, "directed thither by a soldier he had taken prisoner the evening before." The town was at once surrounded and every avenue guarded, so as to prevent the transmission of intelligence from thence, and in about "two hours, the inhabitants were disarmed without bloodshed."

Troops had been enlisted, officered, and equipped, transported one thousand three hundred miles by land and water, through a wilderness country, inhabited by the allies of England; and marched into a garrisoned town, without the slightest resistance, and without suspicion that such a movement was in contemplation. The difficulty of making such a journey now, from Virginia to Kaskaskia, aided by all the improvements which modern times have suggested, is considerable; but, when we consider what it must have been sixty-five years ago, without roads, without bridges, and almost without boats to navigate the rivers; and when we consider, also, the difficulty of transporting provisions and ammunition through a wild, uninhabited, and hostile region, we cannot but admire the conduct of its leader, and pronounce his exploit, "a brilliant military achievement."

Colonel Clarke was a man of few words—his merit consisted principally in deeds. The speech, however, he made to his troops on arriving at Kaskaskia, was "brief and pointed;" and we should do him great injustice were we to omit it here.

The speeches which Livy puts into the mouths of his heroes, no matter whether genuine or not, are frequently admired; why not follow his example?

McDonald, who commanded a regiment of Highlanders in the English army, under Sir Ralph Abercombie in Egypt, at the battle of the Pyramids, when the French troops were approaching, addressed his gallant followers in a speech, which has often, and we think very justly, been admired:

"Ye are," said he, "the muckle lads of Scotland, and I am Donald McDonald, your chief—yonder are Bonaparte's invincibles; but ye are to convince them, this day, that they are vincible—so out with your muckle whangers."

"Yonder," said General Starke, at the battle of Bennington, "are the red-coats; ere the sun goes down they must be ours, or Molly Starke sleeps a widow to-night."

Colonel Clarke's speech at Kaskaskia was not only more brief, but more pithy than either. It consisted of but one sentence, so condensed as to convey, without circumlocution, the precise idea he intended. "The town," said he, "is to be taken at all events." * And it was taken.

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* Hall's Sketches of the West.

The dread and horror which the name of Virginians had created, now came to his aid. It was, perhaps, one of the most innocent stratagems of war that could have been devised; and although painful and alarming to the inhabitants for the time being, the occasion unquestionably justified its use, and the effect was astonishing.

During the night Clarke ordered his troops, in small parties, to patrol the town in every possible direction, making the utmost tumult, and whooping after the Indian fashion—while the inhabitants, shut up in their houses, preserved the most perfect silence.

The British governor, Mr. Rocheblave, was taken in his chamber during the night. The public papers, however, had been destroyed or secreted by his wife; and it was thought "ten thousand times better" to forego the advantages arising from their possession, than that "a gallant son of Virginia" should "tarnish the ancient fame of his State," by offering an insult to a female. Although many important papers were supposed to be concealed in her trunks, they were "honorable respected, and not even examined." It is, we believe, the first instance on record, where gallantry has been carried so far.

Efforts were made during the night to obtain intelligence of the situation and force of the British and their allies in the vicinity, but with little success. A considerable body, however, of Indians, it was early ascertained were encamped at Cahokia, about fifty miles from thence, up the river; and that Monsieur Cere, the principal merchant at Kaskasia, an inveterate enemy of the American cause, was then at St. Louis, on his way to Quebec, from whence he had lately returned, to prosecute extensive operations. The family of Monsieur Cere were in Kaskaskia, and a large stock of his merchandise; and Colonel Clarke, deeming his influence important in the (then) state of affairs, thought, by means of these pledges in his power, to obtain the good opinion of this opulent and respectable merchant. A guard was thereupon stationed about his house, and seals were put upon his property, as well as upon the whole merchandise of the place. On the day after the surrender, the troops were all withdrawn, and stationed in different positions about the town. All intercourse with the soldiers was strictly forbidden, and those sent for by Clarke were forbidden to converse even with each other. The whole town was at once overspread with terror. In presence of an enemy, of whom the inhabitants entertained the most horrid apprehensions, all intercourse with each other and their conquerors strictly forbidden, the most gloomy forebodings filled every bosom. After the troops had been removed, the inhabitants were permitted to walk about as before. Congregating, however, together, and being seen by their conquerors apparently in earnest conversation, some of their number, and among them the principal militia officers, were arrested by Colonel Clarke, and put in irons, without assigning any reason for so doing, and without permitting them to speak in their own defence. The consternation which had hitherto prevailed, was now increased; and neither mercy nor compassion any longer expected. At last, when hope had nearly vanished, Monsieur Gibault, the priest of the village, and five or six elderly gentlemen, obtained permission to wait on Colonel Clarke. Surprised, as they had been, by the sudden capture of their town, and by such an enemy as their imagination had painted, they were still more so when admitted to his presence. Their clothes were dirty, and torn by the briers, and their whole appearance was frightful and savage. Those acquainted with the delicacy and refinement of the ancient French, can alone appreciate their embarrassed condition. It was some time after they were admitted into the room where Clarke and his officers were seated, before they could speak; and not even then till their business was demanded. They first asked which was the commander; so effectually had the expedition confounded all ranks and distinction. Colonel Clarke being pointed out, the priest, in a subdued tone, which indicated what he felt, said: "That the inhabitants expected to be separated, never to meet again on earth, and they begged for permission, through him, to assemble once more in the church, to take a final leave of each other." Clarke, aware that they suspected him of hostility to their religion, carelessly told them, that he had nothing to say against their church; that religion was a matter, which the Americans left every one for himself to settle with his God; that the people might assemble in the church, if they wished, but they must not leave the town. Some further conversation was attempted; but Clarke, in order that the alarm might be raised to its utmost height, repelled it with sternness, and told them at once that he had not leisure for further intercourse. The whole town immediately assembled at the church; the old and the young, the women and the children, and the houses were all deserted. Strict orders in the meantime were given, that no dwelling, upon any pretence whatever, should be entered by the soldiers. The people remained in church for a long time—after which the priest, accompanied by several gentlemen, waited upon Colonel Clarke, and expressed, in the name of the village, "their thanks for the indulgence they had received." The deputation then desired, at the request of the inhabitants, to address their conqueror on a subject which was dearer to them than any other. "They were sensible," they said, "that their present situation was the fate of war; and they could submit to the loss of property, but solicited that they might not be separated from their wives and children, and that some clothes and provisions might be allowed for their future support." They assured Colonel Clarke, that their conduct had been influenced by the British commandants, whom they supposed they were bound to obey—that they were not certain that they understood the nature of the contest between Great Britain and the colonies—that their remote situation was unfavorable to accurate information—that some of their number had expressed themselves in favor of the Americans, and others would have done so had they durst. Clarke, having wound up their terror to the highest pitch, resolved now to try the effect of that lenity, which he had all along intended to grant.

He therefore abruptly addressed them: "Do you," said he, "mistake us for savages? I am almost certain you do from your language. Do you think that Americans intend to strip women and children, or take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen disdain to make war upon helpless innocence. It was to prevent the horrors of Indian butchery upon our own wives and children, that we have taken up arms, and penetrated into this stronghold of British and Indian barbarity, and not the despicable prospect of plunder. That since the King of France had united his arms with those of America, the war, in all probability, would shortly cease. That the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, however, were at liberty to take which side they pleased, without danger to themselves, their property, or their families. That all religions were regarded by the Americans with equal respect; and that insult offered to theirs, would be immediately punished. And now," continued he, "to prove my sincerity, you will please inform your fellow-citizens, that they are at liberty to go wherever they please, without any apprehension. That he was now convinced they had been misinformed, and prejudiced against the Americans, by British officers; and that their friends in confinement should immediately be released." The joy of the village seniors, on hearing the speech of Colonel Clarke, may be imagined; we will not, however, attempt to describe it. They stammered out some apology for their suspicions, and were about to remark that the property of a captured town belonged to the conquerors. Colonel Clarke, however, dispensed with any explanations, and desired them to relieve the anxiety of their friends, and comply strictly with the terms of a proclamation he was about to issue. The contrast of feeling among the people, on learning these generous and magnanimous intentions of Colonel Clarke, verified his anticipations. The gloom which had overspread the town was immediately dispersed. The bells rung a merry peal; the church was at once filled, and thanks offered up to God for deliverance from the terrors they had feared. Freedom to come and go, as they pleased, was immediately given; knowing that their reports would advance the success and glory of his arms.

Some uneasiness, however, was yet felt respecting Cahokia, the capture of which Colonel Clarke resolved to attempt, and gain in the same way, if possible. For that purpose, Major Bowman and his company were ordered thither. Some gentlemen, however, of Kaskaskia, apprised of his intentions, offered their services to effect what Colonel Clarke had desired. They assured him that the people of Cahokia were their relations and friends, and they had no doubt of their acting in unison with them, when the circumstances in which they were placed should be explained. Major Bowman departed for this new conquest, if conquest it could be called, in high spirits, with French militia officers at the head of his new allies. They reached Cahokia on the 6th, before the surrender of Kaskaskia was known. The cry of "the Big Knife," at first spread alarm, but it was allayed by the French gentlemen of Kaskaskia who accompanied the expedition; and their former alarms were immediately converted into huzzas for freedom and the Americans. The British fort at Cahokia surrendered without a struggle; the inhabitants in a few days took the oath of allegiance; and the French and Americans were politically united. The Indian force near Cahokia was dispersed; and the State of Illinois, destined to contain more than ten millions of people, (by four companies of militia, and the prudence, energy, and skill of their commander,) without bloodshed, annexed to the Republic.

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL CLARKE.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE:

You are to proceed, without loss of time, to enlist seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as militia under your orders. They are to proceed to Kentucky, and there to obey such orders and directions as you shall give them, for three months after their arrival at that place; but to receive pay, etc., in case they remain on duty a longer time.

You are empowered to raise these men in any county in the Commonwealth; and the county lieutenants, respectively, are requested to give you all possible assistance in that business.

Given under my hand at Williamsburg, January 2nd., 1778.

P. HENRY

VIRGINIA IN COUNCIL, WILLIAMSBURG, JAN. 2ND., 1778.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE:

You are to proceed with all convenient speed to raise seven companies of soldiers, to consist of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner, and armed most properly for the enterprise; and with this force attack the British fort at Kaskaskia.

It is conjectured that there are many pieces of cannon and military stores, to considerable amount, at that place, the taking and preservation of which, would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate, therefore, as to succeed in your expedition, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores, and whatever may advantage the State.

For the transportation of the troops, provisions, etc., down the Ohio; you are to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt for boats; and during the whole transaction, you are to take especial care to keep the true destination of your force secret—its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to secure the two men from Kaskaskia. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects and other persons, as fall in your hands. If the white inhabitants at that post and the neighborhood, will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this State, (for it is certain they live within its limits,) by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power, let them be treated as fellow-citizens, and their persons and property duly secured. Assistance and protection against all enemies whatever shall be afforded them, and the Commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable demands, they must feel the miseries of war, under the direction of that humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which it is expected you will ever consider the rule of your conduct, and from which you are in no instance to depart.

The corps you are to command, are to receive the pay and allowance of militia, and to act under the laws and regulations of this State now in force, as militia. The inhabitants at this post will be informed by you, that in case they accede to the offers of becoming citizens of this Commonwealth, a proper garrison will be maintained among them, and every attention bestowed to render their commerce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the dominions of France and Spain.

It is in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskaskia will be easily brought thither, or otherwise secured, as circumstances will make necessary.

You are to apply to General Hand for powder and lead necessary for this expedition. If he can't supply it, the person who has that which Captain Lynn brought from Orleans, can. Lead was sent to Hampshire, by my orders, and that may be delivered you.

Wishing you success, I am, sir,
Your humble servant,
P. HENRY.

CHAPTER XII.

Colonel Clarke contemplates the taking of Vincennes—The difficulties attending it—Establishes courts in Kaskaskia and Cahokia—Becomes popular in both places—Monsieur Cere visits Kaskaskia—Takes the oath of Allegiance—Colonel Clarke receives a vote of thanks from the House of Burgesses, in Virginia—M. Gibault, the Catholic priest, goes to Vincennes—The latter surrenders—The inhabitants take the oath of allegiance to Virginia—Captain Helm appointed commandant, and "Agent for Indian Affairs in the Wabash"—County of Illinois organized—Colonel Todd appointed civil commandant—Justice administered in the name and by the authority of Virginia—M. Rocheblave, late Governor of Kaskaskia, sent a prisoner to Virginia—His conduct prevents Colonel Clarke's intentions from being carried into effect—Captain Helm's reception in Kaskaskia—Tobacco, an Indian chief—Colonel Clarke reënlists his men—Establishes forts at Kaskaskia and Cahokia—Founds Louisville at the Falls of the Ohio—His mode of treating with the Indians—His first council with the Natives—His negotiations with the Meadow Indians—Extraordinary incident—Blackbird, a celebrated chief, visits Colonel Clarke at Kaskaskia—Big Gate, another warrior, also—Extraordinary interview—Colonel Hamilton, Governor of Detroit, reaches Vincennes with a large force—Recaptures the latter place—The whole Garrison, consisting of one officer, and one private, marched out with the honors of war—Intelligence of its surrender received at Kaskaskia, on the 29th of January, 1777—An expedition for Vincennes sets out for the latter place, on the 7th of February, eight days thereafter—An army raised, officered and equipped, in that time—A naval armament also sails for the same place—Incidents on their march—Case of the little drummer—They arrive at Vincennes—Vincennes is taken, February 24th, 1779—Captain Helm appointed again to its command—Peace between England and the United States—Indian hostilities suspended—Governor Harrison's letter to Colonel Clarke—The latter is discharged from service with thanks.

Colonel Clarke, notwithstanding his brilliant and almost unexpected success at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and notwithstanding the French population were apparently attached to the American government, and republican principles, was not entirely at his ease. Aware of his delicate situation, and the necessity of all his address to sustain the position he occupied, with honor to himself, and satisfaction to his country; he fortified himself, by cultivating the most intimate relations with the Spanish authorities, on the west bank of the Mississippi; and regarding Fort St. Vincents (now Vincennes,) as an important link in the chain of British influence, he sought to reduce it, if possible, into his possession The force, however, at his command, though "joined by every man in Kentucky," he supposed inadequate to the object, and was therefore compelled, against his wishes, to resort to other means for its accomplishment than to military force.

As a preliminary step, he taught his soldiers to speak of the Falls of the Ohio, as the head-quarters of his army, and of the troops which had accompanied him to Kaskaskia, as a detachment only from the main body. He also gave notice, that reinforcements were daily expected, and that on their arrival, military movements upon an extended scale would immediately take place; this he considered necessary, to justify himself for having invaded Illinois with so small a force. He also established courts, (held by French judges elected by the people,) with a right of appeal to himself; these became popular, and aided essentially to confirm his power.

In the meantime, M. Cere, the French merchant, (of whom we have already spoken,) unwilling to be longer separated from his family, and unwilling also that they alone should be kept in duress, became desirous of visiting Kaskaskia, the place of his former residence: deeming it, however, unsafe to go thither without a protection, he procured a letter from the Spanish governor at St. Louis, and another from the Spanish commandant, at St. Genevieve, together with numerous recommendations from the most respectable citizens of each, to obtain the security he desired. Clarke, however, was inexorable; the application was refused, and an intimation thrown out, that the application need not be repeated. He, at the same time, told the messenger, that he understood M. Cere was "a sensible man," and if he was innocent of the charge of inciting the savages against the Americans, he had nothing to apprehend. Soon afterward, M. Cere, to whom these sentiments of Colonel Clarke had been communicated, repaired to Kaskaskia, and without visiting his family, waited immediately on Colonel Clarke. He was told by the latter, that he stood charged with inciting the savages to murder and devastations on the American frontiers; that it was an affair which behoved every civilized people to punish with the utmost severity, when such violators of honorable warfare were in their power; and that if he was guilty of the offence charged, he must expect nothing from his lenity.

M. Cere repelled the accusation with considerable warmth; said he was a mere merchant, and had never interfered with matters of state, beyond what his business required; that his remote situation had prevented him from understanding the merits of the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies; that he defied any man to prove that he had encouraged Indian depredations; and that he could produce many, who had known him condemn such cruelties in the most decisive terms. He at the same time remarked, that there were many in Kaskaskia indebted to him, who might, perhaps, by his ruin, seek to discharge their pecuniary obligations. He courted, however, inquiry, and wished to see his accusers face to face. This was the very thing which the American commander desired. M. Cere, therefore, withdrew to another apartment, and Colonel Clarke sent for his accusers; they attended immediately, followed by a large portion of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia. M. Cere was summoned to confront them. His accusers were apparently confounded. Colonel Clarke, thereupon, told them that he had no disposition to condemn any person unheard. That M. Cere was now present, and that he (Clarke) was now ready to repair the injury which the civilized world had received at his hands, if guilty of the alleged crime. His accusers began to whisper with each other, and retire, one by one, until a single individual only was left. Colonel Clarke called on him for his proof: he said he had none to produce; and M. Cere was thereupon honorably acquitted—not more, however, to his satisfaction, than to the satisfaction of Colonel Clarke, (who esteemed him highly,) and the numerous and respectable friends of the accused in Kaskaskia. He was then congratulated on his acquittal, and informed, that although it was desirable that he should become an American citizen; unless he sincerely wished to do so, he was at liberty to dispose of his property and remove elsewhere. M. Cere, delighted with the frank and generous treatment of Colonel Clarke, at once took the oath of allegiance, and became thereafter a valuable friend to America and her cause.

Colonel Clarke, by policy, rather than by force, had now reduced all the British posts in Illinois; and on the 23rd of November, 1778, received, together with his brave officers and men, from the House of Delegates of Virginia, a unanimous vote of thanks, "for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance in so hazardous an enterprise, and for the important service thereby rendered their country."

The British post at Vincennes now occupied the thoughts of Clarke; indeed it never was," as he says, "out of his mind." He therefore sent for M. Gibault, the Roman Catholic priest of Kaskaskia, (who was also priest of Vincennes,) and obtained all the intelligence he desired. M. Gibault informed him, that Governor Abbot had gone to Detroit, upon business; and that the military expedition from the Falls to St. Vincents, of which Colonel Clarke had so frequently spoken, was wholly unnecessary; and offered, if it met with Colonel Clarke's approbation, to take the business on himself;" he said, "he had no doubt of being able to bring that place over to the American interest without the trouble of sending a military force against it." The offer was accepted, and Doctor La Font was appointed as a temporal member of the embassy. On the 14th of July, the gentlemen above named, accompanied by a spy of Clarke's, set off for St. Vincents. An explanation took place between the priest and his flock, and in two or three days, the inhabitants threw off their allegiance to the British authorities, and assembled in the church, and took an oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia. A commandant was elected, and the American flag displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians. The savages were told, "that their old father, the King of the French, had come to life again, and was mad with them for fighting for the English; and if they did not want the land to be bloody with war, they must make peace with the Americans." On the 1st of August, M. Gibault and party returned to Kaskaskia, with the intelligence, that everything was peaceably adjusted at St. Vincents, in favor of the American cause; and in August following, Captain Leonard Helm was appointed by Colonel Clarke, commandant at St. Vincents, and "agent for Indian affairs, in the department of the Wabash."

The Governor of Virginia having been apprised of Colonel Clarke's proceedings; and the appointment of a civil commandant being desired by the latter, to take charge of the political affairs of the secluded region, which had now submitted to his arms; an act was passed in October, 1778, to establish "the county of Illinois;" it embraced all that part of Virginia west of the Ohio river, and was probably at the time the largest county in the world; exceeding in its dimensions the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. Colonel John Todd received the appointment of civil commandant, and lieutenant-colonel of the county; and justice was administered, for the first time, in the name and by the authority of the Republic.

Captain Montgomery was sent to Virginia, with M. Rocheblave, the late British commandant, in charge. Colonel Clarke, intended to have restored to him his slaves, and to have rendered him other important services, and for that purpose invited him to a dinner, with a few officers and several friends. M. Rocheblave, however, called them a parcel of rebels, and expressed himself with so much bitterness, that Colonel Clarke was compelled, against his wishes, instead of making him a recipient of his bounty, to send him to the guard-house, and from thence, a prisoner to Virginia. The idea of restoring his slaves being thus frustrated, they were afterward sold for five hundred pounds, and the avails divided among his troops, as prize-money.

Captain Helm, on reaching Vincennes, was received by the French with acclamation. The Indians, confiding implicitly in the representations of the latter, said, "The Big Knife was in the right." Tobacco, a celebrated chief, jumped up, struck his breast, and said, "That he had always been a man, and a warrior; that he was now a Big Knife, and would tell the Red people to bloody the land no more for the English."

The church of Rome had seldom received, at the hand of Protestant conquerors, such generous treatment as had now been exhibited by Colonel Clarke; and his beneficent administration, we have no doubt, aided materially in propagating the American influence, and in extending the American arms.

Another difficulty now arose. Colonel Clarke's men had been enlisted only for three months, and the three months were about to expire. Availing himself, however, of that discretionary power which officers, acting on so remote a stage, are compelled sometimes to assume; and being unwilling to divest himself of those means on which he could rely with confidence in case of an emergency, he thought proper to strain his authority a little for the preservation of that interest for which it had been conferred, and, therefore, reënlisted his men, and at the same time raised an additional company among the native inhabitants, commanded by their own officers. He also established a garrison at Kaskaskia, commanded by

Captain Williams and another, at Cahokia, commanded by Captain Bowman. Colonel William Linn, who had accompanied the expedition as a volunteer, returned with the remaining troops, and established a military post at the Falls of the Ohio. This was the origin of Louisville, the commercial emporium of Kentucky.

The Indian tribes which then inhabited "the mighty West," were numerous and powerful. They were subject to be wrought upon by British traders, and to be influenced by British gold. Colonel Clarke had, therefore, a difficult and arduous duty to perform, in the discharge of which his capacity to direct and control the minds of others, was just as apparent as before.

He had studied the Indian character with unwearied diligence, and had made himself acquainted with the French and Spanish modes of treating them. He thought, and his subsequent policy was predicated on the impression that the inviting of the Indians to treat, was founded upon a mistaken notion of the Indian character; that such invitations were looked upon by them as evidence of fear, or weakness, and sometimes the result of both. He resolved, therefore, not "to spoil the Indians as the English had often done at treaties," but, on the contrary, to maintain the strictest reserve; and when he gave presents, to do it with a niggardly hand, as though they had been wrung from him, instead of being spontaneous or voluntary.

His first council with these remote sons of the forest was somewhat remarkable. An account of it, therefore, deserves to be given.

The parties having met, both white and red, the chief who was to open the council (the Indians, it will be observed, were the solicitors,) advanced to the table at which Colonel Clarke was sitting, "with the belt of peace in his hand; another with the sacred pipe, and a third with fire to kindle it. After the pipe was lighted, it was presented to the heavens, then to the earth, and completing a circle, was presented to all the spirits, invoking them to witness what was about to be done. The pipe was then presented to Colonel Clarke, and afterward to every person present." The speaker then addressed himself to the Indians. "Warriors, you ought to be thankful, that the Great Spirit has taken pity on you; has cleared the sky, and opened your ears and hearts so that you may hear the truth. We have been deceived by bad birds flying through the land, (meaning the British emissaries,) but we will take up the hatchet no more against the Big Knife, and we hope, as the Great Spirit has brought us together for good, as he is good, so we may be received as friends, and peace may take place of the bloody belt." The chief then threw down the bloody belt of wampum, and the flag which they had received of the British, and stamped upon them in token of their rejection. To this, Colonel Clarke, guardedly replied, that he would think of it, and give them an answer the next day. In the meantime, he advised them to prepare for the result upon which their existence, as a nation, depended. He advised them not to let any of his people shake hands with them, as peace was not yet made; and it would be time to give them their hands when they could give them their hearts also. An Indian chief replied, that "such sentiments were like men who had but one heart, and did not speak with a forked tongue." The council then adjourned till the next day, when Colonel Clarke addressed "the men and warriors," as follows: "I am a man and a warrior, not a councillor; I carry war in my right hand, and in my left peace. I am sent by the great council of the Big Knife, and their friends, to take possession of all the towns occupied by the English in this country, and to watch the motions of the Red people. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, so that the Red people may hear no sound but of birds who live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes. I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the causes of the war between the Big Knife and the English; then you may judge for yourselves which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and not show yourselves to be squaws." After Colonel Clarke had explained, at considerable length, the cause of the difficulty between the Big Knife and the English, he said: "At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great council-fire that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia. He there stuck down a post, and put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out, the sky was blue again, and the old men held up their hands and assembled at the fire; they took up the hatchet and put it into the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war-post, and blood was shed. In this way the war begun, and the English were driven from one place to another, until they got weak, and then they hired you Red people to fight for them. The Great Spirit got angry at this, and caused your old father, the French king, and other great nations, to join the Big Knife, and fight with them against their enemies. You can now judge who is in the right. I have already told you who I am. Here is a bloody belt and a white one; behave like men, and don't let your being surrounded by Big Knives cause you to take up one belt with your hands while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English. We will then try, like warriors, who can put the most stumbling blocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer until you have taken time to consult. We will, therefore, part this evening, and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men with but 'one heart and one tongue.'"

The next day a new fire was kindled with more than usual ceremony, and the Indian speaker came forward and said: "They believed the whole to be truth, as the Big Knife did not speak like any other people they had ever heard." They now saw they had been deceived, and that the English had told them lies. They now believed that we were in the right. "They would now call in their warriors, and throw the tomahawk into the river, where it could never be found."

The pipe was again kindled. It was smoked; and the council concluded by shaking hands among all the parties, white and red. In this manner other treaties were concluded, with a dignity and importance scarcely inferior to that of the alliance between France and the United States. In a short time Colonel Clarke's power and influence was so well consolidated, that a single soldier could be sent in safety through any part of the Wabash or Illinois country. The friendly disposition of the French traders and agents, and the stern and commanding influence of Clarke, gave to the American cause in the Illinois, a consideration which they have never acquired among savages from that to the present time.

Among other negotiations, that with the Meadow Indians, (a party composed of stragglers from various tribes,) on account of its romantic character, deserves particular notice.

A large reward had been promised them in case they would put Colonel Clarke to death. They therefore pitched their camp about a hundred yards from his quarters, and about the same distance from the American fort, on the same side of the Cahokia creek. It was then agreed, that part of them should cross the creek, which was about knee-deep, and fire their guns in a direction toward the Indian encampment, in Clarke's vicinity; the Indians who had thus encamped, and were apparently attacked, under pretence of fleeing from their enemies, were then to seek admission into the fort, and put the whole garrison to death.

About one o'clock in the morning, an attack was apparently made, and the flying party having discharged their guns, so as to throw suspicion upon their enemies on the opposite bank, ran directly to the camp of Colonel Clarke for protection. Colonel Clarke, agitated by a variety of conflicting emotions, arising from his extraordinary situation, was still awake; and the guard, which was greater than the Indians had anticipated, presenting their pieces to the fugitives, compelled them to seek safety in their own encampment. The town and garrison in a moment were under arms; and the Indians, who had thus sought protection, were sent for, and declared that their enemies had fired upon them across the creek. Some French gentlemen, however, who knew the Indians better than their conquerors, called for a light, and on examining the Indians, perceived that their moccasons and leggings were wet and muddy, from which it was evident that they had just crossed the creek. The discovery was appalling to the intended assassins, and in order to convince the Indians, a large number of whom were in town, of the cordial understanding between the Americans and the French, Clarke ordered the culprits to be given up to the latter, to be dealt with as they thought proper. Secret intimation, however, was given to the French, that it might perhaps be well to send their chiefs to the guard-house, and it was done accordingly.

They were there put in irons, and brought the next day into the council, without being suffered to speak until all the other business was transacted. Colonel Clarke then ordered their irons to be taken off, and told them "that they ought to die for their treacherous attempt upon his life; that he had determined to put them to death, and they must be sensible they had forfeited their lives; but reflecting on the meanness of watching a bear, and catching him asleep, he had concluded that they were not warriors, but old women, and too mean, therefore, to be killed by the Big Knife—but as they had put on breech-clothes, pretending to be men when they were women, he should order their breech-clothes to be taken off; and as women know nothing about hunting, a plenty of provisions should be given them for their journey home, and during their stay they should be treated in every respect like squaws." He then turned, and renewed a conversation with his friends in attendance. This treatment appeared to agitate the offending Indians exceedingly. One of their chiefs soon afterward arose, and offered a pipe and belt of peace to Clarke, and made a speech. Clarke, however, would not allow it even to be interpreted; and a sword lying on the table, he took it up and broke the pipe, declaring, at the same time, that Big Knife never treated with women. Several chiefs belonging to the other tribes in attendance, immediately rose to intercede in their behalf, and desired Colonel Clarke to pity their families. Clarke, however, alive to the vulnerable features of the Indian character, told them "that the Big Knife had never made war upon the Indians, and that when Americans came across such people in the woods, they commonly shot them as they did wolves, to prevent their eating the deer." This mediation having failed, a consultation took place among themselves, and two of their young men, advancing into the middle of the floor, sat down, and flung their blankets over their heads to the astonishment of the whole assembly. Two of their most venerable chiefs then arose, and with a pipe of peace, stood by these self-devoted victims, and offered their lives as an atonement for the conduct of their tribe. "This sacrifice," said they, "we hope will appease the Big Knife:" and they again offered the pipe. This affecting and romantic incident, embarrassed even the ready mind of Clarke. The assembly was silent. Anxiety to know the fate of the victims, was depicted on every countenance. Such magnanimity—such self-devotion, as these rude children of the forest exhibited, Colonel Clarke had never witnessed before; and, as he says in his journal, from which the above is extracted, "he never felt so powerful a gust of emotion in his life." Retaining, however, his self-possession as well as he could, he ordered them to rise and uncover themselves, and said, "he rejoiced to find that there were men in all nations; that such alone were fit to be chiefs, and with such he liked to treat; that through them he granted peace to their tribes;" and taking them by the hand, he introduced them to the American officers, as well as to the French and Spanish gentlemen who were present, and afterward to the other Indian chiefs. They were saluted by all as chiefs of the tribe. A council was immediately held, with great ceremony; peace was at once restored; presents were distributed, and neither party had occasion to repent of their doings.

Clarke was afterward informed, that these young men were held in high estimation among their people; and that the incident above related, was much talked of among the natives. The siege of Calais, in the reign of the Third Edward, was thus fairly eclipsed.

Roman history acquaints us with a Curtius, who leaped into the gulf to save his country; and Grecian history with a Leonidas of Sparta, who "died in obedience to her sacred laws." It is, however, questionable, whether either displayed more self-devotion than these pure, unsophisticated children of nature, whose story has been handed down to us by one of the most sagacious of our embassadors to the Indian tribes, civil or military—George Rogers Clarke.

At this time, a celebrated Ottawa chief, by the name of Saguinn or Blackbird, whose country bordered upon Lake Michigan, had acquired such reputation among his people, as to induce Colonel Clarke to depart from his usual policy, and by a special messenger, to request an interview with him at Kaskaskia. Blackbird was at St. Louis, when Clarke first invaded the country; and having but little confidence in Spanish protection, had returned to his tribe. Previous, however, to doing so, he sent a letter to Colonel Clarke, apologizing for his absence. Blackbird having heard much of Clarke, without hesitation, accompanied by eight of his principal warriors, repaired immediately to Kaskaskia. Great preparations were at once made for holding a council; which being noticed by Blackbird, he informed Colonel Clarke that he came on business of importance to both, and desired that no time might be lost in ceremonies. This sagacious chief told Colonel Clarke, that he wanted to converse with him for a long time, and would prefer sitting at the same table with him, to all the parade and formality in the world. A room was immediately prepared for this "straight-forward" chief, and his American cotemporary. Both took their seats at the same table, having each of them an interpreter by his side.* The conversation lasted for several hours, and Blackbird expressed his conviction, that the Americans were right; and among other things, said, "the English must be afraid, because they give the Indians so many goods to fight for them; that his sentiments were fixed in favor of the Americans; and he would no longer listen to the offers of the English." "On my return," said he, "I will put an end to the war; and call my young men in, and explain to them the nature of the controversy between the Big Knife and the English." He was immediately registered among the friends of the Big Knife, and continued ever afterward faithful to their interest.

Clarke, in his intercourse with the Indians, was careful never to blame them for taking presents of the English; which, in their poverty, and our inability to supply their wants, was unavoidable. The influence of commerce had previously been extended even to these distant and savage wilds, and had bound alike in her golden chains, the refined and polished citizen of Europe, and the "stoic of the woods." The rifle and its ammunition had long banished the bow and arrow, and other instruments of war; and the beaver-trap, the camp-kettle, and the blanket, had become as necessary to the savage as the civilized man. While, however, he forbore to reproach them for receiving presents, he exerted his influence to impress upon them "the degradation of fighting for hire." "It is," said Clarke, in his address to them, "beneath the dignity of a warrior. The Big Knives look upon the scalps of warriors fighting their own battles, as trophies worthy of their renown; but those of men fighting for hire were given to children to play with, or flung to the dogs."

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* This interview may well be compared with one of a similar kind, between Sir William Temple, the British minister, and the celebrated De Witt, at the Hague.

Clarke, about this time, received an unexpected visit from Lages, or Louis, known among the white people as "Big Gate." Big Gate, when a youth, was with the celebrated Pontiac, when the latter besieged Detroit, and shot a British soldier standing in the fort; hence the origin of his name. He had commanded, with great success, several marauding expeditions against the American frontiers; but happening to fall in with a party of Piankaskaws on their way to Kaskaskia, he thought he would go and see what the Americans had to say for themselves. With wonderful assurance, he appeared every day in council, seated in a conspicuous place, dressed in a full war-dress, with the bloody belt he had received from the British, hanging about his neck. Having thus attended for several days, without exchanging a word with any one of the Americans, or they with him; as the deliberations with those who had accompanied him to Kaskaskia were about to terminate, Clarke addressed him. After apologizing for not noticing the silent chief until the public business was dispatched, Colonel Clarke resumed: "Although we are enemies, it is customary among the whites, when they meet with celebrated warriors, to treat them with respect, in proportion to the exploits in war which they have performed against each other." On this account, as he was a great warrior, Colonel Clarke invited him to dinner. Big Gate, thus taken by surprise, endeavored to decline. Colonel Clarke, however, would not accept his excuses; and as he began to repeat them, Clarke renewed his solicitations, and expressed his determination to take no refusal, until he had worked up the Indian to the highest pitch of excitement.

Big Gate, unable to endure it longer, rushed at once into the middle of the room, threw down his war-belt, and a little British flag which he carried in his bosom, and tore off all the clothes he had received from his allies and late favorites, (the British,) except his breech-cloth; struck himself violently on his breast, and told the audience, "that he had been a warrior from his youth; that he had delighted in battle, that he had been three times against Big Knife for the British; that he had been preparing for another war-party, when he heard of Colonel Clarke's arrival;

that he was now satisfied Big Knife was in the right, and as a man and a warrior, he ought not to fight any longer in a bad cause; that he was henceforth a Big Knife." He therefore advanced, and shook hands with Colonel Clarke and his officers, and saluted them as brothers.

The new brother being now entirely naked, it became necessary that he should be clothed; and accordingly, a fine laced suit was procured for him by some Frenchmen, and he appeared at dinner "in all the finery of military parade." Shortly afterward, he desired a private interview with Colonel Clarke, in which he gave a full account of the situation of Detroit, and offered his services in obtaining a scalp or a prisoner. Colonel Clarke, unwilling to encourage Indian barbarities, declined the former, and expressed a willingness to receive the latter; but charged him by no means to use him ill. On the chief's taking leave, he presented him with a captain's commission and a medal.

"Our desire," says Colonel Clarke in his Journal, "to keep them (the Indians,) still—a course of conduct which had proved fruitless to our countrymen—and particularly our refusal to accept at their hands scalps, and pay for them, has in many instances, without doubt, united the Indians with our less scrupulous enemies."

No intelligence having been received from St. Vincents, for a long time, fears for its safety began to be entertained; and on the 29th of January, 1779, Colonel Vigo, then a partner of the Governor of St. Louis, brought information to Kaskaskia, that Governor Hamilton of Detroit had returned thither, and subjected it once more to British sway; that, owing to the lateness of the season, he had postponed his operations against Kaskaskia; and, in order to keep the restless auxiliaries he had brought with him, to the number of four hundred, in occupation, had sent them against the frontier settlements of Kentucky, contemplating to reassemble his forces early in the spring, for a grand campaign against Kaskaskia.

We have already stated, that Captain Helm was appointed by Colonel Clarke commander of Fort St. Vincents, and "agent for Indian affairs upon the Wabash." On the arrival of Governor Hamilton with a considerable force, Captain Helm was in command. He, and one soldier by the name of Henry, constituted at that time the whole of its garrison. As soon as Governor Hamilton had arrived within speaking distance of the fort, the American commander, in a loud voice, cried out, "Halt." Captain Helm had a cannon, well charged, then placed in the open gateway, and stood at the time with a lighted match, by its side. Governor Hamilton, seeing the cannon in the gateway, and hearing the word "halt," stopped immediately, and demanded its surrender. "No man," exclaimed Helm, with an oath, "enters here until I know the terms." Hamilton replied immediately: "You shall have the honors of war." Helm thereupon surrendered the fort, and the whole garrison, consisting of one officer, (Captain Helm,) and one private, (Henry,) all of them marched out with the honors of war.

Governor Hamilton, having received orders from the British commander-in-chief, "to pass up the Ohio river to Fort Pitt, sweeping Kentucky on his way," and expecting two hundred warriors from Mackinaw, and five hundred more from the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and other tribes; was now waiting impatiently at St. Vincents for the arrival of his auxiliaries, and for the return of spring to execute this bold design.

Colonel Clarke, in the meantime, having learnt from the same respectable source as before, (Colonel Vigo,) that Hamilton had then but eighty men in garrison at Vincennes, three pieces of light brass cannon, and some swivels mounted; with that promptness which genius always inspires, resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country; or, as he expresses it in his Journal: "I knew if I did not take him, he would take me." He therefore fitted out, without a moment's delay, a large Mississippi boat as a galley, put on board two four-pounders, and four swivels taken from the British fort at Kaskaskia, and forty-six men, under the command of Captain John Rogers, and ordered them to descend the Mississippi, ascend the Ohio, and force their way up the Wabash, if possible, as far as White River, and there remain till further orders.

He then raised two companies of men in Kaskaskia and Cahokia, placed one of them under the command of Captain McCarty, and the other under the command of Captain Charleville; these, together with his own, constituted a force of one hundred and seventy men. On the 7th of February, 1779, this forlorn hope commenced its march over the drowned lands of the Wabash, for Vincennes. Intelligence of the re-capture of the latter by a British force, it will be recollected, was not received at Kaskaskia until the 29th of January. On the 7th of February, eight days thereafter, a fleet (equipped and manned,) had sailed, and an army (recruited, officered, and provisioned,) had marched "to death or victory." Neither Hannibal nor Cæsar, Cromwell nor Marlborough, had done the like, (Wellington and Bonaparte were then unknown.) Neither, however, had they been living, would have plucked a solitary wreath from the crown of glory which adorned this Hannibal of the woods.

Clarke, to divert his men on their dreary march, encouraged hunting-parties, feasts on game, and war-dances after the manner of the Indians. In this way, on the 13th, after incredible fatigue, they reached the little Wabash. The forks of the stream, at this point, are three miles apart, and the opposite heights of land five miles and upward. At the time of Clarke's arrival, the whole of this interval was covered with water, generally "three feet deep, never under two, and frequently four." The expedient to which many, and particularly a little drummer, resorted, in wading rather than marching across this interval, afforded infinite amusement, and helped to divert the minds of the soldiers from their real condition. On coming to a ravine apparently beyond his depth, on account of his diminutive size, he put his drum into the stream, and mounting on the top, requested the tallest man in the company to pilot him across; and in this way, amid shouts of applause, reached the opposite bank. In the exploits of Alexander, we read of armies crossing rivers in boats made of skins, and in the story of many a modern hero, a repetition of the tale; this, however, is the first instance handed down to us, of a soldier crossing the "angry flood on a drum-head."*

On the 18th they heard the morning and evening guns of Fort St. Vincents, and on the same day reached the Wabash, nine miles from Vincennes, and a little below the mouth of the Embarras creek. The galley had not yet arrived; no boats or scows, in which to cross the stream, were to be had, and before they could be built the whole party would have starved. All of Clarke's address was now required to protect the detachment against desponding. On the 20th a boat was brought to by the guard, and the most cheering intelligence of the disposition of the French residents was obtained. A large sheet of water to be crossed was now spread out before them, which, on examination, was found to be up to their arm-pits. Report of this fact being made to Colonel Clarke, in an unguarded moment he spoke rather despondingly to the officer next him. The whole detachment caught the infection, and despair at once filled every bosom. Clarke however in a moment perceived his error, and when passing to the officer standing near, told him to imitate immediately what he himself was about to do—then, taking some powder in his hand and mixing with it a little water, he blacked his face, and raising an Indian war-whoop, marched at once into the stream. The officer to whom the above directions were given imitated his example, and the whole detachment followed without a murmur. A new impulse was given to the march, and the men stepped into the water on the 20th of February with a cheerfulness which many troops, under their sufferings, would not have exerted on land. A favorite song was sung, and the whole detachment joined in the chorus. When they had got to the deepest part, from whence it was intended to transport the troops in two canoes which they had obtained, one of the men said he felt a path, quite perceptible to the touch of naked feet; and supposing it must pass over the highest ground, the march was continued to a place called the Sugar Camp, where they found about half an acre of land above the water. Here they rested a moment. Another expanse of water was now to be crossed, and what heightened the difficulty, was the entire absence of wood or timber, to support the famishing and exhausted party in wading. The object however of their toils, was now in sight.

Clarke thereupon addressed his troops in a spirited manner, and led the way into the water as before, up to his middle—as soon as the third man had stepped off, Clarke ordered Captain Bowman to fall back with twenty-five men, and shoot every man who refused to march; resolved, as he said, that "no coward should disgrace this company of brave men." The order was received with a shout and huzza, and every man followed his commander, cheered as they sometimes were by the advance guard, with a purposed deception that the water was growing shallower, and sometimes with the favorite cry of seamen, "land! land!" When they reached the woods that skirted the river, the water was still up to their shoulders; the support, however, of the trees and floating logs were found of essential use, and aided them exceedingly in their perilous march. On approaching the bank, or high-ground, so completely were they exhausted, that many fell on their faces, leaving their bodies half in the water, unable any longer to continue their efforts.

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* Major Bowman's journal of the march.

An Indian canoe, with a quarter of buffalo-beef, some corn and a little tallow, having been captured, proved to men in their exhausted condition a prize of inestimable value. It was immediately cooked with broth, and small as the amount to each was, refreshed the whole party in the most acceptable manner.

A gunner from the town, shooting ducks in its vicinity, being taken prisoner by a party of Americans, Colonel Clarke wrote a letter to the inhabitants of Vincennes, and sent it by the prisoner, informing them "that he should take possession of their town that night;" and desired all who were friends to the King of England to repair to the fort and fight like men—otherwise, if discovered after this notice, aiding the enemy, they would be severely punished. This expedient was predicated upon his own weakness, and resorted to for the purpose of adding confidence to his friends, and increasing the dismay of his enemies; and from its imposing character, had a wonderful effect—so much so, that the town and garrison believed the expedition to be from Kentucky, supposing it impossible, considering the state of the country and the waters, that it could be from Illinois. This idea, too, was confirmed by messages sent to gentlemen in Vincennes, under the assumed names of well-known persons in Kentucky. The soldiers were also directed, in all their conversations before strangers, to speak of their own force as being much larger than it really was.

On approaching the town, they were surprised at not hearing a drum beat or a gun fired from the fort, although they perceived much hastening to and fro in the streets. Colonel Clarke afterward learned that the friends of the British were afraid to give the garrison notice of his presence.

On the 23rd of February, a little before sundown, the whole detachment sallied forth to take possession of Vincennes, marching and countermarching around a little eminence on the prairie in view of the town, and displaying several sets of colors, brought by the French volunteers, so as to enhance their numbers three or four-fold; then marching through some shallow ponds about breast-deep, they encamped on the heights in its rear for the night. No hostile demonstrations were yet apparent, and the utmost impatience was now felt in the American camp, to know what this could mean. Lieutenant Bailey was thereupon sent, with fourteen men, to commence an attack upon the fort—this, however, was attributed by the British to some drunken Indians, who had saluted the fort in the same way before; and until a British soldier was actually shot down through a port-hole, no one even suspected the attempt to be in earnest.

Captain Helm was at that time a prisoner, and had been ever since the *garrison surrendered.* Henry, the private, and the only one in Captain Helm's army, at the time of its surrender, was a prisoner also. Henry had a wife who lived in town, and she had access daily to her husband in the fort. Colonel Clarke, having several friends in Vincennes, through this channel received information of the state, condition, and disposition of the garrison; which in other cases is obtained with considerable trouble and expense, and sometimes with difficulty and danger. Having learned through this channel the disposition of Helm's quarters, knowing also the captain's propensity for apple-toddy, and believing he would have some on the hearth as usual; a soldier in Clarke's detachment sought permission to fire at his quarters, with a view, as he said, to knock down the clay or mortar into the captain's favorite beverage. Captain Helm was at that time playing at piquet with Governor Hamilton. When the bullets began to rattle about the chimney, Captain Helm jumped up and swore it was Clarke, and that he would make them all prisoners, but the damned rascals had no right to spoil his toddy. Helm had no sooner made the exclamation, than Hamilton inquired "if Clarke was a merciful man?" While this conversation was passing between the governor and his prisoner, the latter seeing some soldiers look out at a port-hole, cautioned them against repeating it: "For," said he, "Clarke's men will shoot your eyes out." It so happened, that the soldier above mentioned was shot in the eye; whereupon, Helm exclaimed: "There, I told you so!" The above incidents no doubt had their effect. The fire had not long continued before the ammunition of the besiegers became nearly exhausted, "the galley" not having arrived. In this emergency, a supply of powder and ball was discovered, which had been buried by the French to keep it out of the hands of the English. Whether this discovery was accidental, or designed, we are uninformed. Accidents, however, of this nature, frequently assist the brave. Tobacco's son, of whom mention has already been made, now arrived, and offered his services to Clarke, with a hundred warriors. The offer was declined, but his presence and counsel were requested. The Americans, having now advanced within fifty yards of the fort, were entirely unharmed, on account of the awkward elevation of the garrison guns; while on the other hand, as soon as a port-hole was opened, or was darkened, a dozen Kentucky riflemen cut down everything in their way, and the British soldiers could no longer be kept to their guns. Clarke, perceiving their difficulties, sternly demanded a surrender of the fort. Hamilton at once refused, and declared "he would not be awed into anything unbecoming a British subject." The American troops were therefore urgent to storm the fort, but Clarke repressed their rashness. In the evening the British commander, finding his cannon useless, and fearing a storm, sent a flag to the besiegers, desiring a truce of three days—this, Colonel Clarke, although he expected a reinforcement with artillery on the arrival of "the galley," refused; but proposed, in return, that the British garrison should surrender at discretion, and that Governor Hamilton and Captain Helm (a prisoner,) should meet him at the church. In consequence of this offer, the parties met as desired, and Major Hays accompanied the British commander. Clarke, having rejected Hamilton's offer, the latter insisted that offers should be made by Clarke. Clarke, adhering to his first proposition, Captain Helm attempted to moderate his terms; when the latter was reminded by Clarke that a British prisoner could not with propriety speak on the occasion. Governor Hamilton therefore said, that Captain Helm was liberated from that moment. Clarke, however, refused to accept his release on these terms, and said he must return and abide his fate. The British officers were then informed, that the firing would commence again in fifteen minutes. The gentlemen were about to retire to their respective quarters, when Governor Hamilton, taking Colonel Clarke aside, politely asked the reason for rejecting the liberal offers he had made. Colonel Clarke thereupon said, with affected severity: "I know the principal Indian partisans from Detroit are in the fort, and I only want an honorable opportunity of putting such instigators of Indian barbarities to death—the cries of the widows and orphans, made by their butcheries, require such blood at my hands." "So sacred," said Clarke, "do I consider this claim upon me for punishment, that I think it next to divine, and I would rather lose fifty men than not execute a vengeance demanded by so much innocent blood. If Governor Hamilton chooses to risk the destruction of his garrison for the sake of such miscreants, he is at liberty to do so." Upon this, Major Hays inquired: "Pray, sir, whom do you mean by Indian partisans?" "I consider Major Hays one of the principal ones," said Clarke. Hays's countenance changed immediately—he turned pale and trembled, and could scarcely stand. Governor Hamilton blushed for his conduct, and Captain Bowman could scarcely refrain from expressing his contempt. From that moment Colonel Clarke returned, and told Governor Hamilton "they would return to their respective posts, and he would consider the matter, and let him know the result by a flag." The British offer being submitted to a council of war, it was agreed that the terms should be moderated; they were thereupon communicated to Governor Hamilton, acceded to by him, and on the 24th of February, 1779, the fort was surrendered, and the garrison became prisoners of war. The "star spangled banner" was again hoisted, and thirteen British (now American,) cannon fired in commemoration of the victory. Seventy-nine prisoners, and a quantity of military stores, and forty prisoners afterward, and goods to the value of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, thus became the property of the victors.

The American galley soon afterward hove in sight, and seeing the ensign of freedom waving on Fort St. Vincents, were mortified to think that their services had not contributed to its reduction.

Detroit now presented itself in full view. Clarke's force was, however, inadequate to effect its conquest, and Governor Henry promising a reinforcement, the expedition was postponed, and Colonel Clarke embarked on board his galley for Kaskaskia, leaving Captain Helm at Vincennes once more in command.

Victory seemed now to have hung with rapture upon the banners of Clarke. He had extended the bounds of the Republic from the Ohio to the Mississippi. His footsteps had scarcely been marked with blood—for him to appear was, of course, to conquer. Well might Buckongahelas, the head warrior of the Delawares, after the peace-chiefs had addressed the commissioners at Fort McIntosh, in 1785, advance without deigning to notice the colleague of Colonel Clarke, and take the latter by the hand, and say as he did: "I thank the Great Spirit, for having this day brought together two such great warriors as Buckongahelas and General Clarke."

As we are about to take our leave of a patriot and hero for ever, our readers may, perhaps, wish to know how so bright a star in the American constellation, as Colonel Clarke, could have dropped from its sphere. We answer in the language of his kinsman and friend, who, speaking of him afterward, says: "He was no longer the same man as the conqueror of Kaskaskia, and the captor of Vincennes. His mind was wounded by the neglect of the government of Virginia to settle his accounts. Private suits were brought against him for public supplies, which ultimately swept away his fortune, and with this injustice the spirits of the hero fell, and the general never recovered the energies which had stamped him as one of nature's noblemen. At the same time, it is feared that a too ready and too extensive conviviality contributed its mischievous effects."*

The surrender of Cornwallis, on the 19th of October, 1781, and the treaty of peace between England and the United Colonies, bearing date on the 20th of July, 1783, by which the independence of the latter was recognized, terminated, for a while, hostilities with the savages, and as the British power in Illinois became extinguished by the efforts of Colonel Clarke, in 1778 and 1779, little remains for us to record. On the 2nd of July, 1783, General Clarke's official duties ceased in Illinois. (See note.) History, we are told, has been seldom known to smile. "Havoc, and spoil, and ruin are its gain." While the pursuits of honest industry occupy hardly a page, a siege or a tempest, a war or a famine, a revolution or a civil broil, supply materials for volumes.

The History of Illinois between the surrender of Vincennes, in 1779, and the peace, or rather the truce of 1783, became, therefore, a blank.

An Englishman, (Sydney Smith,) high on the rolls of fame, in speaking of the American Revolution, its origin, progress, and close, graphically remarks:

> "There was a period, when the slightest concessions would have satisfied the Americans. But all the world was in heroics. One set of men met at the Lamb, the other at the Lion. Blood and treasure-men, breathing war, vengeance and contempt; and in eight years afterward, an awkward-looking gentleman, in plain clothes, walked up to the drawing-room, in St. James's, and was introduced as the embassador from the United States of America."

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* Butler's History of Kentucky, to which we are principally indebted for the account of Colonel Clarke's expedition to Illinois.

NOTE.

GOVERNOR BENJAMIN HARRISON'S LETTER TO GENERAL GEORGE R. CLARKE.

In Council, July 2nd, 1783.

Sir:

The conclusion of the war, and the distressed situation of the State, with regard to its finances, call on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone, I have come to a determination to give over all thought, for the present, of carrying on an offensive war against the Indians, which, you will easily perceive, will render the services of a general officer in that quarter unnecessary, and will, therefore, consider yourself as out of command. But, before I take leave of you, I feel myself called upon, in the most forcible manner, to return you my thanks, and those of my council, for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country, in wresting so great and valuable a territory from the hands of the British enemy; repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on a successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks, so justly due, I am happy to communicate to you, as the united voice of the executive.

I am, with respect, sir,
Yours, etc.
Benjamin Harrison.

CHAPTER XIII.

Indian Tribes not included in the Peace of 1783—Indian hostilities continued—Peace of 1783 a mere truce—Western and Northwestern posts withheld—Indian hostilities instigated by the English traders and emissaries—English encroachments in Ohio—Washington's opinion upon this subject—Boundaries of the United States fixed by Treaty—Violated by the English—Cause of such violation—Northwestern Territory, claimed by different States—Deeds of cession—Ordinance for its government, July 13, 1787—Relief Laws; and Laws to prevent the collection of debts by British merchants—Washington's opinion thereon—Constitution of the United States adopted—Congress resolve to chastise the Indians—General Harmer appointed Commander-in-chief—American Army consisted of 320 Regular troops and some Militia—General Harmer defeated by Little Turtle, the Miami Chief—General St. Clair appointed Governor of the Northwestern Territory—Is defeated by Little Turtle—A new Army raised—General Wayne appointed to its command—Colonel Harding, and Major Freeman of Kentucky, sent as Agents to the Miamis—Murdered—General Wayne advances to Greenville—Builds Fort Recovery—British erect a fort on the Miami—Letter from General Knox to General Wayne—The latter builds Fort Defiance—General Wayne writes to Little Turtle—Little Turtle advises the savages to listen to his terms—General Wayne builds Fort Deposite—Is attacked by the Indians—Defeats the latter with great loss—Treaty of Greenville, January 7, 1794—Observed faithfully till the War of 1812—Correspondence between General Wayne and Major Campbell—Effect of Wayne's victory—Treaty of amity and commerce between England and the United States, November 19, 1794—Ratified afterward by the President and Senate—Western Posts given up, and peace restored to the Frontiers—American Settlements made in Illinois—Its Population in 1810, 12,228.

The peace of 1783, between England and the United States, did not include the Indian allies of the former. Several tribes, therefore, continued their hostilities as before; and between 1783 and 1790, no less than one thousand five hundred and twenty men, women, and children, in Kentucky alone, were killed or carried into captivity.

We have already remarked that the peace of '83 was merely a truce, not a pacification. It was, in fact, nothing more than a temporary and reluctant sacrifice of national pride to national interest. It was not a frank and honest adjustment of differences without a wish to renew the controversy. The first American minister accredited at the English court, had scarcely passed the threshold of St. James's ere the unextinguished animosity of the English nation toward the United States became apparent. The elder Adams, our first minister at London, in a letter to the secretary of foreign affairs, dated July 19th, 1785, says: "If England had another hundred millions to spend, they would soon force the ministry into a war with the United States." The withholding of the western and northwestern military posts, (Mackinaw, Detroit, Niagara, and others,) confessedly within the limits of the United States, in violation of the treaty of 1783; the instigating of the Indian tribes, in alliance with Great Britain, to a renewal of hostilities; and the extending of territorial encroachments on the Miami of the lake, from whence she supplied the wants, and prompted the attacks of the numerous savage tribes, which then occupied the whole of this vast country, constitute a part only of the evidence on which this opinion is founded. "There does not," says President Washington, in a letter to Mr. Jay, as late as the 30th of August, 1794, "remain a doubt in the mind of any well-informed person in this country, that *all the difficulties* we encounter *with the Indians*, their hostilities, the murder of helpless women and children along our frontiers, result from the conduct of the agents of Great Britain in this country." Again: "It is an undeniable fact, that they are furnishing the whole with arms, ammunition, clothing, and even provisions, to carry on the war. I might go farther, and if they are not much belied, add men also, in disguise."

"Were nations," says an elegant writer, "to review in person their motives for having made war, with the means they employed, and the method by which they conducted it, they would in general find much to blame in a moral, as well as a military point of view. The conviction of the wrongs they did, and the blunders they committed, might, on another and similar occasion, improve both their skill and their tactics, and make them at once better men and abler soldiers. But as nations cannot be brought together, it rests with Government to perform this duty of self-examination, when, if they omit it, the task devolves on the historian."

We will endeavor, then, inasmuch as the English government and people have been exceedingly remiss, in performing this duty of self-examination, to do it for them.

By the treaty of peace in 1783, Great Britain "acknowledged the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States."

The boundaries of the latter were also fixed. The Mississippi on the west, and lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior, and the Lake of the Woods, and their connecting rivers on the north. Mackinaw, Detroit, and Niagarâ, were then confessedly within the United States; and the withholding of them by the British government was, of course, a violation of the treaty. The emanation of Indian hostilities from thence was for many years too apparent to require elucidation. That the English then were in the wrong, and therefore without apology, other than that hereinafter suggested, cannot be denied. That she was prompted to this course by the supposition, "that man is incapable of self-government;" and also by the secret and delusive hope that the union of these States would be temporary; and that a part, or perhaps the whole, would seek a reconnection with the British empire, we can readily believe.

That she has, thus far, been deceived in her anticipations, is a matter of history; and that she will, hereafter, be deceived in like manner, if such be her anticipations, is perhaps equally certain.

At the close of the American war, the confederate States were without any special bond of union, deeply involved in debt, their credit entirely ruined, and anarchy in prospect before them: to bind them together by a common tie, to raise their exhausted credit, and to meet their obligations, were considerations of the highest moment. The boundaries of several of the States were undefined; and several conflicting claims were interposed to the immense region, known and distinguished as the "Western (now public) lands."

The Confederation asked, therefore, of the several States asserting these claims—especially to lands west of the great range of mountains, which divide the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Mississippi—deeds of cession of their soil and sovereignty, in order to secure harmony among the States; to unite them more firmly by ties of interest, having property held in common, for the benefit of all; and by the gradual sale of such lands, to provide the means of paying off the revolutionary debt.

The request was met with a spirit of patriotism, and cessions were made by individual States, to nearly all of the property lying west of the Appalachian mountains, and east of the Mississippi river, embracing the the richest and best watered valley in the world.

That portion of the public lands which constituted what was then called the "Northwestern Territory," and includes now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, and the Territory of Wisconsin; was claimed wholly by the State of Virginia, and in part by the States of New-York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, under their respective charters, or grants from the English crown. Their boundaries, however, were vague and uncertain, and gave rise, therefore, to claims (no matter whether real or pretended,) difficult to be adjusted.

The title of Virginia to the extensive territory—containing about one hundred and sixty-five millions of acres—was, unquestionably, better founded than that of any, or all of the other States together. In the first place, a large portion of it was included in the original patent. In the second place, its conquest was achieved by a military force, raised, equipped, and paid by the State of Virginia. And in the last place, Virginia was in the actual possession of all of this domain. A county (Illinois) had been organized under its jurisdiction. Justice, both civil and criminal, was administered in the name, and by the authority of the people of Virginia; and the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, and elsewhere, had taken the oath of allegiance to the "Commonwealth of Virginia." On the other hand, neither Massachusetts, New-York, nor Connecticut, had enforced, or sought to enforce, actual authority, it is believed, over the disputed territory, or any part of it. Be that, however, as it may, the question is no longer material. The State of New-York, on the 1st of March, 1780, the State of Virginia on the 23rd of April, 1784, the State of Massachusetts on the 19th of April, 1785, and the State of Connecticut on the 13th of September, 1786, ceded all their right, title, and claim, as well as soil and jurisdiction, to the United States, to be, in the language of the grant of Virginia, held, and "considered, as a common fund, for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the Confederation, or federal alliance of the said States, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions, in the general charge and expenditure; and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatever."

In justice to the other States, we ought, perhaps, here to mention that North-Carolina, after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, in 1790, ceded in like manner all her western lands, now the State of Tennessee; and Georgia, in 1802, the present States of Mississippi and Alabama; these last grants, however, were coupled with conditions (needless here to be mentioned,) which rendered them less productive than they otherwise would have been. Connecticut also, excepted in her grant of cession, what is called the Western Reserve, the jurisdiction of which, however, on the 30th of May, 1800, she released to the United States. These different cessions, together with Louisiana and Florida, afterward purchased—the former of France, on the 30th of April, 1803, and the latter of Spain, on the 22nd of February, 1819; the former containing 850,000,000 of acres, including Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, and Iowa, for $15,000,000; and the latter, about 40,000,000 of acres, for $5,000,000, and the payment of certain claims of American citizens upon the Spanish crown—constitute what is known and distinguished as the "American Public Lands," of which more hereafter.

Soon after the above cessions, Congress, on the 13th of July, 1787, passed an ordinance "for the government of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio." The present State of Illinois being a part of the Northwestern Territory, and subject to the ordinance above mentioned until 1800, when Indiana, including Illinois, was erected into a separate territory, (Ohio at that time having been admitted into the Union as a State,) the ordinance above referred to, demands a few passing remarks.

According to its provisions, a governor was to be appointed by Congress, for three years; and a secretary, in like manner, for four years. A court, consisting of three judges, was organized; and the governor and judges were authorized to adopt and publish such laws of the original States, civil and criminal, as were necessary, and best adapted to the circumstances of the territory. As soon as there should be five thousand free male inhabitants of full age, in the district, they were authorized to elect representatives in a General Assembly; these were to hold their offices for two years. The governor, legislative council, (consisting of five members, to be appointed by Congress,) and a House of Representatives, were authorized to make any laws, not repugnant to the principles and articles of the ordinance of Congress, thus established and declared. The Legislature were also authorized, by joint ballot, to appoint a delegate to Congress, who was to have a seat therein, and the privilege of debating, but not of voting.

Certain other articles of compact between the original States, and the people and States, in the Northwestern Territory, were also incorporated into said ordinance, and were "to remain for ever unalterable, unless by common consent." Among them are the following:

"No person shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments.

"No law shall be passed, that shall in any manner whatever interfere with, or affect private interests or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud, previously formed.

"The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians. Their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, unless in just and lawful wars, authorized by Congress.

"No tax shall be imposed on lands, the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than resident.

"There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three, nor more than five States. And the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit:

"The western State in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash rivers, a direct line drawn from the Wabash, and Fort Vincents, due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and the Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincents to the Ohio; by the Ohio by a direct line, drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line; provided, however, and it is farther understood, and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States, in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend, or extreme of Lake Michigan.*

"There shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor in service, as aforesaid."†

The government of the Northwestern Territory having been duly organized by Congress, Arthur St. Clair, an officer of high rank in the revolutionary army, who had served with some little, though not with very brilliant reputation, during the war, was appointed the first governor, and commander-in-chief.

His duties were exceedingly arduous; the population of the territory was small—that of Illinois proper not exceeding at the time three thousand, and scattered over a wide expanded surface. The Indians were numerous, powerful, and hostile.

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* This ordinance having recently produced some angry discussion in Northern Illinois and Wisconsin, and attempts having been made, and meetings, and conventions held, in order to annex a portion of the former to the latter, the attention of the reader will again be called to that subject when we come to speak of the boundaries of Illinois.

† The attention of the reader will again be called to the wise and benificent provisions of this ordinance, when we come to speak of slaves and slavery in Illinois.

The influence of British agents was considerable, and the influence of British *gold* still more. Both were put in requisition; depredations on the part of the Indians were frequent; and recriminations on the part of the whites were terrible.

During this period of gloom, when our frontier settlements were bleeding at every pore, the want of sufficient power in Congress, the want of union between the States, and the want of energy in the Government, had rendered the old confederation impotent, and almost insignificant. The people generally were embarrassed. Their property, in many instances, had been seized for the use of both armies; and much of their labor been withdrawn from the peaceful occupations of husbandry, for military service.

Their commerce, small at first, was now annihilated; imported commodities were enhanced greatly in value; and articles for exportation reduced below their ordinary price. Peace found the Americans, not only destitute of the elegancies and conveniences of life, but also without means of procuring them except by anticipating their future resources. On opening their ports to foreign vessels, an immense quantity of merchandise was introduced, and many, tempted by its cheapness, were prevailed upon to purchase beyond their ability to pay.

The inducements which equal liberty and vacant lands presented to the European emigrants, it was supposed by many, would enhance the price of the latter, and without effort on their part fill their coffers; and it had not escaped their observation, that in their purchase of real estate on credit, they were essentially relieved from the pressure of pecuniary obligation by the constant depreciation of paper money. Hence, many inferred that the revolution was a real talisman, whose magic powers, by the aid of speculation alone, was capable of changing the whole nature of things. Such delusive hopes, however, were shortly dissipated, but not until a large portion of the community had been wholly ruined.

Our readers need not here be told, that distress under such a state of things was universal. Notwithstanding, however, all these untoward circumstances, Washington stood erect. In a letter to General La Fayette, he says: "However unimportant America may be considered at present, and however Britain may affect to despise her trade, there will assuredly come a day, when this country will have some weight in the scale of empire." This opinion, it will be observed, was wholly prospective. The distress which prevailed, induced the Legislatures of several States to pass relief laws, in violation of the treaty of peace, and to pass laws to prevent the collection of debts by British merchants. This was just as clearly a violation of the fourth article of the treaty, as the withholding of the western and northwestern posts by the English, was of the seventh. Whether the cause or the consequences of the latter, we are unable to determine.

Assuming, however, the treaty to have been obligatory on both, the inability of Congress to enforce its execution was too apparent. Their control over the acts of thirteen different Legislative bodies, was not, and could not be pretended.

"It is good policy," said Washington, "at all times to place one's adversary in the wrong. Had we observed good faith, and the western posts had been withheld from us by Great Britain, we might have appealed to God and man for justice. What a misfortune it is," said he, in reply to the secretary of foreign affairs, "that the British should have so well grounded a pretext for their palpable infractions." "The distresses of individuals," said he, in another letter, "are to be alleviated by industry and frugality, and not by a relaxation of the laws, or by a sacrifice of the rights of others." This truth, it seems, then stands confessed, that debts improvidently contracted by American citizens, produced infractions of the treaty on our part, and this infraction, (whether before or afterward, is not very material to illustrate the principle,) occasioned infractions on the part of England. Of course, then, the Indian wars, and the bloody massacres that followed, were the offspring of individual improvidence. However much this improvidence was at the time to be deprecated and deplored, it pleased God, in his providence, to sanctify it for our good. The chastisements of Heaven are not unfrequently blessings in disguise.

The present Constitution of the United States, presented to the American people for their adoption, on the 12th of September, 1787, and accepted by the several States, thereafter, under which we have lived and been prospered as a nation, for more than half a century, was its first and most prominent result.

A government, more efficient than "the old Continental Congress," having been organized under the new Constitution; and Washington, the "father of his country," having been elected by acclamation, first President of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1789, great improvements in the condition and circumstances of the people were at once discoverable. Progressive industry, in a short time, repaired the losses sustained by a war of seven years' continuance; and the effect of the new Constitution on habits of thinking and acting, though silent, was soon perceivable.

The deprivation of State Legislatures, in the new Constitution, of power to make laws impairing the obligation of contracts, or to make anything other than gold and silver a lawful tender in the payment of debts, removed at once an impression, before then too common, that the people, in case of an emergency, could rely on partial legislation for relief. A change in the public sentiment consequently followed; people in embarrassed circumstances, instead of looking to Government for assistance, sought relief by their own personal exertions; and industry and economy were its happy result. Order succeeded to confusion, general prosperity accompanied order, and the mandates of law were heard and obeyed. Peace having in some measure been restored; the Government having been reorganized, and vested with adequate powers for its own preservation, measures were speedily adopted, to repel British and savage aggressions.

Pacific means having been exhausted, the United States government resolved to make the Indian tribes, northwest of the Ohio, feel the effect of their arms. General Harmar, a gallant officer of considerable experience, who had been appointed under the old Congress commander-in-chief, was now placed at the head of the army.

It consisted of three hundred and twenty regular troops; detachments of militia from Pensylvania and Virginia, increased its whole number to one thousand four hundred and fifty-three. Insignificant as it may now appear, it was then an imposing force. General Harmar commenced his march on the 30th of September, 1790, from Fort Washington, (now Cincinnati,) to attack the Miami towns on the south side of the Maumee, at the junction of its head-branches. After a march of seventeen days, he reached the great Miami village, which had been set on fire by the Indians; and not finding the enemy, divided his forces, and was cut up and defeated in detail by Little Turtle, the celebrated Miami warrior; and returned to Fort Washington on the 14th of December, after sustaining a loss of seventy-three out of three hundred and twenty of the regular troops, and a hundred and twenty of the militia.

The expedition of General Harmar, though frequently said to be victorious, because he passed through some Indian villages, destroying their miserable dwellings, their crops, and their provisions, failed wholly of its object. The red man was still in arms, the Northwestern Territory was battle-ground, and the confederated tribes, from Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, from the Illinois, the Wabash, and the Miami, were in the field; Little Turtle, himself a host, was at their head; and the struggle between the white and red man was again to be renewed.

An additional force having, in 1791, been raised, Major General St. Clair, who had previously been appointed Governor of the Northwestern Territory, was vested with its command. The olive-branch and the sword being now united, and an army of two thousand regular troops having been collected at Fort Washington, they were joined by a large number of militia, and on or about the 1st of October, commenced their march. The object of the expedition was the same as in the preceding year—that is, the Miami towns upon the Maumee of the lake. General St. Clair, though a "veteran of the revolution, and possessed of both talents and experience," was old and infirm. The trying scenes of war, and especially a war with barbarians, amid interminable forests, required sleepless energy, inexhaustible activity, and enduring-toil; qualities, which rarely survive the period of youth and middle-age, and generally participate with the physical powers in their decline; and when to other sources of debility disease is added, what else than disaster can be expected?

When General St. Clair commenced his march, he was so affected by the gout as to be unable to walk, and could neither mount nor dismount his horse without assistance. His troops, having been enlisted for six months only, (it being supposed that the war would terminate, as a matter of course, within the ensuing campaign,) claimed their discharge ere the march had scarcely commenced, and long previous to its termination. Notwithstanding, however, "these omens of misfortune," General St. Clair, "to satisfy the expectations of his Government and country," urged forward his disastrous march, and on the 3rd of November, reached a small tributary stream of the Wabash, about twelve yards in width. Here he encamped, and intended on the following morning to throw up a slight breastwork for his security, and as soon as the first regiment (then in pursuit of deserters,) should come up, to march against the enemy. The wily savage, however, did not wait for this junction of forces; nor did he suppose that an intrenched camp of the Americans, in the heart of the Indian settlements, would add to his own security. Anticipating, therefore, the designs of his enemy, on the 4th of November, 1791, about half an hour before sunrise, and immediately after the American troops had been dismissed from the parade, Little Turtle, at the head of about fifteen hundred warriors, advanced and commenced a furious attack upon the militia. The latter immediately gave way, and rushing into the camp, were followed by Indians at their heels. The confusion at once became general; the commander in-chief, notwithstanding his illness, was borne upon a litter into the thickest of the fire, and gave his orders with a coolness and self-possession that deserved a better fortune. Several charges were made with effect; but in their efforts, great carnage was suffered from a concealed foe, particularly among the officers, every one of whom in the second regiment, but three, fell; and near one half of the whole army thus engaged was killed or wounded. A retreat was ordered, and a flight followed. "A precipitate one it was, in fact," said General St. Clair, in his frank, simple, and dignified dispatch to Government. The soldiers threw away their arms after the pursuit had ceased, the artillery was abandoned, and the general escaped on a pack-horse, "which could not be pricked out of a walk." The rout continued to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the scene of action, which the remains of the army reached about sundown—the battle having ended at about half-past nine in the morning. The troops were afterward marched back to Fort Washington, in good order, where they arrived on the 8th of November. The loss of the Americans in this disastrous battle, killed and wounded, was nearly six hundred; that of the Indians fifty-six. The number of American troops engaged exceeded, in all probability, that of the enemy; and with all their gallantry, skill, and hard fighting, were inferior to the latter in efficiency.

Nothing could have been more unexpected than this disaster; the public had anticipated victory, and could not believe that an officer who had been so unfortunate could be otherwise than culpable.

In was, in fact, a second Braddock's defeat: all the baggage, and seven pieces of artillery, and about half of the whole army, including the brave and much lamented General Butler, were left on the field. General Butler was tomahawked and scalped by an Indian, who entered the camp while the latter was in the hands of a surgeon, dressing his wounds. The behavior of the Indians was singularly daring: after discharging their arms, they rushed on with their tomahawks, exhibiting a fearlessness of danger, which astonished even those bred "amid forays and familiar with war-whoops."

The whole country was at once filled with terror. The hostile tribes, it was feared, would derive strength from their victory. The reputation of the American government was in jeopardy: the fortune of its arms was to be retrieved, and protection immediately afforded to an extensive frontier.

General St. Clair, having earnestly requested that a court-martial might sit upon his conduct, the insufficiency of officers to constitute such a court, prevented his request from being granted. The cause, however, of the failure of the expedition under his command, was referred to a committee of the House of Representatives, in Congress, by whom he was exculpated; and receiving, as he did, notwithstanding the misfortunes by which he was overwhelmed, the esteem and confidence of the president, (Washington,) he escaped the effects of popular resentment.

Congress having met in 1792, the president, without delay submitted a plan for another campaign. He proposed to augment the military force to five thousand men. It met, however, with serious opposition—the justice of the war was arraigned. The practicability of obtaining peace at less expense was urged; and an extension of the western frontier, was by many thought undesirable. At any rate, it was an idle waste of blood and treasure, to carry the war beyond the line of forts already established; and to send forth armies to be butchered in the forests, while the British were suffered to keep possession of the western and northwestern posts, from whence these Indian hostilities emanated, was preposterous in the extreme.

On the other hand, it was urged, that it was too late to inquire into its justice—that the war existed—that many innocent persons were exposed to savage butchery—that the Government could not, without impeachment of its justice and humanity, recede—that it behoved them, therefore, to prepare in time for a more vigorous effort than had hitherto been made—and, that it was far better to bring the contest to a speedy close, than to protract it from year to year.

The opinion of the president finally prevailed; the bill to augment the military force became a law; and General St. Clair having resigned, Major General Wayne was appointed his successor. The law, however, presented so few inducements to enlist, that the highest military grades next to that of the commander-in-chief, were declined by many to whom they were offered; and the recruiting business advanced so slow, that the decisive expedition in contemplation, was postponed until another year. The public clamor against the war, in the meantime, was continued. If, said its opponents, the intentions of Government respecting the savages were just and humane, those intentions were unknown to the latter—that their resentment was kept up by the aggressions of white men—and, by the opinions which extensively prevailed among the Indians, that their expulsion from the land of their fathers, was the sole object of the war.

While, therefore, means for offensive operations were preparing, the president thought proper to make another effort for peace, and Colonel Harden and Major Trueman, two brave officers and highly respected citizens of Kentucky, were sent thither, both of whom were barbarously murdered.

The negotiations above referred to, having entirely failed, the campaign was now opened with as much vigor as a prudent attention to circumstances would permit. The Indians, expecting an attack upon their villages, had collected a large force, with the apparent intention to risk a battle in their defence. A battle was desired by the American general. Still, however, the consequences of a defeat were too serious to warrant precipitate movements. Inasmuch, then, as the negotiations for peace were not closed till September, and it was then too late to enter their country with a view to retain it; General Wayne collected his army, and marched about six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, fortified his camp (at Greenville,) and established his head-quarters for the winter. He then took possession of the ground on which the Americans had been defeated, in 1791, and erected a fort, which he called Fort Recovery.

Early in the spring of '94, a detachment of British troops from Detroit repossessed and fortified a post about fifty miles south of the latter, on the Miami of the lakes. Lord Dorchester, the Governor General of Canada, in a speech, addressed to several Indian tribes assembled at Quebec, had declared to them on the 10th of February, that, "he should not be surprised if Great Britain and the United States were at war in a year, and if so, *a line must be drawn by the warriors*."

General Wayne, before leaving Cincinnati, (Fort Washington,) had received from General Knox, then secretary of war, his final instructions. "The Indians," said the latter, "have refused to treat; and you are now to judge, whether your force will be adequate to make them feel the superiority of our arms. Every offer has been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword. These efforts have failed, under circumstances which leave nothing for us to expect but war. Let it, therefore, be again, and for the last time, impressed on your mind, that as little as possible is to be hazarded—that your force be fully adequate to the object you propose to effect—and that a defeat at the present time, and under present circumstances, would be pernicious, in the highest degree, to the interests of our country. Nothing further remains, but to commit you, and the troops employed under you, to the protection of the Supreme Being, hoping you and they will have all possible success in the measures you may be about to take, to prevent the murder of helpless women and children."

With these admonitions of Government to hazard as little as possible, the commanding general, on the 8th of August, 1794, reached the Indian settlements, the destruction of which formed the object of his enterprise. On arriving at the junction of the Auglaise and the Miami, he was reinforced by eleven hundred volunteers from Kentucky, commanded by General Scott. He there erected a fortification, to which he gave the name of Fort Defiance. From thence he wrote to the secretary of war: "Though now prepared to strike, I have thought proper to make the enemy another and last overture of peace; nor am I entirely without hope of its acceptance." (See note 1.)

Some difficulty had before existed, between the militia of Kentucky and the regular troops; the former, on several occasions, had refused to coöperate with the latter. This reluctance, however, had now vanished. The reputation of Wayne was a talisman, and his name a charm. His capture of Stony Point in the revolutionary war—"where neither the morass overflowed by the tide, nor the formidable and double row of abattis, nor the high and strong works on the summit of the hill, for a moment damped his ardor, or stopped his career; where, in the face of an incessant fire of musketry, and a shower of shells and grape-shot, he forced his way through every obstacle, and being struck on the head by a musket-ball, fell, and immediately rising on one knee, exclaimed: 'March on, and carry me into the fort: if the wound be mortal, I will die at the head of the column!'"—was now remembered; and the name of "Mad Anthony," a name he had acquired in camp, sunk deep into every heart.

General Wayne's expectations of peace having now vanished—the savages, elated by the success which had hitherto attended their arms, and the impressions made by it on the other tribes; stimulated also by promises of aid, given by the British agents, and still more by the actual intrusion of a British garrison, within the limits of the United States, and evidently established to supply Indian wants, and sustain Indian pretensions—he advanced on the 15th to Roche Debout. Here he erected a small fortification, called Fort Deposite; disencumbered himself of his stores and baggage, and on the 20th of August, advanced toward the enemy. Having carefully reconnoitered their position on the preceding day, he found it, in all respects, well adapted to defence. Its right flank was covered with thickets nearly impervious; its entire front by an abbatis formed by a tornado; and its left rested on the river Miami. Behind these natural and accidental barriers, lay the enemy, consisting of two thousand warriors, in three lines at open order, with flanks widely extended.

After a march of about five miles, Wayne's advance guard was briskly attacked from a thicket of tall grass and underwood. The general immediately directed the legion to form in its customary order of battle; dispatched General Scott with the mounted men to turn their left flank, and fall on the rear, and ordered "the front line of legionary infantry to advance with trailed arms, and arouse the Indians from their coverts with the bayonet; and when up, to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again." These orders were promptly obeyed, and so irresistible was the bayonet charge, that both Indians and Canadians were driven from their position, and completely routed, before either Scott's corps or the second legionary line could get up to take part in the action. The American loss was one hundred and seven, while that of the enemy was far greater; the battle field being strewn with dead bodies, both red and white. "We remained," says the general in his official report, "three days and three nights on the banks of the Miami, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and corn were consumed or otherwise destroyed, for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miami, and we were within pistol-shot of the garrison of that place, who were compelled to remain quiet spectators of this general devastation and conflagration."

On the 24th of August, 1795, the army began its march for Greenville, and on their way laid waste whole villages and corn-fields for a distance of fifty miles on each side of the river. This service, however unpleasant to the commander, was necessary to bring the Indians completely to their senses, and being prescribed to him as a duty, could not be evaded; nor were its effects overrated; convinced of the evils of war when brought to their corn-fields and cabins, they sued for peace. It was promptly granted, and on the 1st of January preliminary articles were signed, which, on the 7th of August, were confirmed at Greenville, and faithfully observed until the war of 1812.

Immediately after the action, General Wayne received a note from Major Campbell, the British commandant at Fort Miami, dated August 21st, 1794, in which he observes: "An army of the United States, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami for the last twenty-four hours, almost within reach of the guns of this fort, belonging to his majesty, the King of Great Britain, occupied by his majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes me to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approach to the garrison." To which General Wayne on the same day replied: "Without questioning the authority, or propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may, without breach of decorum, observe to you that, were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms yesterday morning, in the action against hordes of savages in the vicinity of your fort, which terminated gloriously to the American arms. But had it continued till the Indians, etc., were driven under the influence of the guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command—as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States."

The effects of this expedition could not well be overrated. Besides putting an end to the war, brutal as bloody, and waged without respect to age or sex throughout the whole western frontier, it quieted Indian excitement at the north and the south. It opened to a civilized population the fine region which had been the theatre of hostilities. It allayed factious feelings at home, while abroad, it hastened the pending negotiation with Great Britain, by which the American posts, so long and so pertinaciously withheld by the former, were at last given up.

On the 19th of November, 1794, the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, was signed at London, and received at the office of the secretary of state, in Philadelphia, on the 7th of March, 1795. It was ratified thereafter by the president and Senate, and the hatchet in the Northwestern Territory was temporally buried.

Previous to the peace of 1795, under the auspices of General Wayne "and his twenty-five hundred commissioners, without a quaker among them," some of the officers and soldiers who had accompanied General Clarke in his expedition to Kaskaskia, returned, and formed what was called the American settlements. They were much annoyed by the Kickapoo and other warriors, during the period of which we have been speaking; while the French settlements on the Mississippi, owing to their intercourse with, and their control over, the savage hordes which at that time roamed our prairies, escaped unhurt. Soon after the peace above referred to, emigration to some considerable extent took place, and in 1810, soon after the territorial government was formed, the population of Illinois was twelve thousand two hundred and eighty-two. Previous also to that time, and while this State was also a part of the Northwestern Territory, it was divided into two counties, Randolph and St. Clair. (See note 2.)

In 1803, a new territory, (Indiana,) was formed, and William H. Harrison, late President of the United States, was appointed its first governor. It embraced all of the Northwestern Territory, except the present State of Ohio. Illinois was, therefore, a part of the territory of Indiana, until 1809, at which time it was erected into a territory of itself, and on the 3rd of December, 1818, was admitted into the Union, as one of the United States of America.

NOTE I.

General Wayne, in his letter to Little Turtle, says: "If war be your choice, the blood be upon your own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all-powerful and just God, I therefore commit myself and my gallant army." Little Turtle, who had planned and led the attack at the defeat of Harmer, and St. Clair, urged the Indians to embrace the terms. In his appeal to the Miami warriors, when speaking of General Wayne, he says: "We have beaten the enemy twice under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune to attend us always. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The night and the day are alike to him; and during all the time he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it! There is something whispers me, it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

NOTE II.

The jurisdiction of the St. Clair county court, extended over all that part of Illinois north of the boundary line, and included the whole of Wisconsin. An action having been brought before a justice of the peace in Cahokia for a cow, and a recovery had for sixteen dollars, the suit was appealed to the county court. The adverse parties, and most of the witnesses lived in Prairie du Chien, (now in Wisconsin,) about four hundred miles distant. The sheriff of St. Clair county having received a summons for the parties, and subpœnas for the witnesses, and being also an Indian trader, fitted out a boat, and having stocked it with goods adapted to the Indian market, proceeded thither with his papers. Having served the summons and subpœnæd the witnesses, (including most of the residents of Prairie du Chien,) he made his return, and charging, as he had a right to do, a travel fee for each, his cost, and the costs of the suit altogether, it is said, exceeded nine hundred dollars. We have never heard whether the costs were paid or not.

Strong prejudices have ever since been felt toward large counties in this State. Whether those prejudices have grown out of the circumstances above related, or the cupidity of individuals having village lots to sell at "the county seat," we are as yet unadvised.

CHAPTER XIV.

Tecumseh—Little Turtle—Tecumseh's hostility to white men—Its cause—Its consequence—Count Zwenzendorff, of Saxony—Tecumseh's brother, the Prophet—Tecumseh commences his labors—Visits all the tribes living between the Lakes and Florida—Earthquake of New-Madrid—Its effect on the Indians—General Harrison, Governor of Indiana—Tecumseh's brother visits General Harrison at Vincennes personally—Tecumseh himself visits General Harrison, and requests that the lands which had been ceded to the Americans, should be given up, alleging that "they belonged to all the tribes, and could not be parted with, except by the consent of all"—Tecumseh visits General Harrison in 1810, accompanied by three hundred warriors—His conversation with the latter—Tecumseh offers to form an alliance with the United States on certain conditions—General Harrison proposes, that in case of war, the cruelties before practiced by the savages be discontinued—Tecumseh assents, and afterward keeps his word—General Harrison desires that the 4th United States regiment, commanded by Colonel Boyd, be sent to Vincennes—Also, leave to act offensively as soon as he shall become satisfied of Tecumseh's hostile intentions—Both requests granted—Murders in Illinois committed—Governor Edwards—Interview between General Harrison and Tecumseh, on the 27th of July, 1811, at Vincennes—The latter departs for the South—Indian warriors assemble at Tippecanoe, and are harangued by the Prophet—Other murders committed—Houses robbed and horses stolen—The Prophet professes pacific intentions—Persons in pursuit of horses stolen fired upon by the Indians—General Harrison marches with a military force toward the Prophet's town, September 5, 1811—His sentinels fired upon—Battle of Tippecanoe, September 7, 1811—Indians defeated—Its effect—Tecumseh returns after the battle—Disavows any intention to make war upon the Americans—Afterward joins the British at Malden, in Upper Canada.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty of Greenville, made by General Wayne with the Miamies and other western tribes, in 1795, by which an extensive tract of country, northwest of the Ohio, was ceded to the United States, and notwithstanding other cessions had afterward been made, and considerable portions of each were actually held and occupied by American settlers, the idea of making the Ohio river a boundary between the red and white men, was still entertained by a considerable portion of its native population. No one perhaps of their number cherished this idea with greater ardor than Tecumseh.

Little Turtle, the Miami chief, who had fought with great skill and bravery, and obtained several decisive victories, had long cherished similar thoughts. His defeat, however, by General Wayne, (in a battle undertaken against his own convictions,) and the subsequent conduct of the British toward their defeated allies, induced him to renounce the English for ever, and to become an advocate for peace. He had frequently visited Philadelphia and Washington, and becoming satisfied of the inutility of further attempts to effect an object once dear to his heart, had become the white man's friend, and at the time of which we are about to speak, was comfortably living upon Eel River, in Indiana, about twenty miles from Fort Wayne, in a house erected for him by the American government.*

The idea of making the Ohio a boundary line, was fostered also by the British agents and authorities in Canada. We find, as early as 1804, Colonel McKee, the English agent, using, in conversation with the Indians, notwithstanding England and the United States were at peace, the following language: "My children, your father, King George, loves his red children, and wishes his red children supplied with everything they want. He is not like the Americans, who are continually blinding your eyes, and stopping your ears with good words, that taste sweet as sugar, while they get all your lands from you."

The great principle, in fact, upon which most of the Indian wars during the last ninety years have been predicated, has been the preservation of their lands—more properly speaking, perhaps, their hunting-grounds. On this the French, the English, and the Spanish, have in turn excited them to active resistance against the expanding settlements of the Americans. Hence they became allies of the French, in 1756. After the peace of 1763, the English succeeded the French, and instigated them in a similar manner. Tecumseh however required no such instigation. His hatred toward the whites, was like that of Hannibal to the Romans. From his boyhood to the hour he fell, nobly battling for the rights of his people, he fostered an invincible hatred to white men. On one occasion he was heard to declare, that "he could not look upon a white man without feeling the flesh crawl upon his bones." This hatred, however, was not confined to the Americans. Circumstances made him the ally of the English, and induced him to fight under their banners; still, he neither loved nor respected them. He understood their policy. He knew their professions were hollow, and that when instigating him and his people to hostilities against the United States, that the agents of Britain had less anxiety for the rights of the Indians, than the injuries which, through their instrumentality, might be inflicted on the American Republic. Tecumseh was a patriot, and his love of country made him a statesman and a warrior. He saw his race driven from their native land, and scattered like leaves before the blast. He beheld their morals debased, their independence destroyed, their means of subsistence cut off. New and strange customs, introduced ruin and desolation around and among them. He looked for the cause of these evils, and believed he had found it in the flood of white emigration, which, having surmounted the towering Alleghanies, was spreading itself over their hunting-grounds, and along the banks of the Sciota, the Miami, and the Wabash, whose waters from time immemorial had reflected the smoke of the rude, but populous villages of his ancestors. As a statesman he studied the subject, and having satisfied himself that justice was on the side of his countrymen, he tasked the powers of his expansive mind, to find a remedy for the mighty evil which threatened their total extermination.*

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* Little Turtle died at Fort Wayne, on the 14th of July, 1812, and was buried with the honors of war. This was after the battle of Tippecanoe, (which he regretted,) and before the commencement of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain.

Tecumseh entered upon the great work he had long contemplated, in the year 1805 or 1806. He was then about thirty-eight years of age. To unite the several Indian tribes, many of which were hostile to, and had often been at war with each other, in this great and important undertaking; prejudices were to be overcome, their original manners and customs to be reëstablished, the use of ardent spirits to be abandoned, and all intercourse with the whites to be suspended. The task was herculean in its character, and beset with difficulties on every side. Here was a field for the display of the highest moral and intellectual powers. He had already gained the reputation of a brave and sagacious warrior, and a cool-headed, upright, wise, and efficient counsellor. He was neither a war nor a peace chief, and yet he wielded the power and influence of both. The time having now arrived for action, and knowing full well, that to win savage attention, some bold and striking movement was necessary; he imparted his plan to his brother, the prophet, who adroitly and without a moment's delay, prepared himself for the part he was appointed to play in this great drama of savage life. Tecumseh well knew that excessive superstition was everywhere a prominent trait in the Indian character; and therefore, with the skill of another Cromwell, brought superstition to his aid. (See note 1.)

Suddenly, his brother began to dream dreams, and see visions; he became afterward an inspired prophet, favored with a divine commission from the Great Spirit—the power of life and death was placed in his hands—he was appointed agent for preserving the property and lands of the Indians, and for restoring them to their original happy condition. He thereupon commenced his sacred work. The public mind was aroused, unbelief gradually gave way; credulity and wild fanaticism began to spread in circles, widening and deepening, until the fame of the prophet and the divine character of his mission, had reached the frozen shores of the lakes, and overran the broad plains which stretch far beyond "the great father of waters." Pilgrims, from remote tribes, sought with fear and trembling the head-quarters of the prophet and the sage. Proselytes were multiplied, and his followers increased beyond all former example. Even Tecumseh became a believer, and seizing upon the golden opportunity, he mingled with the pilgrims, won them by his address, and on their return sent a knowledge of his plan of concert and union to the most distant tribes.

The bodily and mental labors of Tecumseh next commenced. His life became one of ceaseless activity. He travelled, he argued, he commanded. His persuasive voice was listened to one day by the Wyandots, on the plains of Sandusky; on the next, his commands were issued on the banks of the Wabash. He was anon seen paddling his canoe across the Mississippi, then boldly confronting the Governor of Indiana, in the council-house at Vincennes. Now carrying his banner of union among the Creeks and Cherokees of the south, and from thence to the cold and inhospitable regions of the north, neither intoxicated by success, nor discouraged by failure. (See note 2.)

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* See Drake's life of Tecumseh.

A combination of Indians, more formidable, and more extended than any which this Continent had ever witnessed, was thus nearly completed, when the battle of Tippecanoe—fought during his absence, and in violation of his orders—terminated at once his career, and compelled him to become a mere accessory to England, in the war that followed. General Harrison was, at that time, Governor of Indiana; and Vincennes, on the Wabash, between Indiana and Illinois, the capital. He was also superintendant of Indian affairs, and in both capacities had a difficult and arduous duty to perform.

Having heard, in 1807, of some extraordinary movements among the Indians, he reproved them in the severest terms. The prophet (Tecumseh's brother) replied, denying any intention to make a disturbance, and desired that General Harrison would "not listen any more to the voice of bad birds." In the spring of 1808, the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Wayne neglected their corn-fields, in order to listen to the prophet; and in the autumn of that year, were almost destitute of food. To prevent depredations upon the settlements, General Harrison ordered the American agent, at Fort Wayne, to furnish them with provisions from the public stores. During the summer of that year, the prophet selected Tippecanoe as his permanent residence, and his numerous disciples followed him thither. From thence he sent word to General Harrison, in July, that he intended to make him a visit. He accordingly, in August, repaired to Vincennes, where he remained two weeks, addressing frequently his disciples in presence of the governor; and, on every occasion, spoke in strong terms of "the evils of war, and spirituous liquors."

On leaving Vincennes, he declared that he did not wish the Indians to take up the hatchet, either for the British or the Long Knives.

In 1809, Tecumseh met Governor Harrison, and claimed the lands which had previously been ceded by the Miamies, "because they belonged to all the tribes, and could not be parted with, except by the consent of all." This argument being too absurd to elicit Governor Harrison's attention, Tecumseh returned in bad humor to his people, and redoubled his exertions to bring about a combination of the whole western tribes.

In the following year, 1810, he visited General Harrison at Vincennes, accompanied by three hundred warriors, completely armed. This numerous body-guard created an unusual sensation, and many supposed that a war would immediately follow. By the prudence, however, of General Harrison, the storm which had hovered for some time over the

American settlements, descended in a genial shower; although Tecumseh had declared, that all that General Harrison had said "was *false*, and that he, and the seventeen Fires, had cheated and imposed upon the Indians;" and General Harrison had told him, "that he was a bad man, and must immediately leave the village."

Tecumseh, on the next day, requested another interview, to explain his conduct. On this occasion, his manner was respectful and dignified. On the following day, General Harrison visited Tecumseh in his camp, attended only by an interpreter, and was politely received. A long conversation ensued, in which Tecumseh declared, "That the policy which the United States had pursued, in purchasing lands from the Indians, he viewed as a mighty water, ready to overflow his people; and that the confederacy he was forming among the tribes, to prevent any individual tribe from selling without the consent of the others, was the dam he was erecting, to resist this mighty water." He stated further, "that he should reluctantly be drawn into a war with the United States, and if he (the governor) would prevail on the president to give up the land lately purchased, and agree never to make another treaty, without the consent of all the tribes, he would assist them in a war about to take place with the English; that he preferred being an ally of the seventeen Fires, (seventen States,) but if they did not comply with his request, he would be compelled to unite with the British." The governor replied, "that he would make known his views to the president, but that there was no probability of their being agreed to." "Then," said Tecumseh, "the Great Spirit must determine the matter. It is true, the president is so far off that he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town, and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out." This prophecy, it will be seen, was literally fulfilled; and the chieftain who uttered it, attested its fulfilment with his blood. The governor, in conclusion, proposed to Tecumseh that, in the event of a war, he should use his influence to put an end to the cruel mode in which it had hitherto been carried on. To this, Tecumseh cheerfully assented; and it is due to his memory, that he ever afterward kept his word.

.The border difficulties continuing, General Harrison requested of the war department, that the fourth regiment of the United States troops, then at Pittsburgh, under the command of Colonel Boyd, should be ordered to Vincennes, and at the same time, asked for authority to act offensively, as soon as he ascertained that the Indians were decidedly hostile. Both requests were immediately granted.

On the 27th of July, 1811, Tecumseh again visited General Harrison, at Vincennes, with about four hundred warriors. Some murders had previously been committed in Illinois; and Governor Edwards had apprised General Harrison of the fact, and that he believed they were committed by the Shawnees. Both territories were in a state of great alarm; and the secretary of war was officially notified, that if the General Government did not take measures to protect the inhabitants, they were determined to protect themselves. In this last conference, Tecumseh stated that, "after much trouble and difficulty, he had induced all the western tribes to unite, and place themselves under his direction. That the United States had set him the example, of forming a strict union among all the Fires that compose their confederacy. That the Indians did not complain of it, nor should his white brothers complain of him for doing the same thing, in regard to the Indian tribes. That as soon as the council was over, he was to set out on a visit to the southern tribes, to prevail on them to unite with those of the north. That the murders spoken of, ought to be forgiven, and that he had set the whites an example of the forgiveness of injuries, which they ought to follow. That a great number of Indians were coming to settle at Tippecanoe, in the autumn, and would need the tract (which the Americans had contemplated surveying,) for a hunting-ground. That he wished everything to remain in its present situation, till his return; when he would visit the president, and settle all difficulties with him."

The governor made a brief reply, saying, "That the moon which they beheld," (it was then night,) "would sooner fall to the earth, than the president suffer his people to be murdered with impunity. And that he would put his warriors in petticoats, sooner than give up the country which he had fairly acquired from the rightful owners." Here the council terminated.

It has frequently been asked whether Tecumseh, in either of the above visits, contemplated actual violence; and several answers have been given. The better opinion, however, is, that he merely wished to impress the whites with an idea of his strength, and at the same time gratify his ambition as a chieftain, at the head of a numerous retinue of warriors. Tecumseh, as soon as the council had broken up, returned to Tippecanoe, and shortly thereafter, accompanied by a few followers, commenced his journey to the south.*

In the meantime, the prophet's town became a grand centre for the restless of every tribe. Here they were daily harangued; the most awful incantations were practiced; the spirit of prophecy was indulged to its fullest extent; and the deluded followers of the impostor were told of a hundred charms "to protect them from the weapons of white men." Houses were occasionally robbed, horses were stolen, and a few murders were committed. The prophet's encampment was daily filling up with the bold, the reckless, and daring of every hostile tribe; and his force in a short time amounted to a thousand warriors.

Called together to attack the whites, they became reckless; their savage habits could bear no restraint; and the prophet made no attempt to control their lawless desires. Parties wandered about the country, and the sun scarcely rose, ere its rays fell on the body of some mangled victim. The cries of women and children, and the smoke of the burning cabin, ascended up on high, and called for vengeance.

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* See Drake's life of Tecumseh.

Notwithstanding these hostile indications, the prophet, as late as September, sent assurances to Governor Harrison of pacific intentions.

Some horses, however, about the same time were stolen, and the owners while in pursuit of them, were fired upon by the Indians. Early in September, the governor moved with a body of troops in a direction toward their town, and shortly thereafter, one of his sentinels was fired upon by the Indians, and severely wounded.

On the 5th of September, 1811, Governor Harrison, with about nine hundred effective troops, encamped within ten miles of the prophet's town. This force was composed of two hundred and fifty of the fourth regiment of United States infantry, one hundred and thirty volunteers, and a body of militia. On the next day, the Indians, when the army was about five miles distant from the village, refused to hold any conversation with the interpreter sent forward by the governor, to open a communication with them. When about a mile and a half from the town, a halt was made for the purpose of encamping for the night. Several urged an immediate attack upon the town, and among them, Joseph H. Davis, an eminent lawyer from Kentucky, (from whom the county of Joe Davis, in Illinois, derives its name.) This Governor Harrison declined, as his instructions from the president were positive, not to attack the Indians so long as there was a probability of their complying with the demands of Government. Captain Dubois was thereupon sent forward to ascertain the desired intelligence. The Indians made no reply; whereupon the governor determined to consider them as enemies, and at once to march upon the town. He had proceeded, however, but a short distance, when he was met by three Indians, one of whom was a councillor of the prophet, who stated, that they were sent to know why an army was marching thither; that the prophet wished to avoid hostilities; that he had sent a pacific message to Governor Harrison by the Miami and Pottawatomy chiefs, who had failed to meet him on his march. A suspension of hostilities was therefore agreed upon, and the terms of a peace were to be settled on the morrow. To some, however, the morrow never came.

The army was then marched to an elevated spot, nearly surrounded by an open prairie, with water convenient, and a sufficiency of wood for fuel. The ground was judiciously selected, and was about three-fourths of a mile from the village. No one anticipated an attack during the night, because it was supposed that if the Indians intended to act offensively, it would have been done on their march—where the ground was broken, and the army, therefore, compelled to change its position frequently in the course of a mile.

The Indians had fortified their town with care, and great labor, as though they were intending to act upon the defensive only. It was to many a favorite spot; had long been the scene of those mysterious rites, performed by the prophet; and they were taught to believe, and many unquestionably did believe, that it was wholly impregnable.

We have already remarked, that no one anticipated an attack. Strict orders, however, were given, in case of such an event, that each corps maintain its position at all hazards, until relieved. The whole army, during the night, lay upon their arms; the regular troops in their tents, with their accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides; the militia, who had no tents, with their clothes and accoutrements on, and their guns under their heads, to keep them dry. The order of encampment was the same as the order of battle; and as every man slept opposite to his post in the line, the troops had nothing to do, in case of an assault, but to rise and form in rear of the fires, around which they had slept. A guard, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, commanded by a field officer, was set; the night was dark and cloudy, and after midnight, there was a drizzling rain. Such was the position of the American army on the evening of the 6th of September, 1811.

Governor Harrison, on the morning of the 7th, according to his usual practice, arose a little before four o'clock; and while drawing on his boots, and conversing with the gentlemen of his family—who were reclining on their blankets, waiting for the signal, which in a few moments would have been given, for the troops to turn out, (the orderly drum having already been roused for the reveille) and the moon, overshadowed by clouds, giving a dim and sickly light—the Indians commenced a furious attack upon the left flank of the camp. They had crept up so near to the sentinels, as to hear them challenge when relieved; and had intended to rush in upon and kill them before they had time to fire. One of them, however, discovered an Indian creeping toward him in the grass, and fired. It was followed by an Indian war-whoop, and a desperate charge. The whole army was instantly on its feet. The camp-fires were extinguished. The governor mounted his horse, and proceeded to the point attacked. Some of the companies took their places in the line, in forty seconds after the report of the first gun; and all the troops were prepared for action in less than two minutes. The battle immediately became general, and was maintained on both sides with desperate valor. The Indians advanced and retreated by the aid of a rattling noise, made with deer's hoofs, and persevered in their attack, with an apparent determination to conquer or die. The battle raged with unabated fury and mutual slaughter, until daylight, when a gallant and successful charge drove the Indians into a swamp, and put an end to the conflict.

Previous to the assault, the prophet had given assurances to his followers that, in the coming contest, the Great Spirit would render the arms of the Americans unavailing; that their bullets would fall harmless at the Indians' feet. That the latter would have light in abundance, while the former would be involved in darkness. Availing himself of the privilege conferred by his peculiar office; and unwilling to test, in his own person, the truth of his prophecy, he prudently took a position on an adjacent eminence; and when the action began, he commenced performing some mystic rites, and singing a war-song. Being informed that his men were falling, he told them to fight on, it would soon be as he had predicted; and in louder and wilder strains than before, continued his inspiring song—commingled as it was with the sharp crack of the American rifle, and the shrill war-whoop of his brave but deluded followers.*

The Indians were commanded by some daring chiefs, and although their spiritual leader was not actually in the battle, he did much to encourage his followers in their daring attack. Of the force of the Indians we have no certain account. There was probably eight hundred or a thousand. Besides Shawnees, there were the Kickapoos of the prairie, several bands of the Pottawatomies, from the Illinois river and Chicago, and the St. Josephs, of Lake Michigan.

The Indians left thirty-eight on the field; others were undoubtedly killed, and the number of wounded was unusually great.

Of the Americans, thirty-five were killed in the action, twenty-five died of their wounds afterward, and the whole number of killed and wounded was a hundred and eighty-eight. Among the former was the much lamented Abraham Owen, and Major Joseph H. Davis.

Governor Harrison himself was slightly wounded. Both officers and men behaved with much coolness and bravery, and covered themselves with laurels.

Peace on the frontiers was among its happy results. The tribes which had already joined in the confederacy were dismayed, and those who had thus far been neutral were encouraged to persevere.

The prophet's town was immediately deserted, the houses were principally burnt, and the corn in its vicinity destroyed. On the 9th, the army commenced its return to Vincennes.

The defeated Indians were exasperated against the prophet; they reproached him in bitter terms for the calamity he had brought upon them, and accused him of the murder of their friends who had fallen in battle. One of the surviving Winnebagoes told him to his face, that "he was a liar." His sacred character was so far forfeited, that the Indians actually bound him with cords, and threatened to put him to death. With the battle of Tippecanoe he lost his popularity and favor; his magic wand was broken, and his mysterious charm dissipated for ever.

The prophet was rash, presumptuous, and deficient in judgment. He was no sooner left to act for himself, without the sagacious counsel and positive control of Tecumseh, the master spirit of the day, than he annihilated his own power, and crushed the grand confederacy, which had cost him and his brother years of toil, peril, and privation.

Tecumseh returned from the south, where it is believed he had made a strong and indelible impression, a few days after the disastrous battle of Tippecanoe; saw the dispersion of his followers, the disgrace of his brother, and the destruction of his long-cherished hopes. When he first met the prophet, he reproached him in bitter terms, and the latter attempting to palliate his conduct, he seized him by the hair, and shaking him violently, threatened to take his life.

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* Drake's life of Tecumseh.

Tecumseh immediately sent word to Governor Harrison, that he had returned from the south, and that he was ready to make the promised visit to the president. The governor gave him permission to go to Washington, but not as the leader of a party of Indians. The haughty chief, who had made his visit to Vincennes, attended by three or four hundred warriors completely armed, had no wish to appear before "his great father the president," stripped of his power. The proposed visit was therefore declined; and the amicable intercourse between the Shawnee chief and the governor thus terminated.

In June following, (1812,) he sought an interview with the Indian agent at Fort Wayne; disavowed any intention to make war upon the United States, and reproached General Harrison for having marched against his people during his absence. The agent replied to this; Tecumseh listened with frigid indifference, and after making a few general remarks, with a haughty air left the council-house, and departed for Fort Malden in Upper Canada, where he joined the British standard.

NOTE I.

An extraordinary instance of this is related by Chapman, in his account of the Moravian mission in Pennsylvania. In 1742, Count Zwinzendorff, of Saxony, came to America on a religious mission, in connection with the Moravians. Having heard of the Shawanoes of Wyoming, a branch of the tribe from whence Tecumseh derived his origin, he resolved to establish a mission among them. The Shawanoes, supposing that the missionary was in pursuit of their lands, determined to assassinate him; and fearing that by so doing they should excite other Indians to hostility, they resolved to do it privately. The attempt however was, apparently by accident, defeated, and the account given of it by Chapman, is as follows: "Zwinzendorff was alone in his tent, seated upon a bundle of dry weeds, which composed his bed, and engaged in writing, when the assassins approached to execute their bloody commission. It was night, and the cool air of September had rendered a small fire necessary for his comfort and convenience. A curtain, formed of a blanket, and hung upon pins, was the only guard to his tent. The heat of his fire had aroused a large rattlesnake which lay in the weeds not far from it, and the reptile, to enjoy it more effectually, had crawled slowly into the tent, and passed over one of his legs, undiscovered. Without, all was still and quiet, except the gentle murmur of the river at the rapids about a mile below. At this moment, the Indians softly approached the door of his tent, and slightly removing the curtain, contemplated the venerable man, too deeply engaged in the subject of his thoughts, to notice either their approach, or the snake, which lay before him. At a sight like this, even the hearts of the savages shrunk from the idea of committing so horrid an act; and quitting the spot, they hastily returned to the town, and informed their companions that the Great Spirit protected the white man, for they had found him with no door but a blanket, and had seen a large rattlesnake crawl over his legs without attempting to injure him. This circumstance, together with the arrival soon afterward of Coonrod Weizer, the interpreter, induced some of them to embrace Christianity."

NOTE II.

Drake, in his life of Tecumseh, relates the following astonishing fact. We report it, without vouching for its authenticity.

"On his return from Florida, he was among the Creeks in Alabama, urging them to unite with the Seminoles. Arriving at Tuckhabatchee, a Creek town on the Tallapoosa river, he made his way to the lodge of the chief called the Big Warrior. He explained his object, delivered his war talk, presented a bundle of sticks, gave him a piece of wampum and a hatchet, all of which the Big Warrior took; when Tecumseh, reading the intentions and spirit of the Big Warrior, looked him in the eye, and pointing his finger toward his face, said: ' Your blood is white—you have taken my talk, and the sticks, and the wampum, and the hatchet, but you do not mean to fight. I know the reason: you do not believe that the Great Spirit has sent me. You shall know. I leave Tuckhabatchee directly, and shall go straight to Detroit. When I arrive there, I will stamp on the ground with my foot, and shake down every house in Tuckhabatchee.' So saying, he turned and left the Big Warrior in utter astonishment, at both his manner and threat, and pursued his journey. The Indians were struck no less with his conduct, than was the Big Warrior, and began to dread the arrival of the day, when the threatened calamity would befall them. They met often, and talked over this matter, and watched the day carefully, to know the time when Tecumseh would reach Detroit. The morning they had fixed upon, as the period for his arrival, at last came. A mighty rumbling was heard. The Indians all ran out of their houses. The earth began to shake, when at last, sure enough, every house in Tuckhabatchee was shaken down. The exclamation was in every mouth, ' Tecumseh has got to Detroit.' The effect was electrical. The message he had delivered to the Big Warrior was believed, and many of the Indians took their rifles and prepared for war."

The reader will not be surprised to learn, that an earthquake produced all this; but he will be, doubtless, that it should happen on the very day in which Tecumseh arrived at Detroit, and in exact fulfilment of his threat. It was the famous earthquake of New-Madrid, on the Mississippi.

CHAPTER XV.

Franklin's opinion of the peace of 1783—The United States a commercial rival of Great Britain—England attempts to cripple their growth by renewing an obsolete rule of 1756—Impressment of seamen—Americans sensitive upon the subject—Its manner of execution—The doctrine that "a ship on the high seas is inviolable," denied by England—Certificates of nativity or "protections" given—Are disregarded—Our relations with France not the most friendly—Embargo—Non-intercourse—Attack upon the Chesapeake—War, June 18, 1812—Intelligence of it received diffe-rently in different places—American army did not exceed five thousand men—Unprepared for war—Canada also unprepared—General Hull—Governor of Michigan—Afterward commander-in-chief of the Northwestern Army—Repairs to Ohio in April, 1812—Leaves Ohio for Detroit, June 1, 1812—Reaches the Miami of the lakes in the latter part of June—July 1st., sends a vessel to Detroit with invalids, baggage, etc.—July 2nd., 1812, hears of the Declaration of War—Intelligence thereof received in Canada before—Vessel captured—General Hull reaches Detroit, July 5th, 1812—July 6th, receives orders to commence offensive operations—July 12th, he crosses the Niagara—Issues a proclamation to the Inhabitants of Canada—Its effect—Malden—Attacks and defeats an advanced guard—A panic produced in the British garrison—Recrosses the river and evacuates Canada, August 8th, 1812—Mackinaw taken by the British, July 17, 1812—Intelligence thereof received by General Hull, July 26th—Captain Brush arrives on the River Raisin with supplies—Major Van Horne sent to his relief—The latter defeated—Colonel Miller sent afterward—Battle of Brownstown, August 9th, 1812, in which Colonel Miller defeats the British and Indians—Armistice between General Sir George Provost and General Dearborn, August 8th, 1812—General Brock reaches Malden with reinforcements, August 14th, 1812—Goes to Sandwich, opposite Detroit, on the following day—Demands the surrender of Detroit—Letter to General Hull—General Hull's answer—British cross the Niagara—Approach Detroit—Detroit surrenders—Its effect.

Soon after the peace of 1783, a person in conversation with Dr. Franklin observed, that he was glad "*the war of Independence was over.*" "You mean, sir," said the doctor, "the war of the Revolution—the war of independence is yet to come." Those to whom the events of the late contest with England are familiar, can appreciate the above remark; strangers, however, to its origin and events, must read and reflect a little before they can appreciate its value.

An attempt on the part of England, without right, to exercise power over the United *Colonies*, first broke the ties of dependence, and severed the British empire; her illiberal policy toward the *United States*, weakened, afterward, the influence of affinity which true wisdom would have taught her to cherish, and rendered a people, attached to "their fatherland" by a thousand ties, alien for ever.

England, until the late war, never renounced entirely her views of subjugation. Force having been resorted to in vain, recourse was now had to policy. For several years subsequent to the peace of 1783, our affairs were unpromising. The confederation was too feeble to keep the States in unison. England saw the difficulty, and, influenced by her wishes, hoped, ere long, to see us divided and conquered. The seeds of dissension were sown, but gathered up by patriots before they had taken root; the elements of civil disorder were let loose, but hushed by a master-spirit to repose. England, having thus lost an opportunity to tamper with individual States, to foment difficulties, and govern by division, now changed her policy, and sought to repress the growth of our Republic, by throwing obstacles in her way.

The expansive power of freedom exalted, in a short time, the United States into a commercial rival of England; and the French Revolution made her, as such rival, formidable. England, to arrest American competition, revived a rule of 1756, considered by the whole of Europe a violation of the law of nations—a rule which prevented a neutral from enjoying any commerce which could not, at the same time, be open to the belligerent. In other words, an order "to permit no neutrals." Her proceedings in council of the 8th of January, 1793, became a source of great vexation; and her orders of the 6th of November, authorizing her cruizers to capture "all vessels on the high seas, laden with the produce of any of the colonies of France, or carrying provisions or supplies to or from said colonies," swept the greater part of our commerce from the ocean. The American merchants, without distinction of party, gave vent to their feelings in the strongest terms; the act was regarded as wicked as well as treacherous. The war of the Revolution had not been forgotten; that with the savages still raged, and the western posts were pertinaciously retained. Commercial restrictions, therefore, of the kind we have mentioned, in the then state of the public mind, were not calculated to engender harmony. Washington, however, was at the helm; he desired to stand aloof from European politics, and the influence of his name and character preserved us from the vortex to which we were tending. Jay's treaty, in 1794, sanctioned with reluctance, prolonged the truce, and averted, for a while, an appeal to arms.

The same abuses, however, were still continued; remonstrance after remonstrance was sent forth; and neither Washington, with all his fame, nor the elder Adams, with all his skill, could produce a change in her principles or her policy.

The violation of our commercial and maritime rights, was also accompanied by another subject of complaint, more vexatious than either; one on which the Americans have justly been sensitive. I allude now to the impressment of American seamen.

As England is "the only modern nation within the pale of civilization, at least of those who recognize the general maritime law, who does not consider the flag as protecting the person who sails under it, and as we are the only people who, during peace, have been dragged from our ships on the high seas, by Christian nations, and condemned to servitude;" and as the question is still unsettled, after a bloody war between kindred people, of three years' continuance; and liable again to be renewed, whenever circumstances shall render the practice of it of any use to the former—it demands some further consideration.

England, in theory, has always pretended, that a person born within the realm became, of course, an English citizen, and could not expatriate himself, and become a citizen of another country; that she had a right, notwithstanding his naturalization elsewhere, to claim the services of such a person, under any and every vicissitude. Her practice, however, has been otherwise. No nation in the world, during the last fifty years, has employed so many foreign seamen as England. By an act of Parliament, a person, by serving two years in the English navy, becomes *ipso facto*, naturalized, and acquires all the rights of an English subject. It will, therefore, be seen, that her principles and her practice are at variance. This frequently happens, not only to nations but to individuals, who, disregarding entirely the rules of right, adopt, as their basis of action, the rules of might, as has too often been the case with this "mistress of the seas."

The practice of impressment grew up from a small beginning; and, by improvident acquiescence on our part, without conceiving it possible, that it ever would assume so horrible a shape, became, and was in fact, an insult to the whole civilized world. The manner in which it was exercised even augmented its atrocity; and the climax of humiliation to which Americans were subjected, a century hence will scarcely be credited.

A lieutenant in the British navy, and sometimes even a midshipman, on boarding an American vessel, caused its crew to be mustered on deck, and selected such as suited his purpose. The good sailor was, of course, an Englishman, and therefore impressed; and the poor sailor an American. Voyages were thus frequently broken up, and the safety of American vessels thus endangered, for want of mariners to conduct them to their destined port.

At first, England claimed a right to search our merchantmen, for deserters from the public service of Britain; she next claimed a right to impress English seamen engaged on board our ships; and finally, that every person who could not prove on the spot, to the satisfaction of the boarding officer, that he was an American, should be carried into bondage; and, against his will, should be compelled to fight the battles of England, and to become the executioner of his friends and brethren, or to fall himself by their hands.

The insidious conduct of England, in relation to impressment, may, therefore, be compared with the approach of the serpent to our first mother, described by Milton.

England also asserted a right to search "neutral vessels for enemies' goods." The doctrine laid down in the law of nations, "that a ship on the high seas is as inviolable as the territories of the nation at peace;" admitted by the whole of Europe as correct international law, and denied only by England, whose power on that element happened to predominate, was thus disregarded; and a principle adopted, which no other nation ever did, or ever can recognize, without a sacrifice of her independence.

England might as well have claimed her subjects from our territories, as from our ships. Whatever may have been her right, to prevent the subjects of Great Britiain from quitting the land of their birth, or of punishing them for so doing, when their services were required at home, she certainly had no right to pursue them into our territory, or demand them from us, unless by virtue of express stipulations.

When she was pressed for a reason to justify her conduct, the only one she deigned to give was, that "she was contending for her own existence," and must have men to man her thousand ships. During Washington's administration, as early as 1794, the British government was officially told: "That they might as well rob the American vessels of their goods, as drag the American seamen from their ships in the manner practiced by them." The subject became, at length, a theme of reprobation and remonstrance by every patriotic statesman in our country. Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Jay, Pickering, King, and a host of others, all concurred. Our Government, instead of resisting the practice by force of arms, gave certificates of nativity, in common parlance known as "protections." And the American seaman was thus compelled to stoop to the humiliation, of carrying about on the high seas his papers;—as if a piece of paper would protect a seaman, when his country's flag had lost its efficacy. These, however, were shortly unavailing. They were torn in pieces by the petty officers to whom they were presented for examination, and their fragments scattered to the winds: England thus asserting, and maintaining the right, of dragging from underneath our flag, "every one who could not prove upon the spot, that he was not a British subject." Seven thousand American citizens were thus, it was said, at one time retained in the British service against their will. The number may have been exaggerated, and probably was; but if it was seven hundred, the principle is the same, and demanded relief or vengeance. Although war had not been declared, the feelings of the American people, from day to day, became more and more hostile.

Our relations, in the meantime, with France, were not of the friendliest kind. Her deportment was eccentric, lawless, and unstable. She was "a comet, threatening all nations." Our true wisdom was, therefore, to keep out of her way. On the ocean she was but little to be dreaded, and in no condition to execute her threats. England issued her Orders in Council: Napoleon, his Berlin and Milan Decrees, and the ocean soon presented the humiliating spectacle of "a traveller robbed, and the robbers quarrelling about the spoil." This, however, was called "retaliation." France declared, that we suffered the depredations of England with more patience than her own; and England, that she alone had a right to plunder us. An embargo was first resorted to on our part; a non-intercourse afterward; neither of which were, or could be enforced. And Napoleon, "having first announced a sense of returning justice, on the 18th of June, 1812, the United States and Great Britain were at war.

Among other causes of irritation, was an attack upon the Chesapeake, which for a while convulsed the nation. A Government ship, in a time of peace, was suddenly attacked in our own waters, compelled to surrender, and several seamen alleged to be British, were forcibly taken from her. The outrage admitted of no apology, and its effects on the American mind, were at first overwhelming. Party animosity was suspended—meetings were held in almost every village—the newspapers were filled with formal addresses—volunteer companies were organized; and in the frenzy of the moment, a universal cry for war immediately went forth. England, however, apologized for her conduct; said that she never pretended to the right of impressing American citizens; yielded to the humiliation of surrendering those impressed, upon the very deck from which they had been forced; and to evince her *sincerity, removed* the officer by whom the violence had been committed.

The justice of the late war with England, cannot then be questioned. Its necessity, by some, was denied; and its policy at that particular time, was severely arraigned. That our Government were unprepared for the event, all admit. That defeat and disaster, from some cause or other, at first attended our arms, is a matter of history; and that Britain read in our naval combats, a commentary on her practice of impressment, and her tyranny of the sea, no one can deny.

War having been declared on the 18th of June, 1812, and the bill for that purpose having passed both Houses of Congress, signed and approved by the president, and become a law, it was publicly proclaimed on the following day, and the event variously received throughout the country. In some places, demonstrations of joy, and in others, of sorrow, were immediately apparent. The commercial prosperity of the Atlantic cities, injured, as it was, by the depredations of the two great contending powers in Europe; and lingering, in hopes of better times, was now at an end. Their ships were to be laid up, and their business to cease; the coasts of the southern States were to be laid open to marauding expeditions, and the western frontier once more to be exposed to the horrors of Indian warfare.

Insults and injuries—violated honor and violated rights, however, demanded its declaration; and being once declared by lawful authority, the love of country demanded its support.

The number of enlisted soldiers in the American army, at that time, did not exceed five thousand. The president was authorized, however, to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, and to call out one hundred thousand militia. The best troops in the world being wholly inefficient, unless commanded by able and experienced officers, much difficulty arose, at first, in making proper selections. Those renowned in arms during the revolutionary war, had principally paid the debt of nature. Those that remained, were either advanced in years, or had acted merely as subalterns; and all, without distinction of age, had laid aside their military habits from long repose. One opinion, however, prevailed to a considerable extent, that great reliance might yet be placed on the revolutionary soldier; and hence, from that circumstance alone, selections to the chief commands at first were made, and corrected afterward, as experience led the way.

The whole military force of Canada, at that time, did not exceed two thousand regular troops; and a large portion of its population, especially in the upper province, was friendly to the American cause. Its conquest, therefore, was considered by many as an easy matter; "a mere breakfast spell," as some pretended soldiers in military garb, and some flaming patriots, "with more sail than ballast, and less sense than either," used frequently to remark. Buffalo was little else than a collection of log-houses; the southern shore of Lake Erie was nearly a wilderness; Detroit scarce anything but a military station; Mackinaw and Chicago, were military and trading posts; and the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the abode of savages; in the main, hostile to the United States, and friendly to England. The busy hum of commerce now pervading our ports, was unheard; and the active, enterprising population, now spread over lands where the white and the red man were about to contend for victory, was then far away. (See note 1.)

When Michigan was erected into a territory, in 1805, Colonel, afterward General Hull, was appointed its first governor. His name had long been familiar to the American people, having been an officer of high repute in the revolutionary army. Early in 1775, he exchanged the profession of law for that of arms; and enlisting a company of infantry in the State of Connecticut, repaired to Cambridge, and arrived there soon after Washington had assumed upon himself its chief command. When the British evacuated Boston, in 1776, Captain Hull repaired to New-York with his company; and in the battle of White Plains was wounded. From thence he crossed the Hudson, and accompanied the commander-in-chief in his retreat through New-Jersey; fought afterward at the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and for his gallant conduct there, was promoted to a majority. He was present, and commanded a battalion at the taking of Burgoyne; aided in the defence of Fort Stanwich; wintered with the army at Valley Forge, in 1777; led the eighth Massachusetts regiment afterward, at the battle of Monmouth; and commanded the American left wing at the taking of Stony Point, where, at midnight, with unloaded arms, he advanced at the head of his column to the attack, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He afterward escorted the commander-in-chief into New-York, after its evacuation by the British; and after the preliminaries of peace had been signed, at the head of his regiment, he also escorted the beloved commander of our armies to his barge, and paid him the last military honors which he received from those gallant troops, which had followed his standard through all the vicissitudes of the revolutionary war.

During this period, the public orders issued to the army; the resolutions of the old Continental Congress; the letters of General Washington, and the letters and orders of other generals, under whom he had served, make frequent and honorable mention of his name. Having been Governor of Michigan from 1805, down to the period of which we are about to speak, and being also superintendent of Indian affairs; having the reputation, too, of a gallant soldier, educated in the very best of schools, where could a leader for the northwestern army have been found, of fairer or more brilliant promise? He was accordingly selected by Mr. Madison for that purpose—not, however, at his own solicitation, as will appear from the following letter of Governor Eustis, the secretary of war.

> "In the latter part of February, 1812, information was received from Mr. Atwater, then secretary of the Territory of Michigan, and acting as governor, that there were strong appearances of hostilities among the Indians, and that the territory was in danger; that General Hull urged on him, as secretary of war, the expediency and necessity of ordering a force there, for the protection of Detroit, the Territory of Michigan, and the northern frontier; that he (General Hull,) declined, in the first instance, accepting the office of brigadier general; that Colonel Kingsbury was thereupon ordered to Washington, for the purpose of proceeding to the State of Ohio, to take the command of this force, and on account of bodily indisposition, was not ordered on the command; and afterward, when he (General Hull,) was appointed, it was not solicited by him; and that he manifested great anxiety for the safety of the northern frontier, and the Territory of Michigan."

Previous to the declaration of war, General Hull, as Governor of Michigan, stated in several letters to the war department, the necessity of more troops for the defence of the northwestern frontier; and in case of a war with England, (an event which was then probable,) that a naval force on Lake Erie would be indispensable." He stated further, "that without such a force, an army could not be supported at Detroit," and that "that place, together with Mackinaw and Chicago, must necessarily fall into the hands of the enemy;" "that an army also on the Niagara frontier, to assist and coöperate with the army at Detroit, would also be essential." The propriety and correctness of the above suggestions, no one at that time, or since, has presumed to arraign.

The exposed situation of the northwestern frontier, being thus made known to the administration, not only by General Hull, but by others, adequate measures, it was supposed, were taken for its safety. Early in the spring of 1812, the Governor of Ohio was called upon by the president, "to detach twelve hundred militia, and prepare them for actual service." These being joined by the 4th United States regiment, then at Vincennes, were ordered afterward to Detroit; and Governor Hull was desired by the president to accept a brigadier's commission, and take upon himself their command. He at first declined the appointment, and Colonel Kingsbury was selected for that purpose. The latter, however, being ill, the application to Governor Hull was renewed, and he was thereupon nominated, and appointed brigadier general in the United States army. He at once accepted the appointment, and entered upon its duties, as he says, "with no other view than to afford the frontier inhabitants, and those of the Territory of Michigan, protection against the savages." Indeed, such alone must have been the object, for war had not been declared. On the 6th of March, 1812, about a month before he was appointed brigadier general, he addressed another letter to the war department, in which he says:

"If we cannot command the ocean, we can command the inland lakes of our country. I have always been of opinion, that we ought to have built as many armed vessels on the lakes as would have commanded them—we have more interest in them than the British nation, and can build vessels with more convenience."

He afterward stated, that, without such a naval force, the army he was to command must be strengthened by additional numbers, and must be followed by other detachments, so as to keep open the communication, and insure it supplies from Ohio; and unless it was supported by coöperations from other quarters, it could not maintain itself at Detroit, much less carry on offensive operations in Canada. That he considered his force insufficient "for invasion or defence," in case of a war; and that the army under his command, would be led into a situation from which there would be no escape; and that the whole country, with our military posts at Mackinaw and Chicago, would fall.

Commodore Stewart, of the navy, was afterward appointed to superintend the building of a fleet on Lake Erie, but declined the appointment, and nothing was effectually done for that purpose, till the gallant Perry, after the defeat of our armies, repaired thither, and achieved one of the most signal victories related in our annals.

In April, 1812, General Hull left Washington, and shortly thereafter took command of the forces then assembled in Ohio; Dayton, at that time a frontier settlement, was their place of rendezvous. "Although," says General Hull, "the officers and soldiers appeared to be animated with zeal, yet in reviewing them and inspecting their equipments, they were found without discipline, and destitute of arms and clothing necessary for military operations."

The 4th United States regiment, consisting of three hundred effective men, having joined the twelve hundred militia from Ohio, the whole, on the first of June, 1812, commenced their march for Detroit. The distance to be traversed was about two hundred miles. The country was then a wilderness; without roads—without bridges, and part of it filled with hostile savages. Some of the militia at first hesitated, and afterward refused to march; induced, however, by the 4th regiment of United States troops to proceed, they did so, and submitted to its fatigues and privations with great patience, reflecting infinite credit on themselves and their country. After traversing this uninhabited wild, building four block-houses on their road, and leaving garrisons of invalids in each, they reached the Miami of the lakes, with great labor, in the latter part of June, 1812; and on the first of July, General Hull directed the quarter-master to hire a small vessel at the foot of the Rapids of the Miami, and send the invalids, and the baggage not wanted on their march, by water to Detroit.

On the next day, (July 2nd) General Hull received from the secretary of war, a letter delivered him by a stranger, and forwarded by the post-master at Cleveland, in these words:

> "Sir: War is declared against Great Britain. You will be on your guard. Proceed to your post (Detroit) with all possible expedition. Make such arrangements for the defence of the country, as in your judgment may be necessary, and wait for further orders."

It bore date on the 18th of June, 1812. On the 24th of June, six days before, he had received a letter from the secretary of the same date, in which "not one word was said respecting a declaration of war." The letter first received, was written on the morning of the 18th, before the law had passed; the letter last received, was written in the afternoon or evening of the same day, after the law had passed; and was not received by General Hull till eight days after the delivery of the letter written in the morning. By some strange fatality, knowledge of the war had reached Malden, (Amherstburg,) in Canada, some days before it was received by General Hull. The vessel hired to transport the invalids and baggage to Detroit, in passing Malden, was thereupon captured, with a lieutenant and thirty men, and all their baggage, together with a part of the military stores belonging to the army.

General Hull, when he received intelligence that war had been declared, received no assurances from Government that any preparations were making to secure an ascendency on the lake; no assurances that reinforcements were to be in readiness to give security to convoys from Ohio; no assurances that an army was prepared, or preparing, to cöoperate with him on the Niagara frontier. His reflections, therefore, were not of the most cheering kind. He knew, however, that "the first duty of a soldier was to obey orders," and therefore marched to Detroit as speedily as possible. He reached the latter place on the 5th of July; and both officers and men manifested a desire to cross the river immediately, and commence offensive operations. A council of war was thereupon called; his instructions "to march with all possible expedition to Detroit, and there wait for further orders," were submitted to this council for their consideration; and, notwithstanding his instructions, the officers gave it as their opinion, that it was expedient to cross the river immediately, and take possession of the opposite bank. General Hull, however, informed them "that as long as he commanded that army, he should obey the orders of Government." Soon after the council was dismissed he received orders, bearing date June 24th, from the war department, directing him to commence offensive operations.

He replied immediately to this communication of the secretary, and among other things stated, that he "did not think his force equal to the reduction of Amherstburg, (meaning the fort at Malden,) that therefore he must not be too sanguine in his expectations." On the 12th of July, having previously collected all the boats and canoes belonging to the inhabitants of Detroit, (Government having none there,) at daylight in the morning he passed the river, and reached without opposition the Canadian shore. On landing, he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada, which, on account of its novelty, its ability, its singularity, and its rarity, we insert entire. (See note 2.)

The presence of an American army in Canada, and the proclamation of its commander, seemed for a while to produce the effect intended. In writing to the war department soon afterward, General Hull observes: "All opposition seemed to fall before it"—"the inhabitants seemed satisfied with their change of situation." "The militia of Amherstburg are daily deserting, and the whole country under the control of the army is asking for protection; while the Indians generally appear to be neutralized, and determined to take no part in the controversy."

A prompt, steady, and well directed application of its powers, we have no doubt, would at that time have rendered our arms triumphant, and secured their ascendency, at least temporarily, in Canada.

On approaching Malden they had to pass a small river, across which a bridge had been thrown. This was in possession of a British guard, who apparently were determined to hold it—a skirmish ensued—the position was taken—the guard driven back upon the fort, whither the fugitives carried their panic along with them, "creating in the garrison much alarm and confusion." Had the whole army advanced, as Colonel Cass and Colonel Miller advised, there could have been scarcely a doubt of its success. Malden, in all human probability, would at that time have fallen almost without a struggle. A want, however, either of knowledge, of judgment, or of enterprise, in the American commander, became too apparent to be longer concealed, and paralyzed at once the efforts of the American army. An opportunity of reaping a harvest of laurels was thus suffered to pass sluggishly away, and every subsequent step which he afterward took, "was attended with disaster."

After waiting at Sandwich for his artillery to be got ready, from the 12th day of July till the 8th of August, nearly inactive, General Hull recrossed the river in the evening of the 7th and morning of the 8th, and abandoned Canada, "after an inglorious occupation of less than a month." He left, however, a few volunteers, commanded by Major Denny, "in madness or in mockery," for the protection of such British colonists as yet adhered to the American cause. The latter, however, were withdrawn three days thereafter, and Canada evacuated entirely.

While preparations were making for an attack upon Malden, and before the American army had recrossed the river, intelligence on the 26th of July, of the fall of Mackinaw on the 17th, was received in the American camp.

Isaac, afterward Sir Isaac Brock, was at that time Governor of Upper Canada, and a major-general in the British army. Young, active and brave, he sought renown at every hazard, and the honor of his king and country by every means. Apprised of the declaration of war by Congress before it reached the American camp, he transmitted the intelligence at once to his outposts, and ere "the tardy and blundering movements of the American secretary had begun, his legions were in the field." Without waiting for instructions from Sir George Prevost, the Governor-general of Canada, he suggested to the commandant of St. Josephs an attack upon Mackinaw.

Captain Roberts, to whom this suggestion was made, though ill prepared for an enterprise of such moment, entered without delay into the views of his commander, and being cordially supported by the agents of the two Western fur companies, collected at once three hundred English troops, including militia, and six hundred Indians; and with this force embarked from St. Josephs on the 16th of July, reached Mackinaw on the following morning, and demanded its surrender. This was the first intimation which its garrison had received of the declaration of war. It was then manned by fifty-eight regular soldiers, commanded by Lieutenant Hanks, of the artillery. The inhabitants of the island fled in a body to Captain Roberts, and sought his protection; and Lieutenant Hanks, having no hopes of succor, and being unable to defend himself against so great a disparity of force, on the 17th of July surrendered. Security to the persons and property of the garrison, and the inhabitants of the island, was stipulated—and the British thus put into possession of a post affording greater facilities than any other for intercepting Indian supplies, and for controlling the Indian warriors.

The effects of its surrender on the Americans were appalling. To the British and their savage allies, it was a bud of mighty promise. Whole tribes of the latter, before neutral, were neutral no longer.

One of the principal objects of General Hull, in evacuating Canada, was to open and keep open a communication between his army and Ohio. About the middle of July a company of volunteers, commanded by Captain Brush, reached the River Raisin with supplies. His march from thence to Detroit, (thirty-six miles,) led through a country infested by savages; it was, therefore, thought expedient for him to remain at that place, until a detachment from the main body could be sent to his aid. Major Van Horn was therefore dispatched with a hundred and fifty men to his relief. On his second day's march, near Brownstown, he was unexpectedly attacked by a large party of British regulars and Indians; and although his little force made a gallant resistance—commanded as it was by a brave and skilful officer—he was defeated with a loss of nineteen killed and missing, and nine wounded. Among the former were

Captains Gilcrease, McCulloh, and Bosler, and among the latter, Captain Ullery. While the United States army was in Canada, it was in a great measure supplied with provisions from the British settlements in the vicinity of its encampment. On General Hull's retreat from thence, as already mentioned, those supplies consequently ceased, and the necessity of opening a communication between Detroit and the State of Ohio, was therefore increased; and as Captain Brush was still on the Raisin, waiting for an escort to head-quarters, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, of the United States army, at the head of three hundred regular troops of the 4th regiment, which had distinguished itself under Colonel Boyd, at the battle of Tippecanoe, and two hundred of the Ohio militia, on the 9th of August was ordered thither.

Although Colonel Miller proceeded with great caution, he drew near to an ambuscade before he was aware of it. Captain Snelling, who commanded the advance guard, being suddenly attacked with great spirit, accompanied with the usual barbarous shouts of the enemy, maintained his position with extraordinary bravery, until the main body came up; when the Indians, commanded by Tecumseh, and the British regulars, commanded by Major Muir, sprang up; advanced furiously to the front of a temporary breastwork, formed in a regular line, and commenced a heavy and regular fire upon the American advance column. Colonel Miller, with the utmost celerity, drew up his men in battle array, delivered his fire with great coolness, and advanced immediately to the charge. The British regulars gave way; but the Indians, under Tecumseh, betaking themselves to the woods, continued the battle with desperate obstinacy. The British troops thereupon rallied, and returned to the combat, which was now maintained with equal resolution. The battle lasted for about two hours, when the British retreated "at the point of the bayonet," to Brownstown, from whence they hastily embarked in boats, prepared for their reception. The loss of the latter was fifteen killed, and about forty wounded. Of the Indians, nearly a hundred were left on the field. The Americans lost fifteen killed, and about sixty wounded.

The conduct of both regulars and militia, on this occasion, cannot be too much or too frequently admired. Engaged with a party of British soldiers, commanded by an able officer; and at the same time attacked by more than five hundred savages, "painted in the most hideous manner, and yelling like demons," the stoutest hearts might have quailed.

Colonel Miller kept possession of Brownstown until the following day, when he received orders from General Hull to return immediately to Detroit.

Previous to this, intelligence had been received by express from General Hall, commandant of the American forces on the Niagara frontier, that no aid, or assistance whatever, from that quarter, could be afforded.

Driven then to a reliance upon his own resources, General Hull made a further attempt to open the communication with Ohio, by pursuing a route across the country higher up than before; and Colonels McArthur and Cass, on the 14th of August, with three hundred and fifty men, were dispatched on the service.

On the same day General Brock, with a reinforcement of British troops, arrived at Malden. Sir George Prevost, Governor-general of Canada, had previously sent Colonel Baynes, his adjutant-general, with a letter directed to General Dearborn, at Albany, desiring a suspension of hostilities, pretending (inasmuch as the Orders in Council had been revoked) that the war must necessarily cease. Major General Sheafe, at the same time, marched with a considerable force from Montreal to Kingston, and from thence embarked for the head of Lake Ontario—there landed, and collecting the militia and savages on his route, marched to the relief of Malden. General Brock, apprised of Sir George Prevost's intentions, and calculating on his success, left his post also on the Niagara, and resorted thither. An armistice was signed on the 8th of August, 1812,* between General Dearborn and Adjutant General Baynes, for suspending hostilities on the Canadian frontier, excluding, however, from its operation, the forces commanded by General Hull, and making no stipulations, requiring the British troops on the Niagara to remain in the positions they occupied. It is then apparent, that before the armistice was signed, all the British forces in Canada were put in motion, with a view to be concentrated at the only point where the invasion of the upper province had actually been made.

Sir George Prevost, in a letter addressed to General Brock, a few days afterward, (August 30th,) says: "I consider it fortunate that I have been able to prosecute this object of the Government (the armistice) without interfering with your operations at Detroit. I have sent you men, money, and stores of all kinds."

Whatever, therefore, might have been the result of a battle in defence of Detroit, or of a siege, it is pretty certain that the latter must, eventually, have fallen.

We have already remarked, that intelligence had been received at Detroit, from General Hall, that no succor from that quarter need be expected. Letters had also been received from General Hall, and also from General Porter, stating that the British had moved from their stations on the Niagara, and from the eastern part of the province, and were crossing Lake Erie and Ontario, for Malden. Having received no intelligence of the suspension of hostilities, and no letters whatever from General Dearborn, or the secretary of war, this information excited his surprise; and the arrival of General Brock with reinforcements at Malden, served to increase the mystery.

The fall of Mackinaw had thrown the door wide open for British emissaries, to go forth among the northwestern tribes; and the probable fate of Chicago (from whence, however, no intelligence had been received,) conspired to place the army of General Hull in a perilous situation.

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* This document is not to be found on the files of the war department. It is, however, well ascertained to have been dated on the eighth, as stated in the text.

General Brock, we have already observed, reached Fort Malden on the 14th of August. On the next day he proceeded to Sandwich, opposite Detroit, and immediately addressed to General Hull the following note:

SIR:

The power, at my disposal, authorizes me to require of you the immediate surrender of Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination; but you must be aware, that the numerous body of Indians, who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honor. Lieutenant Colonel McDonnell, and Major Gregg, are fully authorized to conclude any arrangements that may prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood.

I have the honor to be
Your obedient servant,
ISAAC BROCK, Major General, etc.

His excellency, Brigadier General HULL, etc.

To this, General Hull returned the following answer:

HEAD QUARTERS, DETROIT, AUGUST 15th 1812.

SIR:

I have no other reply to make, than to inform you that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences, which may result from any exertion of it you may think proper to make.

I am, etc.
WILLIAM HULL, Brigadier General.

His excellency, Major General BROCK, etc.

The British immediately opened their batteries. The fire was returned with but little effect on either side. Next morning the British were seen landing their troops at Spring Wells, a little below the town, under cover of their ships. They had no sooner landed, than they advanced in close column toward the fort, twelve deep. The fort being separated from the town by an open space of two hundred yards, they were enabled to proceed thus far, before its guns could be brought to bear upon them.

The American force was judiciously disposed of to prevent their advance. The militia and volunteers occupied the town, and were posted behind pickets, from whence they could annoy the enemy exceedingly. The 4th United States regiment was in the fort, and two twenty-four pounders, charged with grape-shot, were advantageously posted on an eminence, and could sweep the enemy's line as he advanced. All was now silent expectation. The daring foe moved forward, apparently regardless of danger. The hearts of the Americans beat high "in anticipation of victory; no sound of discontent was heard; no appearance of cowardice or disaffection seen; every individual was at his post, and expected a proud day for his country and himself."* At this very moment, when it was thought that the British were deliberately advancing to their own destruction—when the artillery were already pointed, and lighted matches were standing at their side, an order was issued by the commanding general not to fire; the troops were ordered also to withdraw into the fort, and stack their arms; and to the astonishment of every one, a white flag, in token of submission, was suspended from its walls. "This order was received by the men with a universal burst of indignation. Even the women," says Colonel Cass, "were ashamed of an act so disgraceful to the arms of their country; and all felt as was proper and decorous, except the man, in whose hands were the reins of authority."

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* Colonel Cass's Letter, September 10th.

A surrender of the whole garrison, together with the Territory of Michigan, at discretion, followed. The detachment under Colonels McArthur and Cass, and the party commanded by Captain Brush, were included in the capitulation. An order had been issued the day before, requiring the return of McArthur and Cass's detachment; and they had approached already so near as to discover the movements of the enemy, expecting the next moment would announce the conflict, and that they should participate in its glory or disgrace. They were much surprised, however, at the silence which reigned; and when they heard that the garrison had surrendered, that surprise was mingled with rage, anguish, and almost with despair.

"Such," says General Armstrong, in his notices of the late war, "was the termination of the first American expedition, the details of which have in them so little to flatter, and so much to mortify, the pride of the American arms. Nor must it be forgotten that this catastrophe, however disgraceful in itself, or disastrous in its consequences, was not the result of those occurrences which, in the affairs of nations and individuals, are denominated accidents, which sometimes triumph alike over the precautions of wisdom and the efforts of valor. We have seen that the army, in its march from the place of its rendezvous to that of its destination, was neither melted by heat, nor frozen by cold; neither persecuted by storms, nor crippled by enemies; neither wasted by disease, nor exhausted by famine; but that, on the 5th of July, it arrived at Detroit in unimpaired health and spirits. From its friends it received a cordial welcome; obtained supplies, and a considerable addition to its force; and in its subsequent descent upon Canada, was scarcely less fortunate, as it found the British colonists indifferent, if not repugnant, to the war; the Indian tribes, though secretly hostile, cautious and calculating; and the fortress at Malden, which alone sustained the enemy's interest in that section of the country, wholly indefensible. When, at last, important changes had been wrought in this state of things by the fall of Mackinaw—the defeat of Van Horne—the obstruction of our communication with Ohio—the altered tone and temper of the British and savage population, and the doubts and misgivings which could not but prevail in our ranks; when, in a word, fortune appeared to have decidedly taken part with the enemy against us, it was but to lead him into indiscretions, which, had they been seen and punished, would have promptly reinstated our ascendency, and accomplished the principal objects of the campaign. Like other advantages, these were permitted to escape, probably without notice, and certainly without improvement, leaving us the necessary reflection, that our disasters were of our own making; and the necessary consequence of ignorance, which knew not what to do; of a self-sufficiency, refusing to be instructed; and of a cowardice that, in its terrors, lost all sense of national interest, personal dignity, and professional duty." (See note 3.)

The learned historian (afterward secretary of war himself,) might have added, that the general of the northwestern army was driven "like a lamb to the slaughter;" neglected by those who should have contributed to his aid, abandoned by his friends, traduced by his enemies, and at last sacrificed on the altar of unchastened ambition.

Of the merits or demerits of General Hull, it is not our intention here to speak. The period has not yet arrived, when the truth can be told with impunity. "Other times, and other men, must do justice to his character."

That he was afterward arrested, tried for treason, unofficer-like conduct, and cowardice—acquitted of the first, convicted of the last, sentenced to be shot, and recommended to mercy on account of his revolutionary services and advanced age—and the sentence afterward remitted by the president, our readers need not be told.

The force he commanded, and the means of resistance within his power at the time of his surrender; and the force of his adversary, and his means of annoyance, are all differently stated. By estimating his force on the 16th of August, including McArthur and Cass's detachment, at one thousand effective men; and that of his victor, at about the same number, including militia and Indians, we should render, probably, each substantial justice. That General Hull, with ordinary skill and enterprise, might at one time have succeeded in his attack upon Canada, we can readily believe; that he might have succeeded in the defence of Detroit at the time he surrendered, may also, without credulity, be supposed; and had he been sustained by a naval force on Lake Erie, or by an army on the Niagara frontier—or in other words, had he not been deserted by the Government, its officers, and his country, "the standard of the Union might have waved in triumph over the territory of Canada;" and had his force been, in fact, the "vanguard of a much greater," as he had a right to expect, he might, in the language of his proclamation, have "broken down all opposition."

Napoleon used to say, that "there was but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous." History informs us, that in the lives of princes there is but one step from the palace to the tomb; and every day's observation lessens the difference between the victor and the vanquished. (See note 4.)

The sensation produced by the fall of Detroit—with the surrender by Hull of the Territory of Michigan, and the whole of the northwestern army—throughout the United States, and especially throughout the west, can hardly be conceived. At first it was scarcely believed, the event being improbable, and therefore unexpected. Notwithstanding some doubts had been entertained in relation to General Hull's ability to subdue the country he had invaded, there were none as to his ability to defend himself. Never were a people more deeply, more universally chagrined. Its effect, too, politically, was tremendous. A large portion of the community was opposed to the war; and the failure of the first military expedition was supposed, and pretended by many, to be ominous of its results. Some imputed it to treachery in its commander; some to his want of skill and enterprise; some to the effects of cowardice; some to the improvidence of General Dearborn; and some arraigned *even the administration itself*. A victim, therefore, became necessary; a victim was found—and, like the scape-goat of old, General Hull bore into the wilderness, the crimes and the follies of all, who had thus participated in their country's disgrace and our public disasters.

The American people, however, soon recovered from their chagrin. The public spirit was immediately aroused to action, and efforts, scarcely surpassed in the most enthusiastic periods of the Revolution, shortly thereafter followed as of course.

NOTE I.

"The whole population of Michigan," says Governor Hull, "of which Detroit was the capital, was between four and five thousand souls; their settlements were on the Miami of Lake Erie, the river Raisin, Eros Rouge, the Detroit river, Lake St. Clair, and the Isle of Mackinaw. The greater part were Canadians. They were miserable farmers, paid little attention to agriculture, and depended principally on hunting, fishing, and trading with the Indians for support. The produce of the territory, in the substantial articles of living, was by no means sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants. They were supplied with pork, beef, flour, and corn, principally from the States of Ohio, New-York, and Pennsylvania."

NOTE II.

Governor Hull's proclamation has been a subject of much comment, both in this country and in Europe. Our commissioners at Ghent, in 1814, it is said, declared to the British plenipotentiaries, that "it was unauthorized, and disapproved of by the American government." The records, however, of the war department, show the fact to be otherwise. On the first of August, 1812, the secretary, in reply to General Hull, says: "Your letters of the 13th and 14th, together with your proclamation, have been received. Your operations are approved of by the president." The proclamation, in fact, was well written—appropriate to the occasion, and contained nothing of which an American ought to have been ashamed. Had success attended the expedition, it would have been considered as a model for such proclamations. In that event, as many, we have no doubt, would have aspired to its authorship, as afterward did to the honor of killing Brock or Tecumseh.

By William Hull, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, and commanding the Northwest Army.

A PROCLAMATION.

Inhabitants of Canada: After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities, of Great Britain, have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my command has invaded your country; the standard of the Union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitants, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. I come to protect, not to injure you.

Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive wilderness, from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct. You have *felt her tyranny*, you have *seen her injustice*. But I do not ask you to avenge the one, or redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford every security consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender to you the invaluable blessings of civil, political, and religious liberty—and their necessary results, individual and general prosperity; that liberty which gave decision to our councils and energy to our conduct, in a struggle for independence, which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the Revolution; that liberty, which raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world; and which afforded a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people.

In the name of my country, and the authority of its Government, I promise you protection to your persons, property, and rights. Remain at your homes, pursue your peaceful and customary avocations—raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freemen. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance; but I do not; I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will break down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interest, and the just expectations of my country, you should take a part in the approaching contest, you will be considered as enemies, and all the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages be let loose to murder our citizens and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping-knife, will be the signal of one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian, will be taken prisoner. Instant death will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice, and humanity, cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness; I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace, liberty, and security. Your choice lies between these, and war, slavery, or destruction. Choose, then—choose wisely, and may He, who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of nations, guide you to the result the most compatible with your rights and interest, your peace and happiness.

William Hull.

NOTE III.

The remarks of Mr. Secretary Armstrong, that Governor Hull had nothing to do, "but to lead his enemy into indiscretions," and then "punish" him, especially when that enemy was Sir Isaac Brock, reminds us of the story of the rats belling the cat; and is only equalled by the Chinese "making up faces, and all sorts of grimaces," in their recent attempts at resisting the veteran legions of England.

NOTE IV.

The author is aware, that the account here given of General Hull's expedition, varies in some particulars from other published accounts. Breckenridge, in his History of the late War, nowhere mentions the armistice entered into by General Dearborn, on the 8th of August, at Albany. General Brock, it seems, arrived at Malden on the 14th of the same month, with reinforcements. General Brock could not have known it when he left Niagara, and must, therefore, have anticipated the "suspension of hostilities." That the armistice had an important bearing upon the result of the campaign, no one can deny.

CHAPTER XVI.

Chicago—Origin of its name—A fort erected here in 1804—Its advantages—Pottawatomies in its neighborhood—Tecumseh, in 1809, meditates its destruction—Massacre of White and others at Lee's Place, April 7, 1812—Winnemeg, a Pottawatomy Indian, arrives in Chicago, with dispatches from General Hull, August 7th, 1812—Advises Captain Heald to remain in the garrison, or abandon it immediately—Advice disregarded—Order to evacuate read on the parade—Lieutenant Helm and Ensign Ronan remonstrate against it—Dissatisfaction in Camp—Savages more and more insolent—A council held August 12th, 1812—Captain Heald attends it alone—Captain Heald resolves to destroy the arms and ammunition not in use, also the liquor and stores—August 13th, the goods distributed among the Indians—Arms, ammunition, and liquor destroyed—August 14th, Captain Wells, Mrs. Heald's brother, arrives in camp—Another council held with the Indians—The latter indignant at the destruction of the arms, etc.—Black Hawk's assertion—A portion of the Chiefs still friendly—Black Partridge—August 15th, 1812, garrison marches out of the Fort—Attacked by the Indians on their march—After a severe action, in which two-thirds of the whole number are slain, the residue capitulate—Ensign Ronan and Dr. Voorhes killed—Prisoners and children massacred after the battle—Billy Caldwell—A party of savages from the Wabash arrive—Mrs. Heald—Mrs. Helm—Lieutenant Helm and other prisoners—Their subsequent fate.

OUR misfortunes did not cease with the surrender of Detroit. Other garrisons more remote, and worse provided for, in like manner were abandoned or surrendered, some with, and others without resistance.

When Detroit was thus invested by a British force, and at the very time its surrender was demanded by General Brock, a tragedy was acting at Chicago in Illinois, which cast all others in the shade. (See note 1.)

By the treaty of Greenville, in August, 1795, negotiated by General Wayne, as well with the Pottawatomies as the Miamies, a tract of land six miles square, at the mouth of "the Chikago river," was ceded to the United States. From certain expressions used in the treaty, it would seem that a settlement had been made, and probably a fort, or blockhouse, had been erected by the French, on the lands thus ceded, some time before. Be that, however, as it may, the subject is no longer material. No vestige of such a settlement for many years has been visible. In 1804, a small fort was erected here by the United States. It consisted of two blockhouses, and a subterranean passage, from the parade to the river, the whole of which was surrounded by a picket, and furnished with three pieces of light artillery. A company of United States troops, about fifty in number, many of whom were invalids, constituted its garrison. Its position was well calculated for offence or defence; and its situation well adapted to effect the object for which it was intended, that is, "to supply the Indian's wants, and control the Indian's policy."

The Pottawatomies at that time inhabited, or rather overran, the country in its vicinity. They were a numerous and warlike tribe; had fought the armies of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne; and in the (then) recent battle of Tippecanoe, a number of their chiefs had fallen. Though hostile to the whites in general, they were partial to individuals among them, who by continued kindness had won, and afterward retained, their friendship.

In addition to its garrison, a few families had removed thither, both French and Canadian. This little community, disconnected as it was from the whole civilized world, except through Indian trails to Detroit, Fort Wayne, and St. Louis, and across the waters of Lake Michigan, on which the proud flag of England triumphantly waved previous to the war of 1812, furnished scarcely an incident worthy of record.

In 1809, it was selected by Tecumseh as the theatre, and marked out by him for savage massacre. The plans, however, of that celebrated warrior being then immature, its doom was postponed; and the battle of Tippecanoe having been fought in his absence, Tecumseh repaired to Malden, where the Pottawatomies, for several years, had received presents from their allies, and being there aided by the English, resumed again his schemes of vengeance.

On the 7th of April, 1812, a number of persons, and among them a Mr. White, were massacred at a place called Hardscrabble, (then Lee's place,) about four miles from Chicago, by a marauding party of Winnebagoes. No connection, however, existing between the Winnebagoes concerned, and the other tribes in their vicinity, and no concert being apparent, between those who committed the murder and the residue of the tribe, the transaction, though barbarous in its nature, was permitted to slumber, without exciting that interest which such occurrences usually inspire.

When war was declared in 1812, the little garrison at Chicago, consisting, as already stated, of a single company, was commanded by Captain Heald; Lieutenant Helm and Ensign Ronan, were officers under him, and Dr. Van Voorhes, its surgeon.

The nation which declares war, selecting, of course, its own time for doing it, is wholly inexcusable, when no warlike preparations accompany the act. The last moments of peace with considerate men, will always be employed in obtaining correct knowledge of the force they may have to encounter. Another duty is equally imperative; that of speedily withdrawing, or promptly reinforcing, all remote and isolated posts. If there be anything in their position, which renders their retention important, either to the progress or result of the war, the latter course will always be pursued; but if, on the contrary, they have no material bearing on either, such garrisons ought speedily to be recalled, and the posts abandoned, while it is yet in their power. The administration knew, or ought to have known, that so long as the English commanded Lake Michigan, and the northwestern Indians were allies of the latter, the little fort at Chicago would not be sustained. The policy and humanity, therefore, of reinforcing or withdrawing its garrison, was too plain to require an argument.

General Hull, as commander-in-chief of the northwestern army, had charge of the forts at Mackinaw and Chicago, and was, of course, intrusted with their defence; both of which were forgotten alike by the Government and commanding general, until it was too late. General Hull, we have already observed, reached Detroit on the 5th of July, 1812. Mackinaw, two hundred and forty miles distant by land, was captured on the 17th, twelve days thereafter; and the first intimation that war existed between the United States and England, was communicated to Lieutenant Hanks, its commanding officer, in a note, signed by Captain Roberts of the British army, requiring his surrender.

On the 7th of August, (1812,) in the afternoon, Winnemeg, or Catfish, a friendly Indian of the Pottawatomie tribe, arrived at Chicago, and brought dispatches from General Hull, containing the first, and at that time, the only intelligence, of the declaration of war. General Hull's letter announced the capture of Mackinaw, and directed Captain Heald "to evacuate the fort at Chicago if practicable, and in that event, to distribute all of the United States property contained in the fort, and the United States factory, or agency, among the Indians in the neighborhood, and repair to Fort Wayne." Winnemeg having delivered his dispatches to Captain Heald, and stated that he was acquainted with the purport of the communication he had brought, urged upon Captain Heald the policy of remaining in the fort, being supplied, as they were, with ammunition and provisions for a considerable time. In case, however, Captain Heald thought proper to evacuate the place, he urged upon him the propriety of doing so immediately, before the Pottawatomies (through whose country they must pass, and who were as yet ignorant of the object of his mission,) could collect a force sufficient to oppose them. This advice, though given in great earnestness, was not sufficiently regarded by Captain Heald; who observed, that he should evacuate the fort, but having received orders to distribute the public property among the Indians, he did not feel justified in leaving it, until he had collected the Pottawatomies in its vicinity, and made an equitable distribution among them. Winnemeg then suggested the expediency of marching out, and leaving everything standing; "while the Indians," said he, "are dividing the spoils, the troops will be able to retreat without molestation." This advice was also unheeded, and an order for evacuating the fort was read next morning on parade. Captain Heald, in issuing it, had neglected to consult his junior officers, as it would have been natural for him to do in such an emergency, and as he probably would have done, had there not been some coolness between him and Ensign Ronan.

The lieutenant and ensign, after the promulgation of this order, waited on Captain Heald to learn his intentions; and being apprised, for the first time, of the course he intended to pursue, they remonstrated against it. "We do not," said they to Captain Heald, "believe that our troops can pass in safety through the country of the Pottawatomies, to Fort Wayne. Although a part of their chiefs were opposed to an attack upon us last autumn, they were actuated by motives of private friendship for some particular individuals, and not from a regard to the Americans in general; and it can hardly be supposed that, in the present excited state of feeling among the Indians, those chiefs will be able to influence the whole tribe, now thirsting for vengeance. Besides," said they, "our march must be slow, on account of the women and children. Our force, too, is small. Some of our soldiers are superannuated, and some of them are invalids. We think, therefore, as your orders are discretionary, that we had better fortify ourselves as strongly as possible, and remain where we are. Succor may reach us before we shall be attacked from Mackinaw; and, in case of such an event, we had better fall into the hands of the English, than become victims of the savages." Captain Heald replied, that his force was inadequate to contend with the Indians, and that he should be censured were he to continue in garrison, when the prospect of a safe retreat to Fort Wayne was so apparent. He therefore deemed it advisable to assemble the Indians, and distribute the public property among them, and ask of them an escort thither, with the promise of a considerable sum of money to be paid on their safe arrival; adding, that he had perfect confidence in the friendly professions of the Indians, from whom, as well as from the soldiers, the capture of Mackinaw had studiously been concealed.

From this time forward, the junior officers stood aloof from their commander, and, considering his project as little short of madness, conversed as little upon the subject as possible. Dissatisfaction, however, soon filled the camp; the soldiers began to murmur, and insubordination assumed a threatening aspect.

The savages, in the meantime, became more and more troublesome;* entered the fort occasionally, in defiance of the sentinels, and even made their way without ceremony into the quarters of its commanding officer. On one occasion an Indian, taking up a rifle, fired it in the parlor of Captain Heald. Some were of opinion that this was intended as the signal for an attack. The old chiefs at this time passed back and forth among the assembled groups, apparently agitated; and the squaws seemed much excited, as though some terrible calamity was impending. No further manifestations, however, of ill feeling were exhibited, and the day passed without bloodshed. So infatuated, at this time, was Captain Heald, that he supposed he had wrought a favorable impression upon the savages, and that the little garrison could now march forth in safety.

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* An Indian runner had previously arrived in the Pottawatomy camp with a message from Tecumseh, informing them of the capture of Mackinaw, the defeat of Van Horne, and the retreat of General Hull from Canada. He desired them to arm immediately; and intimated, that he had no doubt but General Hull would, in a short time, be compelled to surrender.

From the 8th to the 12th of August, the hostility of the Indians was more and more apparent; and the feelings of the garrison, and of those connected with, and dependent upon it for their safety, more and more intense. Distrust everywhere at length prevailed, and the want of unanimity among the officers, was appalling. Every inmate retired to rest, expecting to be aroused by the war-whoop; and each returning day was regarded by all as another step on the road to massacre.

The Indians from the adjacent villages having at length arrived, a council was held on the 12th of August. It was attended, however, only by Captain Heald on the part of the military; the other officers refused to attend, having previously learned that a massacre was intended. This fact was communicated to Captain Heald; he insisted, however, on their going, and they resolutely persisted in their refusal. When Captain Heald left the fort, they repaired to the blockhouse, which overlooked the ground where the council was in session, and opening the port-holes, pointed their cannon in its direction. This circumstance, and their absence, it is supposed, saved the whites from massacre.

Captain Heald informed the Indians in council, that he would, next day, distribute among them all the goods in the United States factory, together with the ammunition and provisions with which the garrison was supplied; and desired of them an escort to Fort Wayne, promising them a reward on their arrival thither, in addition to the presents they were about to receive. The savages assented, with professions of friendship, to all he proposed, and promised all he required.

The council was no sooner dismissed, than several, observing the tone of feeling which prevailed, and anticipating from it no good to the garrison, waited on Captain Heald, in order to open his eyes, if possible, to their condition.

The impolicy of furnishing the Indians with arms and ammunition, to be used against themselves, struck Captain Heald with so much force, that he resolved, without consulting his officers, to destroy all not required for immediate use.

On the next day, (August 13th,) the goods in the factory store were distributed among the Indians; and in the evening the ammunition, and also the liquor belonging to the garrison, were carried, the former into the sally-port and thrown into the well, and the latter through the south gate, as silently as possible, to the river bank, where the heads of the barrels were knocked in, and their contents discharged into the stream.

The Indians, however, suspecting the game, approached as near as possible, and witnessed the whole scene. The spare muskets were broken up, and thrown into the well, together with bags of shot, flints, and gun-screws, and other things; all, however, of but little value.

On the 14th, the despondency of the garrison was for a while dispelled by the arrival of Captain Wells, and fifteen friendly Miamies. Having heard at Fort Wayne of the order to evacuate Chicago, and knowing the hostile intentions of the Pottawatomies, he hastened thither, in order to save, if possible, the little garrison from its doom. He was the brother of Mrs. Heald, and having been reared from childhood among the savages, knew their character; and something whispered him "that all was not well." He was the son of General Wells of Kentucky, who was distinguished alike for his courage and patriotism. Captain Wells, when a child, was taken prisoner by the Indians, and adopted into the family of Little Turtle, the most celebrated forest warrior between the days of Pontiac and Tecumseh. In the defeat of General Harmar, Captain Wells had borne a distinguished part; and in the defeat of St. Clair, he commanded three hundred savage warriors posted in front of the artillery, who caused extraordinary carnage among those who served it; and, uninjured himself, picked off the artillerists, until "their bodies were heaped up almost to the height of their pieces."

Supposing that the whites, roused by their reverses, would eventually prevail, he resolved to abandon the savages and rejoin his countrymen. The manner in which he announced his intentions, accorded with the simple and sententious habits of the forest warrior. While travelling the woods one morning in company with his adopted father, the "Little Turtle," he pointed to the heavens, and said: "When the sun reaches the meridian, I leave you for the whites, and when you meet me in battle, you must kill me, as I shall endeavor to kill you." The bonds, however, of affection, which had bound these singular and gifted men together were not severed or weakened by this abrupt dereliction. Captain Wells immediately joined the army of General Wayne, and by his intimacy with the wilderness, his knowledge of the Indian haunts, habits, and modes of warfare, became a powerful auxiliary. He served faithfully—fought bravely through the campaign, and at its close, when peace had restored the Indians again to amity, he rejoined his foster father, the "Little Turtle," and their friendship continued unbroken.*

This intrepid warrior of the woods, hearing that his friends at Chicago were in danger, and chagrined at the obstinacy of Captain Heald, who was thus hazarding their safety, came thither to save his friends, or participate in their fate. He arrived, however, too late to effect the former, but just in time to effect the latter. Having, on his arrival, learned that the ammunition had been destroyed, and the provisions distributed among the Indians, he saw there was no alternative. Preparations were therefore made for marching on the morrow.

In the afternoon, a second council was held with the Indians, at which they expressed their resentment at the destruction of the ammunition and liquor, in the severest terms.* Notwithstanding the precautions which had been observed, the knocking in of the heads of the whiskey barrels had been heard by the Indians, and the river next morning tasted, as some of them expressed it, "like strong grog." Murmurs and threats were everywhere heard; and nothing, apparently, was wanting but an opportunity for some public manifestation of their resentment.

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* Colonel Whiting's Historical Discourses, delivered at Detroit in 1832.

Among the chiefs, there were several who participated in the general hostility of their tribe, and retained, at the same time, a regard for the few white inhabitants of the place. It was impossible, however, even for them to allay the angry feelings of the savage warriors, when provocation after provocation had thus been given; and their exertions, therefore, were futile.

Among this class was Black Partridge, a chief of some renown. Soon after the council had adjourned, this magnanimous warrior repaired to the quarters of Captain Heald, and taking off a medal he had long worn, said: "Father, I have come to deliver up to you the medal I wear. It was given me by your countrymen, and I have long worn it, as a token of our friendship. Our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I cannot restrain them, and will not wear a token of peace when compelled to act as an enemy."

Had doubts previously existed, they were now at an end. The devoted garrison continued, however, their preparations as before; and amid the surrounding gloom, a few gallant spirits still cheered their companions with hopes of security.

The ammunition reserved, twenty-five rounds to each soldier, was now distributed. The baggage-wagons designed for the sick, the women and the children, containing also a box of cartridges, were now made ready, and the whole party, anticipating a fatiguing, if not a disastrous march, on the morrow, retired to enjoy a few moments of precarious repose.

The morning of the 15th dawned as usual. The sun rose with uncommon splendor, and Lake Michigan "was a sheet of burnished gold."

Early in the day a message was received in the American camp, from To-pee-na-bee, a chief of the St. Josephs band, informing them that mischief was brewing among the Pottawatomies, who had promised them protection.

About nine o'clock, the troops left the fort with martial music, and in military array. Captain Wells, at the head of the Miamies, led the van, his face blackened after the manner of the Indians. The garrison, with loaded arms, followed, and the wagons with the baggage, the women and children, the sick, and the lame, closed the rear. The Pottawatomies, about five hundred in number, who had promised to escort them in safety to Fort Wayne, leaving a little space, afterward followed. The party in advance took the beach road. They had no sooner arrived at the sand-hills, which separate the prairie from the beach, about a mile and a half from the fort, when the Pottawatomies, instead of continuing in rear of the Americans, left the beach and took to the prairie. The sand-hills of course intervened, and presented a barrier between the Pottawatomies, and the American and Miami line of march. This divergence had scarcely been effected, when Captain Wells, who, with the Miamies, was considerably in advance, rode back, and exclaimed: "They are about to attack us; form instantly and charge upon them." The word had scarcely been uttered, before a volley of musketry from behind the sand-hills was poured in upon them. The troops were brought immediately into a line, and charged up the bank. One man, a veteran of seventy, fell as they ascended. The battle at once became general. The Miamies fled in the outset; their chief rode up to the Pottawatomies, charged them with duplicity, and brandishing his tomahawk, said, "he would be the first to head a party of Americans, and return to punish them for their treachery." He then turned his horse and galloped off in pursuit of his companions, who were then scouring across the prairie, and nothing was seen or heard of them more.

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* Black Hawk always insisted, that the massacre was caused by the violation of good faith on the part of the Americans.

The American troops behaved gallantly. Though few in number, they sold their lives as dearly as possible. They felt, however, as if their time had come, and sought to forget all that was dear on earth.

While the battle was raging, the surgeon, Doctor Voorhes, who was badly wounded, and whose horse had been shot from under him, approaching Mrs. Helm, the wife of Lieutenant Helm, (who was in the action, participating in all its vicissitudes,) observed: "Do you think," said he, "they will take our lives? I am badly wounded, but I think not mortally. Perhaps we can purchase safety by offering a large reward. Do you think," continued he, "there is any chance?" "Doctor Voorhes," replied, Mrs. Helm, "let us not waste the few moments which yet remain, in idle or ill-founded hopes. Our fate is inevitable. We must soon appear at the bar of God. Let us make such preparations as are yet in our power." "Oh!" said he, "I cannot die. I am unfit to die! If I had a short time to prepare!—Death!—oh, how awful!"

At this moment, Ensign Ronan was fighting at a little distance, with a tall and portly Indian; the former, mortally wounded, was nearly down, and struggling desperately upon one knee. Mrs. Helm pointing her finger, and directing the attention of Doctor Voorhes thither, observed: "Look," said she, "at that young man, he dies like a soldier."

"Yes," said Doctor Voorhes, "but he has no terrors of the future; he is an unbeliever."

A young savage immediately raised his tomahawk to strike Mrs. Helm. She sprang instantly aside, and the blow intended for her head fell upon her shoulder. She thereupon seized him around his neck, and while exerting all her efforts to get possession of his scalping-knife, was seized by another Indian, and dragged forcibly from his grasp.

The latter bore her, struggling and resisting, toward the lake. Notwithstanding, however, the rapidity with which she was hurried along, she recognized, as she passed, the remains of the unfortunate surgeon, stretched lifeless on the prairie.

She was plunged immediately into the water, and held there, notwithstanding her resistance, with a forcible hand. She shortly, however, perceived that the intention of her captor was not to drown her, as he held her in a position to keep her head above the water. Thus reassured, she looked at him attentively, and, in spite of his disguise, recognized the "white man's friend." It was Black Partridge.

When the firing had ceased, her preserver bore her from the water and conducted her up the sand-bank. It was a beautiful day in August. The heat, however, of the sun was oppressive; and walking through the sand, exposed to its burning rays, in her drenched condition; weary, and exhausted by efforts beyond her strength; anxious, beyond measure, to learn the fate of her friends, and alarmed for her own, her situation was one of agony.

The troops having fought with desperation till two-thirds of their number were slain, the remainder, twenty-seven in all, borne down by an overwhelming force, and exhausted by efforts hitherto unequalled, at length surrendered. They stipulated, however, for their own safety and for the safety of their remaining women and children. The wounded prisoners, however, in the hurry of the moment were unfortunately omitted, or rather not particularly mentioned, and were therefore regarded by the Indians as having been excluded.

One of the soldiers' wives, having frequently been told that prisoners taken by the Indians were subjected to tortures worse than death, had from the first expressed a resolution never to be taken; and when a party of savages approached to make her their prisoner, she fought with desperation, and though assured of kind treatment and protection, refused to surrender, and was literally cut in pieces, and her mangled remains left on the field.

After the surrender, one of the baggage-wagons, containing twelve children, was assailed by a single savage, and the whole number were massacred. All, without distinction of age or sex, fell at once beneath his murderous tomahawk.

Captain Wells, who had as yet escaped unharmed, saw from a distance the whole of this murderous scene, and being apprised of the stipulation, and on seeing it thus violated, exclaimed aloud so as to be heard by the Pottawatomies around him, whose prisoner he then was: "If this be your game, I will kill too!" and turning his horse's head, instantly started for the Pottawatomy camp,* where the squaws and Indian children had been left ere the battle began.

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* The Indian camp was on a little run of water, which entered the Chicago river, near Bristol and Porter's warehouse. It crossed Lake-street, near the market, and occupied what is now State-street. The above scenes it will be observed occurred, and the battle above mentioned was fought, within the limits of the present city of Chicago.

He had no sooner sarted, than several Indians followed in his rear and discharged their rifles at him, as he galloped across the prairie. He laid himself flat on the neck of his horse, and was apparently out of their reach, when the ball of one of his pursuers took effect, killing his horse and wounding him severely. He was again a prisoner—as the savages came up, Winnemeg and Wa-ban-see, two of their number, and both his friends, used all their endeavors in order to save him; they had disengaged him already from his horse, and were supporting him along, when Pee-so-tum, a Pottawatomy Indian, drawing his scalping-knife, stabbed him in the back, and thus inflicted a mortal wound. After struggling for a moment, he fell, and breathed his last in the arms of his friends, a victim for those he had sought to save—a sacrifice to his own rash, presumptuous, and perhaps indiscreet intentions. (See note 2.)

The battle having ended, and the prisoners being secured, the latter were conducted to the Pottawatomy camp near the fort. Here the wife of Wau-bee-nee-mah, an Illinois chief, perceiving the exhausted condition of Mrs. Helm, took a kettle, and dipping up some water from the stream, which flowed sluggishly by them, threw into it some maple-sugar, and stirring it up with her hand, gave her to drink. "It was," says Mrs. Helm, "the most delicious draught I had ever taken, and her kindness of manner, amid so much atrocity, touched my heart." Her attention, however, was soon directed to other objects. The fort, after the troops had marched out, became a scene of plunder. The cattle were shot down as they ran at large, and lay dead, or were dying around her. It called up afresh a remark of Ensign Ronan's, made before: "Such," said he, "is to be our fate—to be shot down like brutes."

The wounded prisoners, we have already remarked, were not included in the stipulation made on the battle-field, as the *Indians understood it.* On reaching, therefore, the Pottawatomy camp, a scene followed which beggars description.

A wounded soldier, lying on the ground, was violently assaulted by an old squaw, infuriated by the loss of friends, or excited by the murderous scenes around her—who, seizing a pitchfork, attacked with demoniac ferocity, and deliberately murdered in cold blood the wretched victim, now helpless and exposed to the burning rays of the sun, his wounds already aggravated by its heat, and he writhing in torture. During the succeeding night five other wounded prisoners were tomahawked.

Those unwounded, remained in the wigwams of their captors. The work of plunder being now completed, the fort next day was set on fire. A fair and equal distribution of all the finery belonging to the garrison had apparently been made, and shawls, and ribbons, and feathers, were scattered about the camp in great profusion.

The family of the principal Indian trader having been moved across the river. Black Partridge, and Wa-ban-see, with three other friendly Indians, stood sentinels at his door. Everything was now tranquil. Even savage ferocity appeared to be gorged. Soon, however, a party of Indians from the Wabash arrived, the most implacable of all the Pottawatomies.

Runners had been sent to all their villages, and information transmitted thither, that the fort was to be evacuated, that its spoils were to be divided among the savages, and its garrison to be massacred; they had therefore hurried on with their utmost speed, to participate in the exhilarating and awful scene. On arriving at the Aux Plains, they were met by a party returning from Chicago, bearing a wounded chief along. Informed by these friends, that a battle had been fought and a victory won; that its spoils had been divided among the conquerors; and the prisoners scalped and slain, (and they not present,) their rage was unbounded. They therefore accelerated their march; and on reaching Chicago, blackened their faces in token of their intentions, and entered the parlor of the Indian trader before referred too, where the family were assembled with their faithful protectors around, and seated themselves, without ceremony, in silence upon the floor.

Black Partridge, perceiving in their looks what was passing in their minds, and not daring to remonstrate, observed in an under tone to Waban-see, "We have endeavored to save our friends, but all is in vain—nothing will save them now." At this moment, another party of Indians arrived, and a friendly whoop was heard from the opposite shore. Black Partridge sprung upon his feet, and advancing to the river's bank, met their chief as he landed.

"Who," said Black Partridge, "are you?" "A man," replied the chief; "who are you?" "A man, like yourself." "But tell me," said Black Partridge, "who are you for?" "I am," said he, "the Sau-ga-nash."* "Then make all speed to the house," replied the former; "your friends are in danger, and you only can save them."

Billy Caldwell, the newly arrived chief, (for it was he,) thereupon hurried immediately thither, entered the parlor with a calm deliberate step, and without the least agitation in his manner, took off his accoutrements, and placing his rifle behind the door, saluted the hostile savages.

"How now, my friends?" said he, "a good day to you. I was told there were enemies here; but I am glad to find none but friends. Why have you blackened your faces? Are you mourning for the friends you have lost in the battle? (purposely mistaking the token of their evil intentions,) or are you fasting? If so, ask our friend here, and he will give you to eat. He is the Indians' friend, and never refused them what they had need of."

Taken thus by surprise, the savages were ashamed to acknowledge their bloody purpose; and in a subdued and modest tone, said they had come to beg of their friend some white cotton, in which to wrap their dead before interring them. This was given them, with other presents, and they quietly departed. (See note 3.)

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* That is, the Englishman: one of the principal taverns in Chicago, is called the Sauganash.

Captain and Mrs. Heald, were sent across the lake to St. Josephs after the battle; the former was twice, and the latter seven times wounded in the engagement. The horse rode by Mrs. Heald, was a fine spirited animal, and the Indians were anxious to obtain it uninjured. Their shots were therefore principally aimed at the rider. Her captor being about to tear off her bonnet, in order to scalp her, young Chaudonnaire, an Indian of the St. Josephs tribe, knowing her personally, came to her rescue, and offered a mule he had just taken for her ransom; to this he added a promise of ten bottles of whiskey. The latter was a strong temptation. Her captor perceiving, however, that she was badly wounded, observed that she might die, and asked him if he would give him the whiskey at all events; he promised to do so, and the bargain was concluded. (See note 4.)

Mrs. Heald was afterward put into a boat in company with others, including her children, and a buffalo robe thrown over them. She was then enjoined to be silent, as she valued her life. In this situation she remained, without uttering a sound that could betray her to the savages, who came frequently to the boat in search of prisoners. Captain Heald was captured by an Indian from the Kankakee, who, having a strong personal regard for him, and seeing the wounded and enfeebled condition of his wife, released him without ransom, in order that he might accompany Mrs. Heald to St. Josephs. To the latter place, Mr. and Mrs. Heald were conveyed by Chaudonnaire and his party. The Indian who had so nobly released his prisoner, on returning to his tribe, found them dissatisfied; and their displeasure became so manifest, that he resolved to make a journey to St. Josephs, to reclaim his prisoner. News, however, of his intention preceding him, Mr. and Mrs. Heald, by the aid and influence of To-pa-na-bee, and Kee-po-tah, were put into a bark canoe, and paddled by a chief* of the Pottawatomies and his wife, to Mackinaw, three hundred miles distant, along the eastern coast of Lake Michigan, and delivered to the British commander. They were kindly received, and sent afterward as prisoners to Detroit, where they were finally exchanged.

Lieutenant Helm was wounded in the action, and taken prisoner; he was afterward taken by some friendly Indians to the Au Sable, and from thence to St. Louis, and liberated from captivity through the intervention of Mr. Thomas Forsyth, an Indian trader.

Mrs. Helm was wounded slightly in the ancle; had her horse shot from under her; and after passing through several agonizing scenes, was taken to Detroit.

The soldiers, with their wives and children, were dispersed among the Pottawatomies, on the Illinois, the Wabash, and Rock rivers, and some were taken to Milwaukie. In the following spring, they were principally collected at Detroit, and ransomed. A part of them, however, remained in captivity another year, and during that period, experienced more kindness than they or their friends had anticipated. (See note 5.)

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* Robinson, now living (1844) on the Aux Plains river, well known in Chicago.

NOTE I.

The present town of Chicago, derives its name from the river Chicago. It was once spelt Chikago. There was formerly an Indian chief of that name residing here; (it occurs once or twice in Bancroft's History of the United States;) and it is said he was drowned in the river. Whether the chief derived his name from the river, or the river from the chief, we are unable to ascertain. The literal meaning of Chicago, is skunk, or wild onion; the latter of which was formerly abundant in the vicinity. The former, (Skunk river,) is probably the most accurate version.

NOTE II.

Captain Wells's heart was afterward taken out, cut in pieces, and distributed among the tribes. After being scalped, his remains were left unburied, as were also those of the children massacred as above stated, and the soldiers and women slain in the battle. Billy Caldwell, an Indian chief, the next day finding the head of Captain Wells in one place and his body in another, caused a hole to be dug in the sand, and his remains to be interred.

NOTE III.

Billy Caldwell, who died but a short time since, was familiarly known to many of our citizens in Chicago. His presence of mind unquestionably saved his friends from massacre. He was a half or quarter breed; his father was an officer in the British army, his mother a Wyandot woman; he was well educated in Montreal, before he came hither. Previous to the war of 1812, he was received and adopted as a chief among them, and called the Sau-ga-nash.

NOTE IV.

McAfee, in his history of the late war, describing this scene, says: "One Indian, with the fury of a demon in his countenance, advanced to Mrs. Heald, with his tomahawk drawn. She had been accustomed to danger, and knowing the temper of the Indians, with great presence of mind looked him in the face, and smiling, said: 'Truly, you will not kill a squaw?' his arm fell nerveless. The conciliating smile of an innocent female, appealing to the magnanimity of a warrior, reached the heart of the savage, and subdued the barbarity of his soul."

NOTE V.

Mr. Heald and Mrs. Helm, having eclipsed the most visionary tastes of romance with which modern literature abounds, lived for many years thereafter, highly respected. Their melancholy story surpasses in interest the tales of Lady Harriet Ackland, and the Baroness Reidsel, at Saratoga, during the revolutionary war, so happily told by General Burgoyne.

The foregoing narrative of the Chicago massacre, differing as it does, in many respects, from those hitherto published; the author takes occasion here to remark, that he has derived his information from witnesses now living, who know the facts thus related. He has also been aided by an interesting narrative thereof, written with great pathos, and recently published by Messrs. Ellis & Fergus, of Chicago, the copy-right of which is secured by John H. Kenzie, Esq.

CHAPTER XVII.

Effect of General Dearborn's armistice—General Van Rensselaer, Lieutenant Elliot, and Captain Towson, capture an English brig, laden with fur—Militia desire to be led across the Niagara—Their zeal flags—Battle of Queenstown, September 13, 1812—Conquest of Canada more difficult than at first supposed—Public zeal aroused —Volunteers from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky—General Harrison appointed Commander-in-chief—Arrives at Fort Deposite, September 12, 1812—General Winchester, on the 18th of September, in command at Fort Wayne—Object of the campaign—General Hopkins's Expedition to Illinois—Returns—Second Expedition thither—Governor Edwards's and Colonel Russel's Expedition against the Indian tribes on the Illinois—General Winchester—The first Naval action between the Constitution and Guerriere, directs the attention of the United States to a Navy; and being followed by others, causes our arms to triumph by land, and terminated the Indian war in Illinois—Captain Hull—Action with the Guerriere—Captain Decatur—Captain Jones—General Winchester advances—General Tupper superseded—Ohio troops return—Expedition to the Rapids abortive—Campaign of 1812 ended—British and Indians in possession of Michigan, etc.—Kentucky Volunteers—January 1813, army advances to Frenchtown—British capitulate—General Proctor arrives with a large force—General Winchester and Colonel Lewis taken prisoners—Americans defeated, and surrender, under promise of protection—Americans massacred after their surrender—Captain Hart—Doctor Ketchum—General Harrison builds Fort Meigs—General Crooks builds a fort at Upper Sandusky—Fort Meigs besieged —Colonel Dudley defeated and killed—Tecumseh's humanity displayed—Siege of Fort Meigs raised—British attack Fort Stephenson—Are repelled—Major Croghan —Commodore Perry builds a fleet on Lake Erie—Sails in pursuit of the enemy, August 1813—Battle of Lake Erie, September 10th, 1813—British Fleet captured—Honors to the dead at Erie—Canada invaded by General Harrison—General Proctor destroys Fort Malden, and retreats—General Harrison takes possession of Malden, September 27th, 1813—Of Detroit, September 29th, 1813—Colonel Johnson reaches Detroit, September 30th, 1813—October 2nd, 1813, the army marches in pursuit of Proctor—Governor Shelby—Battle of the Thames—British army taken prisoners—General Proctor escapes by the fleetness of his horse—Tecumseh killed—American humanity manifest—Border warfare—Tom Higgins—Peace, December 24th, 1814—Ratified February 18th, thereafter—Nothing settled by the war—The same questions still open, to be determined hereafter—Useful lessons taught, and many laurels won.

The effect of the armistice, entered into between General Dearborn and Sir George Prevost, on the 8th of August, 1812, we have in part seen. Its further effects remain yet to be traced. Previous to its execution, General Dearborn had been directed, by the secretary of war, to cöoperate with General Hull, and to effect a diversion in his favor on the Niagara frontier. For this, however, he made no preparation; and as General Armstrong, in his notices of the war observes, "appeared to have little relish." The arrangement thus made without authority, by General Dearborn, was at once disapproved by the president; and the former ordered to put an end to it as speedily as possible. General Dearborn, however, suffered it to remain in force until the 29th of August, thus enabling General Brock, not only to effect the reduction of Detroit, but to lead his army back to Niagara, with a view to further operations.

A considerable force, in the meantime, had been collected on the American side of the river, under General Van Rensselaer, of the New-York militia; and for a few days some military spirit was excited, by a gallant and successful enterprise of Lieutenant Elliot, of the navy, aided by Captain Towson, of the army, in capturing two armed brigs—one of which was richly laden with furs. The militia, thereupon, demanded to be led across the river; and a portion of the volunteers threatened to return home, unless their wishes were complied with. It was not, however, the ardor of veterans, acquainted with dangers to be encountered, and despising them, but the inconsiderate rashness of inexperienced men, ready to anticipate the proper moment for action, without the firmness to persevere when surrounded with terror. Though many boasted of their patriotism, and expressed a desire to exhibit their prowess "'mid scenes of carnage," they saw, in a few weeks, enough of war "to satisfy them that it was no part of their special calling." On the 11th of October, 1812, an attempt was made to cross the Niagara, and plant the banners of the Republic, (as General Hull had before done,) in the territory of Canada. The troops accordingly assembled at the place of rendezvous, but the person having charge of the boats had not only withdrawn himself, but had carried with him all the oars necessary for the service. For this unexpected occurrence, there was no remedy but patience. The patriotism, however, of the militia had time to cool; the ardor of the pretended patriot to evaporate; and the troops thus assembled, an opportunity to discuss constitutional questions in presence of the enemy.

On the 13th the attempt was renewed. The army, or rather a part of it, crossed over to Queenstown; a battle was there fought, in which General Brock was slain. Although much individual bravery was manifest, and Colonel Van Rensselaer of the militia, Colonel Scott, Colonel Christie, Captain Wool, and many others, covered themselves with laurels, the result upon the whole was disastrous; and the folly of invading an enemy's country with raw recruits and undisciplined militia, to contend upon equal terms with regular armies, became more apparent, if possible, than ever.

War is a trade; and ere the sword be unsheathed, every nation is confident of victory. Such, unfortunately, was our case. Reverses, however, are frequent; and war has other means of destruction than the cannon or the sword. Though war, judging from the indifference with which the greater part of mankind see it begun, "seems nothing but a splendid game—a proclamation—an army—a battle, and a triumph," the campaign of 1812 presented to the American people but few of such spectacles; and the conquest of Canada began to be regarded, as in fact it was, a subject of difficulty and danger.

Of the enthusiasm which pervaded the west, on being informed of General Hull's surrender, we have spoken already. Civil pursuits were forgotten. The ladies at once set about the preparing of clothes and knapsacks, for their friends and relations; and whole companies, and even regiments we are told, were equipped in a day. A love of country, and the indomitable spirit of the Americans, were aroused immediately to action. They could not endure the idea of being worsted, or that any part of the United States should, for a moment, be England's by conquest.

So numerous even were the volunteers from Kentucky, that orders were issued to receive no more; and several companies were thus compelled to turn back with their laurels unreaped. A clergyman of our acquaintance, being once informed by an unworthy person of his intention to join the church, told his parishioner that "the church was pretty much full, and they had concluded, therefore, not to take any more." It was just so in the present instance. Pennsylvania and Ohio were equally excited; and an army of four thousand men, in a few weeks, was armed, equipped, and ready for the field. General Payne commanded the Kentucky, General Couts the Pennsylvania, and General Tupper the Ohio volunteers; and General Harrison, commissioned by Governor Scott of Kentucky, as a major-general, commanded the whole. The latter arrived at Fort Deposite on the 12th of September, 1812, with two thousand five hundred militia. Its garrison, which consisted of but seventy men, had sustained repeated attacks from the Indians, and was now, to their great joy, effectually relieved. In the absence of more important business, and while he was waiting for the concentration of his forces, the Indian country in the neighborhood was laid waste, and on the 18th of September he returned to Fort Wayne. Here he found General Winchester, unexpectedly in command. The latter had been an officer in the revolutionary army, and he was now a brigadier-general in the army of the Republic. General Harrison resolved, therefore, to retire to Indiana, of which territory he was governor. (See note 1.) He had not, however, proceeded far, when a messenger overtook him with information, that, by subsequent arrangements, he had been appointed a brigadier-general in the United States service, and commander-in-chief of the northwestern army. He returned immediately to Fort Wayne; arrived there on the 23rd of September, and resumed its command.

The object of the campaign was to retake Detroit—expel the British from the territory of the United States—protect the west and northwestern frontier, and reduce Malden in Upper Canada. The roads, however, were bad; the season far advanced; provisions difficult to be obtained, and the munitions of war tardily transported to their place of destination. The campaign was, of course, wasted away without object or end. The whole of Michigan, the northern part of Illinois and Mackinaw, were still occupied by British troops, and a provisional government was established at Detroit by General Proctor.

The spirit of volunteering, notwithstanding our reverses, still prevailed, and Vincennes was designated as a place of rendezvous, for the most formidable expedition (at least in appearance,) which had hitherto entered the Indian country. It consisted of four thousand mounted riflemen, and was commanded by General Hopkins. Its destination was against the Indian towns upon the Illinois and the Wabash. Some of the Indian warriors residing there had participated in the massacre at Chicago—the cries of women and children had now reached Kentucky, and called loudly for vengeance. The army reached Fort Harrison on the 10th of October, 1812; on the 14th it crossed the Wabash, entered the State of Illinois, and proceeded on its march. On the fourth day thereafter it got lost upon the prairie, and resolved to return. The luxuriant grass, which in the autumn becomes dry and combustible, presenting a few slight obstacles to their march, its patriotism evaporated. This unwieldy and ill compacted body, which no authority could control and no discipline keep together; having come in contact with a prairie-fire, which they thought set by the Indians to impede their march, and which advanced with great velocity toward their camp, impelled thither by a strong westerly wind, (which, however, every child twelve years old, who had been a week in the country knew how to counteract,) became alarmed for its safety; and this "press of Kentucky chivalry," as Breckenridge in his History of the War calls it, became wholly insubordinate—a major, in the meantime, whose name is concealed, rode up to the general and ordered him to return.

The next morning a council of officers was held, and the general, seeing the situation of the army, or more properly speaking of the crowd, proposed, in case five hundred of their number would remain, to continue his march. The proposal was accordingly made, and no one responded in its favor. The general then requested the command of the army for another day, and it was granted. Placing himself thereupon at its head, and giving orders to march, instead of following him, they turned round and proceeded in a contrary direction, leaving their general to bring up the rear.* Finding it useless to attempt anything further with such a body, he followed it to Fort Harrison. In the same manner

"The King of France with forty thousand men,
Marched up the hill, and then marched down again."

In November, General Hopkins led another expedition into the Indian country, of twelve hundred men, with more brilliant success. He set out from Fort Harrison on the 11th of November, 1812, and reached the prophet's town on the 19th, which he destroyed. He destroyed also a village of the Kickapoos, and another of the Winnebagoes, at the Pariepassu creek. This corps suffered exceedingly, being, as the general says, "shoeless and shirtless." They, however, neither murmured nor repined. The inclement season being at hand, the army returned, having effected its object.

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* Breckenridge's History of the War.

Another expedition, previous to this, was undertaken by Colonel Russel, with three companies of United States rangers, and a party of mounted riflemen, under Governor Edwards, of Illinois. It consisted of three hundred and sixty men, and was destined to act in concert with General Hopkins, in his first expedition against the Indian towns on the Illinois. Although disappointed in meeting General Hopkins, they persevered in their enterprise—destroyed one of the Indian towns, pursued the Indians into a swamp where they sought refuge, killed about twenty of their number, and returned to camp after an absence of thirteen days.

The campaign of 1812, therefore, with the exception of a few Indian skirmishes, in which much personal bravery was exhibited, and much hardship endured, though big with promise, was fertile in disaster.

When war was first declared, victory, as of course, was anticipated by the Americans on land, but not on the ocean. England, for many years had there been paramount—not only as mistress, but as tyrant. "Free trade and sailors' rights," we have already seen led to the war. Our naval combats became afterward a commentary on the British doctrine of impressment, and the "striped bunting"* floated triumphantly on almost every sea.

The first naval action (between the Constitution and Guerriere,) directed the attention of the American people with deep and abiding interest to the ocean—taught our countrymen the way to greatness—humbled our enemies on their own element—and being followed by others, caused a navy to be built on Lake Erie, the arms of General Harrison to triumph, and drove the Indians and their allies from our borders. 'T is not, then, an illegitimate portion of our history.

The Constitution, Captain Hull,† sailed from Annapolis on the 5th of July, 1812, and on the morning of the 17th, off Egg Harbor, was chased by a British squadron. The numerical force of the latter would have rendered the former an easy prey, could she have been brought within reach of their guns. The question to be settled, therefore, was one of seamanship merely. At sunrise on the morning of the 18th, they were about five miles distant from each other, and escape on the part of the Constitution was almost hopeless. She therefore cleared for action, having resolved to make a desperate resistance. As the hostile fleet, however, approached, Captain Hull made another effort to escape; and as the sea was calm, he sent boats ahead with anchors, for the purpose of warping. In this way he gained upon his adversaries. The pursuing squadron resorted to a similar expedient, and the chase in this manner was continued for two days and upward, when the Constitution, by aid of a light breeze, her superiority in sailing, and the efforts of her crew, was entirely out of reach, and the chase was abandoned.

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* A name given at first by the English sailors, and afterward by the English nation, to the American flag.

† Captain Hull was a nephew of General Hull, whose surrender of Detroit, at this time, had created a strong sensation throughout the country.

The escape of the Constitution from so great a disparity of force, under all its circumstances, furnished evidence of great nautical skill, as well as of great superiority in the construction and management of ships, and reflected much credit on her commander and his crew.

On the 2nd of September, 1812, the Constitution again put to sea. On the 19th a vessel hove in sight, and a chase commenced. It was the Guerriere, one of the best frigates in the British navy. She was about equal to the Constitution in efficient force, well armed, manned and equipped, and not averse to the encounter. She had for some time been in search of an American frigate—she had looked, also, into some of our ports, to find an enemy, and was exceedingly anxious to earn the first laurels in the war. Her name was inscribed in large characters upon one of her flags, and on another, "Not the Little Belt:" (alluding to an incident which had occurred previous to the war, between the President, an American frigate, and an English armed vessel of that name.)

The Guerriere, seeing the Constitution approach, and having no desire to avoid her, backed her topsail, and waited for her to come down. The Constitution, having made ready for action, advanced, her crew giving three cheers. It was a period of anxiety, not only to the commander, but to all on board. The armies of the United States had been disgraced—one had surrendered—Mackinaw had fallen—the garrison at Chicago had been massacred. The army on the Niagara had done nothing worthy of its renown, and Harrison was wending slowly his way through forests toward the enemy. The war had been declared to establish the doctrine of "free trade and sailors' rights." Some British seamen also were on board the Constitution, and all were anxious for battle.

The Guerriere had to sustain not only the honor of her king and country, but to vindicate her own. Believing herself to be impregnable, she had no idea "the Yankee would fight," and still she prepared for it, as though such a contingency might happen. As they neared and viewed each other from a distance, the proud flags of England and America waving aloft, each evinced for his opponent—

> "The stern joy which warriors feel
> In foemen worthy of their steel."

Captain Hull intended to have brought his adversary to close action immediately; but on coming within gunshot, the Guerriere fired a broadside, and filled away, then wore and gave a broadside on the other tack; all, however, to but little purpose. They now continued wearing and manœuvering on both sides, for three-quarters of an hour—the Guerriere attempting to get a raking position. Being thwarted, however, in this, she bore up and ran with her topsail and jib on the quarter. The Constitution perceiving this, made sail to come up with her—receiving the enemy's fire with admirable coolness, without returning it. This being mistaken by the British for cowardice, or something even worse, they poured into the Constitution, broadside after broadside, with a view to cripple her. Some veteran seamen, however, on board the Guerriere, saw evidence of skill in the gallant style which the Constitution assumed, as she bore up to engage, and expressed their fears. The latter had not yet a fired a gun, and still there was something in her demeanor which seemed to say she was yet unconquered. In this stage of the action, an officer came on deck, and told Captain Hull that several of his men had been killed at their guns. "Are you ready?" inquired Captain Hull. "We are," said the officer. "Then," replied Captain Hull, "keep so." Shortly, another officer came on deck with a similar message, to which the same answer was given. The gallant crew, though burning with impatience, awaited at their guns in profound silence the orders of their commander. The moment which Captain Hull had looked for, at last came. Sailing-master Alwyn, with admirable skill, brought the vessel exactly to the station intended, and at five minutes before five o'clock, P. M. orders were given to fire.* Broadside after broadside followed in quick succession. The crew instantly discovered the whole plan, and entered into it with all the spirit the occasion required. Never, perhaps, was a firing more dreadful. The enemy's mizenmast went by the board, and the Guerriere stood exposed to a raking fire, which swept her deck. In fifteen minutes, the latter was unmanageable. Her hull, rigging, and sails, were torn and mangled, and the Constitution attempted to lay her on board. Lieutenant Bush, however, of the marines, being killed by a musket-ball in the attempt, a moment's delay intervened, and the Guerriere shot ahead. A raking fire now continued for fifteen minutes longer, when her mainmast and foremast went overboard, taking with them every spar but the bowsprit; and in thirty minutes from the time the action commenced, she was a wreck on the waves. She surrendered immediately; her crew were taken on board the Constitution, and the Guerriere being too severely injured to think of carrying her into port, was set on fire and blown up.

Such was the result of the first naval engagement in the late war with England. The loss on board the Guerriere was fifteen killed, and sixty-three wounded; on board the Constitution, seven were killed and seven wounded.

The event spread universal joy over the whole United States. It reached England when Parliament was in session; and had intelligence of the entire destruction of one of her armies been received, the shock could not have been greater. It was at first scarcely credited—next imputed to accident—and never until the experiment had frequently been tried, could England be brought to believe, that an American vessel of equal force was at any time, or under any circumstances, an equal match for her own.

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* During the action, Captain Hull walked the quarter-deck, dressed in nankeen small-clothes; when he gave the order to fire, it was done, as we are told, with such tremendous energy, that his breeches were torn, as the sailors used to express it, from "stem to stern."

On the 25th of October, 1812, the Macedonian, Captain Carden, surrendered to the United States, Captain Decatur; and during the same month, the Frolic, Captain Wynyates, surrendered to the Wasp, Captain Jones. These were also imputed by the British to accident. Accidents, however, always occur in favor of the brave, and when they happen frequently, and are produced apparently by known causes, they savor of design. An impulse was at once given to the American navy, and its progress thereafter was onward.

We have already stated, that General Harrison arrived at Fort Wayne on the 23rd of September, 1812, and assumed the command of the army "of the west." A controversy, unfortunate in its character and consequences, had previously arisen between General Winchester and General Harrison, in relation to rank. The former having been a revolutionary officer, being also the elder man, and the elder brigadier-general, claimed, and was unquestionably entitled, to precedence. The latter, however, having resided for a long time at the west, and being Governor of Indiana—being also acquainted with the people of whom armies were to be constituted—having for a long time been intimate with the mode and manner of Indian warfare, and having acquired justly, we think, considerable applause at the battle of Tippecanoe, the preceding autumn, was selected by President Madison, at the request of several distinguished individuals in the army, the militia, and in Congress, for this arduous and important command.

Previous to the arrival of General Harrison in camp, on the 23rd, General Winchester had left Fort Wayne, with a detachment of troops for Fort Defiance, intending from thence to proceed to the Rapids, and concentrate his forces, preparatory to an attack on Detroit and Malden. A party of British and Indians, which had occupied Fort Defiance on General Winchester's approach, abandoned the post, and retreated down the river. Its possession was thereupon taken by General Winchester; and on the 4th of October, General Harrison left Fort Defiance for the settlements, in order to organize, and bring up the centre and right wing of the army. General Tupper, in the meantime, who commanded the left wing, was ordered by the commander-in-chief, to advance with one thousand men to the Rapids, and drive the enemy from thence. The intended expedition, however, proved abortive. One man was killed; the troops became mutinous. General Tupper, by order of General Harrison, was superseded, and Colonel Allen, of Kentucky, appointed its commander. The Ohio troops refused to march, and unanimously set off for Urbana. The expedition was thus broken up.

Implicit confidence in military officers, habitual obedience to orders, and the utility of discipline, are not learned in a day; and however necessary to success, their importance is not uniformly appreciated by militia.

It became necessary now to wait awhile, until the other division of the army should arrive, before anything could be attempted with safety against the Rapids, much less against Detroit.

General Tupper, having returned to Urbana with his mounted men, now organized another expedition, consisting of six hundred Ohio militia, to the Rapids. Though partially successful, the expedition finally was compelled to return for want of provisions; and notwithstanding the efforts hitherto made, the expenses incurred, the individual suffering endured, and the risks to which the army had been exposed, the British and Indians, at the close of the year 1812, were in possession of the Rapids as before.

General Winchester, in the meantime, remained at Fort Defiance with about eight hundred men, the residue having returned to their respective homes. They were principally volunteers from Kentucky, and among them were gentlemen of superior talents and elevated standing. Colonels Allen and Hardin, eminent lawyers; Major Madison, State auditor; Colonels Scott and Lewis, and others, among whom such were but equals.

Early in January, 1813, General Winchester received intelligence from the inhabitants of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, that a large body of British and Indians were about to concentrate at that point, to prevent the further progress of the Americans. Alarmed for their safety, they besought General Winchester to protect them. The sensibility of the Kentucky volunteers was at once excited, and they sought permission to march to their relief. General Winchester reluctantly consented, against his own, as well as against the judgment of the commander-in-chief.

Colonels Allen and Lewis, at the head of a detachment, accordingly sallied forth, together with Major Graves and Major Madison, and others, known to fame. The British and Indians having, before their arrival, taken possession of Frenchtown, it was determined immediately to attack them. A severe conflict ensued; the enemy were defeated and fled. Having now effected their object, the victors encamped on the battle-field, where they remained till the 20th, at which time they were joined by General Winchester, with a small reinforcement, making their whole number about seven hundred and fifty effective men. Of these, six hundred were placed within a line of pickets, and the residue without, on the open field. On the morning of the 22nd of January, 1813, a combined force of fifteen hundred men, under General Proctor, and the Indian chiefs, Round Head and Split Log, attacked their little encampment. Though carelessly guarded, it was gallantly defended. General Winchester and Colonel Lewis, however, in their attempts to rally the troops and bring them within the pickets, were unfortunately taken prisoners. Notwithstanding, however, these misfortunes, and the overwhelming force by which they were assailed, they continued with desperate resolution to resist, making great slaughter in the British and Indian ranks, till eleven o'clock; when finding further resistance in vain, and receiving a "positive engagement from Colonel Proctor of protection," by the advice of General Winchester, then a prisoner, from whom a flag had been received, they consented to surrender. Of this little army, about three hundred were killed, wounded, and missing, and about the same number of the British and Indians. The remaining four hundred and fifty became prisoners of war, under the promise of protection from the British colonel.

Scarcely had this little band surrendered, ere they discovered, when it was too late, that they were reserved to be butchered in cold blood. On the right wing a few only had escaped. The work of scalping and stripping the dead, and murdering those unable to resist, at once commenced and proceeded without restraint. Those who had bravely defended themselves, came next in order—Proctor and other British officers, themselves being spectators of the bloody scene. Contrary to an express stipulation, the swords of the American officers were taken from their sides; many of them were stripped naked and robbed. The gallant dead were scalped, and their bodies mutilated and left unburied. The wounded, unable to rise, were tomahawked; and those who remained, were delivered to the Indians, to be marched in rear of the army to Malden. This, in other words, was to permit the savages to indulge their thirst for blood. In this they were not disappointed. Some of these ill-fated men, relying on British faith and British protection, were murdered out of wantonness; some from mere sport; and some, who became weak from want of nourishment, or from fatigue, wounds, or the inclement weather, were at once dispatched. A remnant only—a small portion of the whole, ever reached the British garrison. Some were carried off by the Indians to be burned at the stake; and some were reserved as captives, to gratify savage cupidity, as mere objects of traffic.

About sixty of the wounded, some of them officers of distinction, were permitted to take shelter among the inhabitants. To these a promise was made, that a guard should be furnished for their protection; and that they should be carried to Malden the next morning upon sleds. No guard, however, was sent, and the Indians fell upon and plundered them of their clothing, and of every article of value; then tomahawked a considerable number, and to conclude the barbarous scene, set fire to the houses in which they were lodged, thus consuming the dying and the dead. Even the rights of sepulture, held everywhere sacred, were not only withheld, but the inhabitants in the vicinity "dared not perform them under pain of death;" and never, till their friends and relatives triumphed in turn, were their bleaching bones gathered up, and laid in a grave.

Places, otherwise insignificant, acquire celebrity sometimes from events. The rubicon was immortalized by the passage of Cæsar—the river Raisin, by the massacre on its shore. A foul blot was there stamped on the military fame of Britain, which its waters can never obliterate. The cold, deliberate, fiendlike depravity of those, who bore and disgraced her commission on that day, by the Raisin, will never be forgotten.

This savage and wanton massacre of our countrymen, in the presence of British officers and with their assent, has never been denied. Truth and justice forbid it should be. Colonel Proctor was immediately thereafter promoted to the rank of a brigadier-general.

One of the most affecting scenes on the Raisin, was the death of Captain Hart. He was a kinsman of our distinguished fellow-citizen, Henry Clay; a young gentleman of finished education and polished manners. He had distinguished himself in the action, among "the bravest of the brave," and was severely wounded. Relying on English faith, and reposing on its protection, he had, with others, unfortunately surrendered. Colonel Elliot was at that time an officer in the British service, an ally of the Indians, and a colleague of Colonel Proctor. Elliot was a native of the United States, and had been a classmate of Captain Hart in Princeton college. The latter happened to be recognized among the prisoners, by Colonel Elliot, who voluntarily offered his services to the friend of his youth; promised to take him under his special protection, and cause him to be conveyed to Malden. Whether he forgot his promise, or changed his mind, or was forbidden by Proctor, is yet unknown. The next day a party of Indians came into his room, and tore him from his bed. He was afterward taken to another apartment by a brother officer, where he received the like treatment again. He then hired some Indians for a large reward to take him to Malden, and on his journey thither, was dragged from his horse, shot, scalped, and left unburied.*

Soon after the action, Dr. Ketchum was sent by General Harrison with a flag, and with specie to provide for the sick and wounded prisoners, in the British camp. Notwithstanding his flag—his sacred errand—and the open letter directed to any British officer, stating the object of his mission; he was wounded, robbed, dragged to Malden, and afterward to Quebec, and thence from place to place, and from dungeon to dungeon, for a considerable length of time before he was discharged.

General Harrison soon afterward commenced building a fort at the Rapids, which, in honor of Governor Meigs of Ohio, he called Fort Meigs. General Crooks, who commanded the Pennsylvania militia, erected at the same time a fort at Upper Sandusky. General Harrison, being now thwarted in all his views, returned to Ohio for reinforcements. Early in

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* Some of the neighboring inhabitants, at great risk, we are told, buried Captain Hart, Captain Wolfolk, and a few others. See an account of this transaction in Breckenridge's History of the War.

April, 1813, in consequence of intelligence received from thence, he repaired again to Fort Meigs, and was besieged by General Proctor with a powerful force. General Harrison then had about twelve hundred regular and irregular troops; and General Clay from Kentucky, was marching to his relief, with about twelve hundred more. Before reaching the fort, a party under Colonel Dudley were defeated, and their commanding officer was killed. A portion also of the American troops were taken prisoners. Tecumseh, however, commanded the savages; and, compared with his British allies, was mild and merciful—interposing, even on the field of battle, for those who surrendered. In this affair, the Americans lost eighty-one killed, and one hundred and sixty-nine wounded. The prisoners were afterward huddled together in a ruined fort, and the Indians there selected such as their fancy dictated, as victims to glut their vengeance.

The inhuman Proctor also was present, neither yielding the prisoners protection, nor making an effort to secure even one of their number from the scalping-knife or the tomahawk. "While this carnage was raging," (says Drake, in his Life of Tecumseh,) "a thundering voice was heard in the rear, and in the Indian tongue; when turning round, he saw Tecumseh, advancing on horseback with the utmost speed, to where two Indians had an American, and were in the act of killing him. He sprang from his horse, caught one by the throat and the other by the breast, and threw them to the ground; and drawing his tomahawk and scalping-knife, he ran in between the Americans and Indians, daring any one of the hundreds that surrounded him to attempt the murder of another American. They were all confounded, and immediately departed. He then demanded where Proctor was; and eyeing him at a distance, sternly inquired, why he had not put a stop to the inhuman massacre? 'Sir,' said Proctor, 'your Indians cannot be commanded.' 'Begone!' retorted Tecumseh with disdain; 'You are unfit to command—go and put on petticoats.'"*

On the 9th of May, the siege of Fort Meigs was raised, and Proctor moved off with all his forces.

Being afterward reinforced, he repaired to Sandusky Bay, deeming it important that the forts, in the vicinity of Lake Erie, should all be reduced before the anticipated reinforcements should arrive. Major Croghan, at that time a youth of twenty-one, was then at Upper Sandusky. Apprised of Proctor's intention to invest Fort Stephenson, he marched thither with reinforcements without delay. He immediately put the little stockade fort—for it was nothing more—in a state of defence, as well as time and circumstances would permit, digging a ditch six feet deep and nine wide, around the whole. His force consisted of a hundred and sixty men, and he had but one piece of artillery, a six-pounder.

General Harrison, supposing its defence to be impracticable, ordered

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* See Niles's Register, 1813.

Major Croghan, that, in case the British should approach him in force, with cannon, and he should discover them in time to effect a retreat, to do so immediately. General Harrison had, at this time, taken a position at Seneca town, nine miles above Fort Meigs; and anticipating an attack, either upon Fort Stephenson or his own head-quarters, he issued a peremptory order to Major Croghan, as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS, CAMP SENECA.
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, JULY 27TH, 1813.

SIR:

Immediately on receiving this letter you will abandon Fort Stephenson, set fire to it, and repair with your command this night to head-quarters. Cross the river, and come up upon the opposite side. If you should deem it impracticable to make good your retreat to this station, take the road to Huron, and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and dispatch. By command.

God be with you.
A. H. HOLMES, ASST. ADJUTANT GENERAL.

MAJOR CROGHAN.

The messenger having missed his way, the order was not received till the following morning, when, finding a large party of Indians about the fort, rendering it more hazardous to retreat than to remain, and supposing his note would probably fall into the hands of the Indians, Major Croghan sent an answer to General Harrison, informing him, "that he was determined to defend the place at all hazards." The reason for writing such an answer to General Harrison being unexplained, Major Croghan was arrested for disobedience of orders. An explanation, however, taking place, he was at once reinstated in his command.

On the 31st of July, Fort Stephenson was invested by General Proctor, at the head of five hundred regular troops, and seven or eight hundred Indians. After making such disposition of his troops as to render the retreat of the garrison impossible, he sent a flag, by Colonel Elliot and Major Chambers, demanding its surrender, accompanied by the usual threats of butchery and massacre in case of their refusal. Major Croghan, finding his companions (all striplings like himself,) ready to endure a siege, or resist a storm, returned for answer: "When the fort shall be taken, there will be none left to massacre, as it will not be given up while a man is able to fight."

When the flag returned, a brisk fire was opened from several six-pounders, and kept up for the night. In the morning it was discovered, that three sixes, under cover of the night, had been planted within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets. About four in the afternoon, the enemy having concentrated their fire against the northwest angle of the fort, with the intention of making a breach, it was immediately strengthened with bags of flour and sand. At the same time the six-pounder, the only piece of artillery in the fort, was concealed carefully in the bastion which covered the point to be assailed, and loaded with slugs and grape. About five hundred of the enemy now advanced to the assault, enveloped in smoke, so as not to be seen until within twenty paces of the lines. A fire of musketry from the garrison producing, for the moment, a little confusion, Colonel Short sprang over the outer works into the ditch, commanded his men to follow him, and to "give the d—d Yankees no quarter." The words had scarcely escaped his lips, when the six-pounder opened upon them a destructive fire—killing their barbarous leader and twenty others, and wounding as many more at its first discharge. A volley of musketry followed; and the officer who succeeded Short, exasperated at being thus treated by a few boys, re-formed his broken column, and rushed again to the ditch. The six-pounder was again discharged, with like effect; the small arms followed; and, in spite of the exertions of their officers, they all fled to the adjoining woods, and were followed by the Indians. The assailants thereupon abandoned the attack, and retreated, panic-struck, in silence to their boats, without casting a look toward the spot where they had been chastised by a force amounting scarcely to a tenth of their number.

The whole loss of the garrison was one killed and seven wounded; of the assailants, about a hundred and fifty were killed and wounded. More than fifty were found about the ditch.*

The garrison, forgetting that their barbarous foes, who had sought to massacre them without mercy, were enemies any longer; and anxious to relieve the wounded left by the enemy, caused provisions and water to be handed over the pickets during the night, and many of the sufferers to be taken in and furnished with surgical aid, although a scattering fire of musketry from the enemy was, during a part of this period, maintained.

A year had now elapsed since Hull's unfortunate surrender; army after army had gone forth to repair the ruin he had caused, and still no progress had been made. The Raisin constituted a boundary; and England's haughty flag yet waved on the ramparts of Detroit and Mackinaw.

Commodore Perry, early in August, 1813, with great exertions had built and equipped a little fleet at Erie, in Pennsylvania, and on the 4th of the same month, sailed in pursuit of the enemy. Unable, however, to find them, he returned again on the 8th, into port. On the 12th, having previously received an addition to his force, under Captain Elliot, he embarked for the west, and on the 15th entered Sandusky Bay. Here he took in about twenty volunteers, and went a second time in search of the enemy. His fleet consisted of the brig Lawrence of twenty guns; the Niagara, Captain Elliot, of twenty guns; the Caledonia, Lieutenant Turner, of three guns; the schooner Ariel, of four guns; the Scorpion, of two guns; the Somers, of two guns and two swivels; the sloop Trippe, and schooners Tigress and Porcupine, of one gun each; amounting in all to nine vessels, and fifty-four guns and two swivels. The British fleet was commanded by Commodore Barclay, an able officer, who had lost an arm in the battle of Trafalgar, under the gallant Nelson. His fleet consisted of the Detroit, of nineteen guns and two howitzers; the Queen Charlotte, Captain Finnis, of seventeen guns; the schooner Lady Prevost, Lieutenant Buchan, of thirteen guns and two howitzers; the brig Hunter, of ten guns; the sloop Little Belt, of three guns; and the schooner Chippeway, of one gun and two swivels; in all six vessels, sixty-three guns, four howitzers, and two swivels.

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* General Duncan, late Governor of Illinois, now deceased, was an ensign in Major Croghan's "gallant band." The officers were all of them highly complimented by General Harrison, and received the thanks of Congress. Major Croghan was promoted, and received a sword from the ladies of Cincinnati.

After cruizing off Malden for a while, Commodore Perry returned to Put-in-Bay, a distance of about thirty miles. On the morning of the 10th of September, 1813, the enemy bore down upon the American squadron, and the latter stood out to meet them. The Americans, it would seem, had more vessels, but fewer guns and less weight of metal, than the English; the efficient force of the latter exceeded, therefore, the Americans.

When the American fleet first stood out "*to sea*," the English had the weather-gage. The wind, however, soon after changing, brought the American fleet to the windward. At eleven o'clock, the line of battle was formed; and at fifteen minutes before twelve, the enemy's flag-ship, the Queen Charlotte, opened her fire upon the Lawrence. The orders previously issued by Commodore Perry, were, "to engage each his designated adversary in close action, at a half-cable's length;" and in conversation afterward with his officers, he told them, "If you lay alongside, you cannot be out of your place." As the Lawrence advanced, Commodore Perry hoisted on board the ship his fighting-flag, with the last words of the lamented Lawrence, in large characters inscribed upon it: "Don't give up the ship." As it rose, and its folds gradually expanded, his crew gave three hearty cheers. He then brought the Lawrence close down on the Detroit, and "went to work." The Caledonia also took her position in line.

The Niagara was astern of the Lawrence, and the Caledonia abeam of the Queen Charlotte, in the line of approach, when the action commenced. The Niagara discharged her first division, but when her shot failed to reach the Queen Charlotte, Captain Elliot did not order her helm put up and run down to within a half-cable's length of his adversary, the Queen Charlotte, but directed his lieutenant to cease firing with his carronades, and fire with his long twelves only. The Queen Charlotte had twenties to the Niagara's twenty-four pound carronades, but no long guns; and therefore, as she could neither reach the Niagara with her carronades, nor run up against the wind and lay her alongside, she packed all sail and ran down to aid the Detroit, and laid the Lawrence and Caledonia alongside, at half-past twelve o'clock.* The Lawrence sustained the whole fire of the Detroit for two hours and a half, that of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and most of the Hunter, for two hours, with that of all the marines at half-musket shot distance. The dead lay where they fell, until the action was over. Not a murmur was heard on the deck of the Lawrence. Every man was at his post, and Commodore Perry, as cool and collected as if on ordinary duty, working at the last gun with his own hands, and when that was disabled, his little brother, of fourteen, and himself, were the only persons alive and unhurt. Among this carnage, "Why does not the Niagara come down and help us?" escaped from the wounded and dying. The Lawrence soon became unmanageable—every gun was dismounted. Thus situated, Commodore Perry resolved to quit the Lawrence, and bring the Niagara into action. As he was about to leave the former under the direction of Lieutenant Yarnell, he said to him: "I leave it to your discretion to strike or not, but the American colors must not be pulled down over my head to day." Then, taking his fighting-flag under his arm, he ordered the boat to be lowered, and with a presence of mind which drew forth applause from the gallant officer to whom he was opposed, he sprang into the boat, and waving his sword, passed amid a shower of balls to the Niagara. Commodore Perry left the Lawrence at half-past two, and at a quarter before three, his flag was hoisted on board the Niagara. The latter was wholly uninjured, not having, as yet, lost a man. The Lawrence, on Perry's quitting her, struck; she was wholly disabled, and a longer continuance of the battle would have been a wanton and unnecessary waste of human life. The Lawrence dropt immediately astern, and Lieutenant Turner brought up the Caledonia to fight the Detroit; assuming the position which the Lawrence had abandoned, Captain Elliot volunteered his services to bring the remaining vessels into action. Commodore Perry was no sooner on board the Niagara, than he advanced, broke through the enemy's line, passed between the Hunter and the Detroit, at half-pistol shot, thirty feet from each; and from all his guns, shotted with round, grape and canister, poured his broadsides into the devoted vessels of his adversary; rounded to, and opposed to the stern of the Queen Charlotte, while his bowsprit was entangled in the mizzen-rigging of the Detroit, he began a raking fire from end to end of both their decks.* This ended the battle. The British vessels he had contended with struck at ten minutes before three, the others a few minutes after. The loss on board the American fleet, was twenty-seven killed and ninety-four wounded, and the number of prisoners exceeded the whole number on board of Perry's fleet. The killed were afterward buried, side by side, at Erie, in Pennsylvania, lamented by friends and foes; and the music and cannon of both fleets united in chanting their requiem. (See note 2.)

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* Battle of Lake Erie, by Tristam Burgess.

The British commander, in his report, says:

> "Captain Perry has behaved in the most humane and attentive manner, not only to myself and officers, but to all the wounded."†

The result of a campaign, the command of a sea, the glory and renown of two rival nations, matched, for the first time, in squadron; were at issue, and the victory was complete. Every British vessel was captured. The unrolling of the flag bearing the last words of Lawrence, and the passage of the gallant Perry from his disabled ship to one uninjured, and the bringing off the whole into immediate action, has ever been, and will hereafter continue to be, admired; and if anything could enhance its brilliancy, it was the manner in which the victory was announced. "We have," said Perry, in a letter to General Harrison, "met the enemy, and they are ours;" and in another to the secretary of the navy, "It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies. The British squadron, after a sharp conflict, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command."

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* Burgess. See also Cooper's Naval History of the United States Army.

† Our humane treatment of British prisoners was acknowledged in the British House of Commons, even by Lord Castlereagh. He, however, merely attributed it to fear.

The effect of this victory, not only on popular opinion, but on the events then actually occurring, can hardly be conceived. The road to Canada was now opened. The tide of popular indignation was rolling thither, and General Harrison, mounting its topmost wave, was hurried on to victory.

The invasion of Canada being resolved upon in earnest, and Perry's victory having opened the way and removed all obstacles to such invasion, the Americans were now in the condition they should have been at the commencement of the war; and in which they would have been, had a few thousand dollars been judiciously expended, at a proper time and in a proper manner, in fitting out a naval armament, and thereby securing the ascendency of the American flag upon our western waters. The first opportunity had passed unheeded by, and the American troops for thirteen months had acted on the defensive. Fortune, however, it seemed now was about to smile.

The first objects to be effected by the proposed expedition were, the recovery of Detroit, and the expulsion of General Proctor from Malden.

On the 17th of September, 1813, Governor Shelby of Kentucky, the hero of King's mountain, during the revolutionary war, with General Adair and John J. Crittenden, his aids, and Richard M. Johnson, late Vice-President of the United States, with four thousand volunteers, arrived in camp. Being thus reinforced, General Harrison, on the 27th of September, embarked his infantry on board the fleet, and on the same day reached the Canadian shore, a little below Malden. On landing, he issued the following order:

> "The general entreats his brave troops to remember, that they are sons of sires whose fame is immortal; that they are to fight for the rights of their insulted country, while their opponents combat for the unjust pretensions of a master. Kentuckians—remember the river Raisin, but remember it while the victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier cannot be gratified upon a fallen enemy."*

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* This order was published in Niles's Register of October 30th, 1813, with the following heading: "The following general order, issued on the day of debarkation of our troops in Canada, is one of the 'unkindest cuts' the bulwark of our religion (England, so called by those who oppose the war,) ever received, if there remains one particle of shame in her system."

General Proctor, previous to the landing of the American troops, had destroyed the fort and public stores, and retreated toward the Moravian towns, accompanied by Tecumseh and his gallant warriors. An American army for the first time now encamped on the ruins of Malden. On approaching thither, General Harrison was met by a number of females, who came out to implore protection. They were told that such a request was unnecessary; that the inhabitants of Canada would be treated with justice and humanity, and their property secured from unnecessary injury. On the 29th they reached Detroit, and were received by the inhabitants with demonstrations of joy. The American flag was again "reared on high"—the former institutions of Michigan were restored—and the operations of law and justice organized anew.

On the following day, (September 30th,) they were joined by Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted riflemen, which had proceeded thither by land. The latter, in approaching the river Raisin, halted for a while to contemplate the tragic scene acted on its shore. Many of Colonel Johnson's regiment had lost friends and relations there, whose bones, yet unburied, were scattered around. These were collected, and consigned to a common grave.

General Harrison and Governor Shelby, having resolved to go immediately in pursuit of Proctor, selected for that purpose about three thousand five hundred men, and on the 2nd of October commenced their march. Commodore Perry and Colonel Cass accompanied General Harrison as volunteer aids. So great was their expedition, that on the first day they progressed twenty-six miles. The next day they captured a lieutenant of dragoons and eleven men, from whom they learned that Proctor was not yet apprised of their approach. On reaching Chatham, the second day of their march, seventeen miles distant, they were detained for some time at a creek, a branch of the river Thames, the bridge having been destroyed by the retreating army. While repairing the bridge they were attacked by a party of Indians. These, however, were soon dispersed by Colonel Johnson and Colonel Wood, and the army proceeded on its march. Here they found two thousand stands of arms and a quantity of clothing. Proceeding up the Thames four miles further, they took several pieces of cannon, and obliged the British to destroy three vessels laden with public stores. On the fifth day, they reached the spot where the enemy had encamped the night before. Colonel Wood was thereupon sent forward to reconnoitre, and returned shortly thereafter with intelligence, that the British and Indians were drawn up in battle array, a few miles distant from thence, and awaited their approach. General Proctor's whole force at this time, consisted of about eight hundred regular troops and two thousand Indians. It was drawn up with skill and judgment, on a narrow strip of land covered with timber; its right resting on a swamp—its left, with most of his artillery, on the river. Beyond the swamp, and between it and another marsh still further to the right, were the Indians under Tecumseh. His position was selected with skill, considering the character of his troops; he erred, however, in not having fortified his front by a ditch, or abattis, and in drawing up his men "in open order"—that is, with intervals of three or four feet between the files—troops thus drawn up, being unable to resist a charge of cavalry.

The American troops, amounting to something more than three thousand men, were now put in order of battle. General Trotter's brigade, constituted the first line; General King's, the second; and Childs's, a corps de reserve. Colonel Johnson's mounted men were at first ordered to form in two lines in front of the Indians—the underwood, however, preventing the cavalry from acting with effect, and General Proctor's error in drawing up his troops in open order being apparent, General Harrison directed one battalion of the mounted men to charge the British regulars, and the other, under the immediate command of Colonel Johnson himself, to confront the Indians. The arrangements being now completed, the army moved forward a short distance, when the enemy fired. This was a signal for the cavalry to charge—men and horses having now for the first time met a foe, they both partially recoiled; recovering themselves, however, in a moment, they dashed through the enemy's line with irresistible force, formed in rear of the British, poured in upon them a destructive fire, and were about to make a second charge, when the British officers, finding it impossible, from the nature of the ground and the panic which prevailed, to form their broken ranks, immediately surrendered. Nineteen of the British regulars were killed, fifty wounded, and about six hundred taken prisoners. General Proctor deserted his troops as soon as the charge was made, and escaped by the fleetness of his horse—his carriage, however, and private papers were taken.

On the left, the battle was begun by Tecumseh, with great fury. The Indian fire did not, however, check the advance of the American column; but on account of the nature of the soil, the ground being rising and the thickets impervious to cavalry, the charge at first was unsuccessful. Colonel Johnson thereupon ordered his men to dismount, and leading them up a second time, after a desperate contest, broke through the enemy's line and gained their rear. The Indians, being unwilling yet to yield, Colonel Johnson directed his men to fight them in their own way. Collecting their strength on the right, they attempted to force a passage through Desha's Kentucky brigade, and had already made some impression upon his ranks, when a regiment of volunteers from Kentucky, led on by the aged and gallant Shelby, advanced and drove them with great slaughter from the field. The combat, however, still raged with great fury; the Indians, to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred, being determined at every hazard to maintain their ground. The voice of Tecumseh was distinctly heard in every part of the battle, encouraging his warriors, who fought with more determined energy than they had ever exhibited. Colonel Johnson, now advancing at the head of a column to the spot, where the Indians were clustering around their chief with the intention to die or conquer by his side; and being conspicuous by his uniform and the white horse he rode, was pierced by several balls and fell. Tecumseh at the same time was slain. Colonel Johnson having been removed, severely wounded from the field, the command devolved on Major Thompson. The Indians continued the fight after this for nearly an hour. The voice of Tecumseh, however, no longer stimulated their efforts—no longer animated the warrior. They therefore gave way at last, on every side. Near where Tecumseh had fallen, thirty Indians and six whites were found, literally cut to pieces. (See note 3.)

Tecumseh fell, respected by his enemies as a great and magnanimous chief. As the champion of barbarians, he stood unrivalled. He was endowed by nature with a powerful mind, and with the soul of a hero. Born without a title to command, such was his native greatness that no one disputed his precedence. Subtle and fierce in war—eloquent in council—humane in all his acts—he seemed born to command. General Harrison used to say of him, that "he possessed the two most essential characteristics of a gentleman—self-respect and self-possession." Had his lot been cast in a different state of society, he would have been its ornament and its head. As it was, he was the first, the best, the most pure, and the most exalted of the savage race.

The question now remained to be solved, were the Americans "a ferocious and mortal foe," using the same mode of warfare as the allies of Britain, (to adopt the language of General Proctor,) or were they, as pretended, the friends of humanity. The cruelties at the river Raisin might have justified retaliation, and the instruments of those deeds were now at their disposal. Bereft of hope by their signal defeat, and the loss of their leader, the savages sued for peace; and to evince their sincerity, offered to raise their tomahawks in behalf of the Americans, and execute on the British captives the same atrocities which, under British influence, had been perpetrated on them.

The Americans, however, recoiled from such a scene, and the prisoners were distributed, in small parties, among the inhabitants in the interior towns, and though often insolent, were treated with humanity; and, in some instances, fed on dainties. Peace was granted to the savages, and during the succeeding winter, they were actually supported at the public expense.

While the victory of the Thames, the defeat of Proctor's army, and the death of Tecumseh, rescued our northern frontier from the depredations of the savage and the horrors of war, the southern part of Illinois was afflicted by calamities of a similar nature, though less in degree. Here the savage and the American settlers on the border met in conflict; and here, too, ancient chivalry was frequently eclipsed.

The pioneer who dwells in the vicinity of Indian hunting-grounds, forming a barrier between savage and civilized man, learns to hate the Indian, because he hears him spoken of always as an enemy. Having listened from his cradle to tales of savage violence, and perused with interest the narrative of aboriginal ferocity; and numbering, among the victims of some midnight massacre, his nearest and dearest relations; it is not to be wondered at, that he should fear and detest the savage. While the war-whoop is sounding in his ear, the rifle is kept in readiness, and the cabin door securely barred with the return of evening.

Among those thus born and reared, one Thomas Higgins, of Kentucky, stands preëminent. During the war of 1812, he enlisted at an early age in a company of rangers, and came to Illinois. One of the most extraordinary events during its progress, occurred near Vandalia, in which Higgins participated. Men talk of Marathon, and Thermopylæ, and Waterloo, as if warlike deeds were exhibited only there, without reflecting that a single ranger from Kentucky has eclipsed them all.

A little fort, or rather blockhouse, having been erected about twenty miles from Vandalia, late the capital of Illinois, and about eight miles south of the present village of Greenville, to protect the frontier settlements from the Indians, Lieutenant Journay and twelve men were assigned for its garrison. Of the latter, Higgins was one.

The surrounding country was, at that time, a continued forest; and the little hamlet of Greenville a frontier town.

On the 30th of August, 1814, strong indications that savages were in the neighborhood became apparent; and at night, a party of Indians was seen prowling about the fort.

On the morning of the 31st, before daylight, Lieutenant Journay, with the whole force under his command, sallied forth in pursuit of them. They had not proceeded far before a large party of savages—seventy or eighty in number—rose from their ambush, and at the first fire the Lieutenant and three of his men were killed, and another wounded. Six returned in safety to the fort, and one (Thomas Higgins,) lingered behind, in order to have "one more pull at the enemy."

The morning was sultry—the day had not yet dawned; a heavy dew had fallen during the night, and the air being still and humid, the smoke from their guns hung like a cloud over the scene.

By aid of this cloud, the companions of Higgins escaped to the fort. Higgins's horse, having been shot in the neck, fell upon his knees; he rose, however, in a moment. Higgins, in the meantime, supposing him to be mortally wounded, had dismounted, and was about to leave him. Perceiving soon thereafter his error, and that the wound was not dangerous, he determined to make good his retreat; but resolved first to avenge the death of his companions.

He sought, therefore, a tree, from behind which he could shoot with safety. A small elm, scarcely sufficient to protect his body, was near. It was the only one in sight; and, before he could reach it, the smoke partly arose and discovered to him a number of Indians. One of them was loading his gun. Higgins, having taken deliberate aim, fired at the foremost savage, and he fell. Concealed still by the smoke, Higgins reloaded, mounted his horse, and turned to fly, when a voice, apparently from the grass, hailed him with "Tom, you won't leave me, will you?"

Higgins turned immediately around, and seeing a fellow-soldier by the name of Burgess lying on the ground, wounded and gasping for breath, replied: "No, I'll not leave you—come along."

"I can't come," said Burgess; "my leg is all smashed to pieces."

Higgins dismounted, and taking up his friend, whose ankle had been broken, was about to lift him on his horse, when the horse taking fright, darted off in an instant, and left Higgins and his friend behind.

"This is too bad," said Higgins; "but do n't fear; you hop off on your three legs, and I'll stay behind between you and the Indians, and keep them off. Get into the tallest grass, and crawl as near the ground as possible." Burgess did so, and escaped.

The smoke, which had hitherto concealed Higgins, now cleared away, and he resolved, if possible, to retreat. To follow the track of Burgess was most expedient. It would, however, endanger his friend.

He determined, therefore, to venture boldly forward, and, if discovered, to secure his own safety by the rapidity of his flight. On leaving a small thicket, in which he had sought refuge, he discovered a tall, portly savage near by, and two others in a direction between him and the fort. He paused for a moment, and thought if he could separate, and fight them singly, his case was not so desperate.

He started, therefore, for a little run of water which was near, but found one of his limbs failing him—it having been struck by a ball in the first encounter, of which, till now, he was scarcely conscious.

The largest Indian pressed close upon him, and Higgins turned round two or three times in order to fire. The Indian halted and danced about to prevent his taking aim. Higgins saw it was unsafe to fire at random, and perceiving two others approaching, knew he must be overpowered in a moment, unless he could dispose of the forward Indian first. He resolved, therefore, to halt and receive his fire. The Indian raised his rifle; and Higgins, watching his eye, turned suddenly, as his finger pressed the trigger, and received the ball in his thigh.

Higgins fell, but rose immediately, and ran. The foremost Indian, now certain of his prey, loaded again, and with the other two, pressed on. They overtook him—Higgins fell again, and as he rose, the whole three fired, and he received all their balls. He now fell and rose again; and the Indians, throwing away their guns, advanced upon him with spears and knives. As he presented his gun at one or the other, each fell back. At last, the largest Indian, supposing Higgins's gun to be empty, from his fire having been thus reserved, advanced boldly to the charge. Higgins fired, and the savage fell.

He had now four bullets in his body—an empty gun in his hand—two Indians unharmed, as yet, before him—and a whole tribe but a few yards distant. Any other man but Higgins would have despaired. Napoleon would have acknowledged himself defeated; Wellington, with all his obstinacy, would have considered the case as doubtful; and Charles, of Sweden, have regarded it as one of peril. Not so with Higgins. He had no notion of surrendering yet. He had slain the most dangerous of the three; and having little to fear from the others, began to load his rifle. They raised a savage whoop, and rushed to the encounter; keeping at a respectful distance when Higgins's rifle was loaded, but when they knew it was empty, "they were better soldiers."

A bloody conflict now ensued. The Indians stabbed him in several places. Their spears, however, were but thin poles, hastily prepared for the occasion, and bent whenever they struck a rib or a muscle. The wounds they made were not therefore deep, though numerous, as his scars sufficiently testified.

At last one of them threw his tomahawk. It struck him upon the cheek, passed through his ear, which it severed, laid bare his skull to the back of his head, and stretched him upon the prairie. The Indians again rushed on: but Higgins, recovering his self-possession, kept them off with his feet and hands. Grasping at length one of their spears, the Indian, in attempting to pull it from him, raised Higgins up; who, taking his rifle, smote the nearest savage, and dashed out his brains. In doing so, however, his rifle broke—the barrel only remaining in his hand.

The other Indian, who had hitherto fought with caution, came now manfully into the battle. His character as a warrior was in jeopardy. To have fled from a man thus wounded and disarmed, or to have suffered his victim to escape, would have tarnished his fame for ever.

Uttering, therefore, a terrific yell, he rushed on, and attempted to stab the exhausted ranger; but the latter warded off his blow with one hand, and brandished his rifle-barrel with the other.

The Indian was as yet unharmed, and under existing circumstances, by far the most powerful man. Higgins's courage, however, was unexhausted, and inexhaustible. The savage, at last, began to retreat from the glare of his untamed eye, to the spot where he dropped his rifle. Higgins knew that if he recovered that, his own case was desperate; throwing, therefore, his rifle-barrel aside, and drawing his hunting-knife, he rushed upon his foe. A desperate strife ensued—deep gashes were inflicted on both sides. Higgins, fatigued, and exhausted by the loss of blood, was no longer a match for the savage. The latter succeeded in throwing his adversary from him, and went immediately in pursuit of his rifle. Higgins, at the same time, rose and sought for the gun of the other Indian. Both, therefore, bleeding and out of breath, were in search of arms to renew the combat.

The smoke had now passed away, and a large number of Indians were in view. Nothing, it would seem, could now save the gallant ranger. There was, however, an eye to pity, and an arm to save—and that arm was a woman's!

The little garrison had witnessed the whole combat. It consisted of but six men and one woman; that woman, however, was a host—a Mrs. Pursley. When she saw Higgins contending, single-handed, with a whole tribe of savages, she urged the rangers to attempt his rescue. The rangers objected, as the Indians were ten to one. Mrs. Pursley, therefore, snatched a rifle from her husband's hand, and declaring that "so fine a fellow as Tom Higgins should not be lost for want of help," mounted a horse, and sallied forth to his rescue. The men, unwilling to be outdone by a woman, followed at full gallop—reached the spot where Higgins fainted and fell, before the Indians came up; and while the savage with whom he had been engaged was looking for his rifle, his friends lifted the wounded ranger up, and throwing him across a horse before one of the party, reached the fort in safety. (See note 4.)

The war, so far as Illinois was concerned, having now ceased, we pursue the subject no further.

We have already remarked that the regular troops in Canada, when war was declared, did not exceed two thousand. The number, however, was afterward increased, and, at length, became formidable.

The "man of destiny," who had entered the confines of Russia with an army of seven hundred thousand men, and was defeated by the inclemency of its winter; in 1813 returned from thence in haste to defend his capital. In December of that year, the allied armies entered France, and in April, 1814, her imperial master was banished to Elba. The war upon the continent having ceased, the attention of England was directed hither. Her "fleets covered the ocean, and her armies darkened the land." The frontiers of Canada became the theatre of a bloody strife, in which little else was gained but laurels. Our seaboard was distressed; our capital was burned; our towns were attacked; our ships generally triumphant, and our cities gallantly defended.

Peace was at length concluded, on the 24th of December, 1814, by the treaty of Ghent; and publicly proclaimed by the president, on the 18th of February, thereafter.

By this treaty, nothing was settled. No agreement was concluded, except "to be, and remain at peace." The difficulties which had caused the war were yet unadjusted. The questions on which we had taken issue were open, as before.

We gained, it is true, what every lad values above price, "the reputation of being a young man of spirit." England and Europe have since treated us with more respect than formerly, and the American, residing or travelling in any part of the globe, may now own his country with pride.

The war also taught us some valuable lessons. We acquired a knowledge of our own weakness, as well as of our strength. We learned from thence that our best policy is in honorable peace—in conquest, that we are weak, in defence, strong and irresistible.

NOTE I.

We cannot recognize in General Harrison, on this occasion, that devotion to country which animated General Montgomery, who fell in the attack upon Quebec, during the revolutionary war. Montgomery was appointed the second brigadier-general in the

Continental army—General Pomeroy the first. General Pomeroy, not accepting the appointment, the claim of General Montgomery, according to military notions, became perfect. Congress, however, conferred the vacant situation upon General Thomas, who was originally the sixth. This advancement of a junior over a senior officer, Congress thinking might prove offensive to a man of Montgomery's rigid notions of military honor, (he having been bred in the best military schools in Europe,) and being conscious of their offence, they directed James Duane, a member of their body, from New-York, to write to him and explain away the matter as well as he could. He did so, and received the following in reply, which contains the elements of true greatness.

'Dear Sir:

"I have been honored with your letter of the 21st instant. My acknowledgments are due for the attention shown me by Congress.

"I submit with great cheerfulness to any regulation they, in their prudence, shall judge expedient. Laying aside the principles of the soldier, I shall endeavor to discharge my duty to society—considering myself as the *citizen*, reduced to the melancholy necessity of taking up arms, for the public safety. I am, etc.

"Richard Montgomery.

"Hon. James Duane."

NOTE II.

Mr. Cooper, in describing the scene, graphically remarks: "At this critical moment, the Niagara came steadily down, within half pistol-shot of the enemy; standing between the Chippeway and Lady Prevost on one side, and the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter on the other. In passing, she poured in her broadsides, starboard and larboard; ranged ahead of the ships, luffed athwart their bows, and continued delivering a close and deadly fire. The shrieks from the Detroit proved that the tide of battle had turned. At the same moment, the gun vessels and the Caledonia were throwing in, also, discharges of grape and canister astern. A conflict so fearfully close and so deadly, was necessarily short. In fifteen or twenty minutes after the Niagara bore up, a hail was passed among the smaller vessels that the enemy had struck; and an officer of the Queen Charlotte appeared on the taffrail of that ship, waving a white handkerchief bent to a boarding-pike."

Mr. Cooper's work having a tendency to exalt Captain Elliot at the expense of Commodore Perry; it having also excited much interest, especially of late, and called forth a great deal of unnecessary vituperation, the battle of Lake Erie demands some further comments.

Each officer was directed by Commodore Perry to bring his vessel into line at "half-cable length" from the enemy. Did Captain Elliot do so? or was he prevented from thus doing by necessity? And what was, or rather what would have been the consequence of this omission, had it not been for the extraordinary—the desperate measure resorted to by Commodore Perry?

Had the Niagara "followed the little Caledonia into the thickest of the fight;" had she taken her position in line, and bore her part in the action, the battle would at once have been decided. By Captain Elliot's neglect or omission, the Lawrence was compelled to fight, single-handed, the Detroit, the Queen Charlotte, and the Hunter, at the same time, for two hours; during which period every gun was dismounted, and almost every man killed or wounded. The Lawrence was at that time wholly unmanageable—a wreck upon the water. The victory on the part of the British was then decisive. Commodore Perry, however, by leaving his disabled ship, going on board the Niagara, and bringing her into action, (the smaller vessels following in his wake,) restored the battle, won a victory, captured a whole fleet, and, in defiance of the studious want of exertion on the part of Captain Elliot, his second in command, acquired imperishable laurels.

In going from the Lawrence to the Niagara, fifteen minutes were consumed; and in bringing the latter into action, fighting, and winning the battle, fifteen more. Thus thirty minutes were profitably spent. It was in this way "the battle of Lake Erie was won, by the personal exertions of Commodore Perry."

It was scarcely surpassed by Paul Jones, in the revolutionary war, when he, "at the head of a little privateer," fought the whole British fleet of twenty-three sail of the line."

NOTE III.

The inquiry has often been made: Who killed Tecumseh? The answer is attended with more difficulty than is generally supposed. The proof is contradictory. The circumstances stated by many are impossible, and some of them inconsistent with each other. In one respect the witnesses all agree, and in one only: "That Tecumseh was killed at the battle of the Thames." That Colonel Johnson, from his situation, might have done it, and probably did—but of this there is no certainty, nor is it essential to Colonel Johnson's fame to have it so.

The grave of Tecumseh, it is said, was visible a few years since, near the borders of a willow-marsh, on the north line of the battle-ground, with a large fallen oak tree lying beside it. He was "there left alone in his glory." The British government, having previously appointed him a brigadier-general, afterward granted a pension to his widow and family.

NOTE IV.

"Higgins was insensible for several days, and his life was preserved by continual care. His friends extracted two of the balls from his thigh; two, however, yet remained—one of which gave him a good deal of pain. Hearing, afterward, that a physician had settled within a day's ride of him, he determined to go and see him. The physician (whose name is spared,) asked him fifty dollars for the operation. This Higgins flatly refused, saying it was more than a half year's pension. On reaching home, he found the exercise of riding had made the ball discernible; he requested his wife, therefore, to hand him his razor. With her assistance, he laid open his thigh, until the edge of the razor touched the bullet; then inserting his two thumbs into the gash, 'he flirted it out,' as he used to say, 'without costing him a cent.' The other ball yet remained; it gave him, however, but little pain, and he carried it with him to his grave.

"Higgins died in Fayette county, Illinois, a few years since. He was the most perfect specimen of a frontier man in his day, and was once assistant door-keeper of the House of Representatives, in Illinois."

The above account is taken principally from a newspaper. Its writer is unknown. The facts, however, therein stated, are familiar to many, and were first communicated to the author by one of the justices of the Supreme Court of this State. They have since been confirmed by others, to whom Higgins was personally known, and there is no doubt of their correctness.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Illinois admitted into the Union December 3rd, 1818—Its territorial Government before—Ninian Edwards Governor—Property of the State on its admission—Conditions, etc.—Taxes of residents and non-residents alike—Navigation of the Mississippi—Spanish conspiracy—General Wilkinson—Judge Sebastian and others—Purchase of Louisiana, 1801—Burr's conspiracy, 1806—Steamboats introduced, 1812—Barges, Flat-bottomed boats, etc.—Convention meets to form a Constitution for the State, at Kaskaskia, 1818—Constitution adopted—Its provisions—Boundaries of the State—Attempts to alter them—Governor Doty—Attempts abandoned.

ILLINOIS, we have already remarked, was admitted into the Union, and became an independent State, on the 3rd of December, 1818. Previous to that time, and after the peace of 1783, it had been a part of Virginia; afterward a part of the Northwestern Territory; then a part of the Indiana Territory; and lastly, a territory of itself, including Wisconsin. It had passed also through two grades (the first and second,) of territorial government. That each may be understood, some further remarks are requisite.

In addition to the claim set up by Virginia, as patentee of the immense region bounded by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and by Canada, known and distinguished for many years as the Northwestern Territory—which claim she successfully asserted by force of arms, and held afterward by right of conquest—Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-York, respectively advanced similar ones each to a portion. Vague, however, as they were—too much so to deserve serious consideration—they embarrassed, for some time, the councils of the nation, not on account of their merits, but the pertinacity with which they were urged.

It was by many contended that a vacant territory, wrested from the common enemy by the united arms and common treasure of all the States, belonged of right to the Union. However plausible the argument and just the conclusion, with some it was anything else than satisfactory. In the first place it was not, said the Virginians, a vacant territory, being a part of the old original patent of Virginia; in the second place, it was conquered, not by the arms of the whole, but by the arms of Virginia only; and in the third place, it was, for many years, held and occupied exclusively by Virginia; her jurisdiction having been, during that time, extended over it, and justice having been administered in her name. Hence the difficulty, serious we admit; and hence, too, the necessity of cession by a part, for the joint benefit of the whole.

New-York first released her interest therein to the confederated States, for a certain purpose specified in the deed of cession, as we have already seen; Virginia, in 1784, did the like; and Massachusetts, also, in 1785; Connecticut, in 1786, made her tardy sacrifice for the general good, and received in lieu thereof a donation of lands, which afterward laid the foundation of her school fund. Virginia, in her deed of cession, merely required, that the territory northwest of the Ohio, should be divided into not less than three nor more than five States, according to the ordinance afterward made by Congress, in 1787, before referred to; that the French settlers should be confirmed in their possessions; and that certain lands should be reserved for the use of George Rogers Clarke, and the officers and soldiers who served under him in the memorable expedition which, in 1778, terminated in its conquest.

The United States having become its sole proprietor, Congress, shortly thereafter, passed the celebrated ordinance of July 13th, 1787; which originated in great wisdom, and has since been regarded as an act of the highest importance. In it we find the noblest sentiments of benevolence, and the soundest maxims of civil polity.

On the 7th of August, 1789, soon after the Constitution of the United States was adopted, a government over the Northwestern Territory was established by Congress, and Arthur St. Clair appointed its first governor.

On the 7th of May, 1800, the Northwestern Territory was divided, and two separate territorial governments were formed; the western division, including Illinois, was called Indiana, and William H. Harrison, late President of the United States, was appointed its first governor.

On the 3rd of February, 1809, all that part of the Indiana territory, which lies west of the Wabash river, and a direct line from the river at Vincennes, due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, was constituted a separate territory by the name of Illinois; and Ninian Edwards was appointed its first governor. The Territory of Illinois, in 1809, it will therefore be seen, included the present State of Illinois, and the whole of the Wisconsin Territory.

On the 20th of May, 1812, Illinois passed from the first to the second grade of territorial government; and, for the first time, sent a delegate to Congress. The right of suffrage was, at the same time, extended to all its inhabitants, and the property qualifications required by the ordinance of 1787, in the voter, was abolished.

By the above ordinance, the territorial governments of the first grade were organized by the appointment of a governor, who held his office for three years; to reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein of one thousand acres of land; a secretary, who held his office for four years, to reside also in the district, and have a freehold estate of five hundred acres of land; and a court, to consist of three judges, to reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein each of five hundred acres of land. These several officers were appointed by the President and Senate of the United States; and the latter held their commissions during good behavior.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, were required to adopt and publish in the district, such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as should be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time; which laws should be in force in the district until the organization of a General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress.

All magistrates and civil officers, and all military officers under the rank of brigadier-general, were appointed by the governor; and the sole power of dividing the district into counties and townships was vested in the latter. Under a government thus constituted, Illinois continued from 1809 till 1812, when she entered upon the second grade of territorial government.

The governor, appointed and commissioned, as before; a Legislative Council, consisting of five members, and a House of Representatives elected by the people, were now authorized to make laws "for the government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles established and declared in the ordinance above alluded to." The Legislative Council were appointed by the president and Senate, and commissioned by the former; and to be selected from a list of ten persons to be furnished by the House of Representatives in the district. A delegate to Congress was also elected by the people, with a right to speak, but not to vote in that body.

Under this form of government Illinois continued from 1812 till 1818, at which time she was admitted into the Union a free and sovereign State.

On her admission in the manner above mentioned, one section, of six hundred and forty acres of land, in each township, was granted to its inhabitants for the use of common schools; all salt springs within the State, and lands reserved for the same, were granted to the State, with a proviso, that the latter should never sell them or lease them, for a longer period than ten years at any one time. Five per cent. out of the net proceeds of all land sales within its limits, were also given to the State, two-fifths of which were to be disbursed by Congress, in making roads thither; and the residue to be appropriated by its Legislature, for the encouragement of learning; of which last, one-sixth part was to be exclusively bestowed on a college or seminary. Two entire townships were also granted to the State for the use of a seminary of learning.

The people of Illinois became thus invested with one thirty-sixth part of the whole area of the State, for the use of common schools; and with two entire townships for the use of a seminary of learning. She became entitled, also, to two-and-a-half per cent. on all moneys received for lands sold within the State, to be appropriated by its Legislature for the encouragement of learning; and one-half of one per cent., to be exclusively bestowed upon a college or seminary. The saline lands belonged also to the State in fee; and two per cent. on all moneys received for lands sold within it, were to be appropriated by Congress in the construction of a road, or roads leading thither. A more ample provision surely, for education and internal improvements, can nowhere else be found.

In consideration whereof, the State of Illinois agreed to exempt from taxation all lands sold by the United States, "for five years, from and after the day of sale." (See note 1.) The State of Illinois agreed also to exempt from taxation all lands granted for military services during the late war, for the term of three years, from and after the date of the patents respectively. The State also agreed that all lands belonging to citizens of the United States, residing without the State of Illinois, should never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons within the State. (See note 2.) These several provisions were declared to be irrevocable without the consent of Congress.

Illinois, during the existence of its territorial government, presents for contemplation but few incidents, other than those already mentioned. Circumstances, however, of an important nature occurred in its vicinity, which had a tendency to affect its prospects in several particulars; and although its population did not participate directly therein, those incidents, from their character, require to be considered.

Emigrants had no sooner crossed the Alleghany mountains, than the navigation of the Mississippi river became indispensable to the prosperity of the numerous rising States growing up in its valley. Louisiana, however, was at that time a province of Spain; and the navigation of the Mississippi being interrupted, the right to its navigation became a subject of deep and enduring interest, and occasioned, of course, much animated, and some angry, discussion. If the confederated States could not, or would not, procure from the Spanish authorities an acknowledgment of the right of the western people to navigate that river, the prosperity of those who had sought the West, in order to make homes for themselves and their children, would be essentially impaired; and the ligaments which bound them to the American Union would be weakened exceedingly, and perhaps severed entirely asunder.

The old confederation, having been somewhat remiss in this part of their duty; many, we have no doubt, listened, and perhaps with favor, to proposals made by Spain. Hence the "Spanish conspiracy," which in 1788, and for several years thereafter, agitated this whole community, and threatened at one time to sever the Union.

General Wilkinson, who had previously located himself in Kentucky, became immediately a conspicuous politician, and advocated the erection of an independent government. Kentucky, it will be observed, was not then admitted into the Union. Wilkinson was immediately charged with being an emissary of Spain; but with what justice, it is difficult to determine. The charge, however, must have been discredited, or the affair regarded by the people of Kentucky as one of no great magnitude, he having repeatedly thereafter been elected a member of their conventions.

Mr. Innis, Mr. Nicholas, Judge Sebastian, and others, men of talents and standing, were implicated also. While, however, crimination and recrimination pervaded the whole country, the most prominent men in Louisiana, as well as in Kentucky, became satisfied that their respective districts would languish without its aid—Spain, therefore, consented that a temporary arrangement should be made by the local government at New-Orleans, for leaving the commerce of the Mississippi unfettered, without compromising the right of renewing her pretensions, or of suffering them to lie dormant, as she thought proper. We ought, perhaps, in justice to those implicated in the "Spanish conspiracy"—some of whom were entirely ruined, by being thus implicated—here to remark, that no evidence exists of any attempt having been made by them, or any of them, to sever the Union. The purchase of Louisiana, in 1801, by the United States, of France, to whom it had been ceded by Spain, put an end to all cavil immediately; and the prosperity of the West was, thenceforward, placed beyond the reach of any and every contingency.

In 1806, however, a new and unexpected difficulty arose; and as it terminated at Fort Massac, within the limits of this State, it may, perhaps, without impropriety, be regarded as a legitimate portion of our history. I allude now to the conspiracy of Colonel Burr, which, at the time of its occurrence, created a sensation throughout the country, seldom, perhaps never, surpassed.

Colonel Burr was the son of a gentleman, alike eminent for his learning and piety—the president of an ancient and respectable college in New-Jersey, and was himself a man of talents. He was distinguished alike for the boldness of his plans, and the rapidity and energy of his thoughts; the elegance of his address, the suavity of his manners, and the fervor and beauty of his eloquence. On the return of peace, he established himself as a lawyer in the city of New-York, and rose rapidly in his profession; became attorney-general of the State, a senator in Congress, and with one more vote, in 1801, would have been elected president of the United States. As it was, he was elected vice-president at the time of Mr. Jefferson's election to the presidency.

His conduct during the presidential canvass impaired his popularity, and the want of confidence in his integrity left him, at the end of four years, with but few friends, and those in the main reckless and designing partisans. He returned to New-York in 1805, and became a candidate for governor. General Hamilton was at that time in the zenith of his fame; the rival of Colonel Burr, not as a candidate for office, but in business and reputation. He was the friend, too, of Washington, who held Colonel Burr in but little esteem. General Hamilton, having no confidence in the integrity of Colonel Burr, gave vent to his opinions; and refusing to retract them, was challenged by the latter to fight a duel. He accepted the challenge and fell. The laurels, however, of the hero, watered by the tears of his country, retained their verdure; and even those who, from political considerations, rejoiced in his fall, execrated, in deep and solemn tones, his savage murderer.

Burr, soon after this bloody catastrophe, resigned his former employments, forsook his accustomed haunts, and led an erratic and mysterious life. He performed long and rapid journeys; travelled sometimes in disguise, and remained for a short time only at any one place.

The western country became his favorite theatre; the Ohio river the termination of his wanderings; and those possessed of military experience, or of hearts alive to the stirring impulse of ambition, his favorite companions.

His movements in a short time excited suspicion. The assembling of men, and the collecting of warlike stores, in strange and unusual places, roused the Government of the United States to action, and Burr was arrested. His adherents immediately dispersed; and their chief, who had triumphed alike in the field of politics and war, though put upon his trial for treason and acquitted, became, as it were, a vagrant in the land;—an obscure citizen of that country, over whose councils he had presided.

'Tis needless to trace the progress of Burr down the Ohio. Suffice it, then, to remark, that a few men were collected upon Blannerhasset's island; that a quantity of arms, warlike instruments, and farming utensils, were there most strangely intermingled; and that a detachment of men, or of troops, for the ostensible purpose of improving land upon the Washita, (of which Colonel Burr had become the proprietor,) descended the Ohio. Fort Massac was then a military post, and was garrisoned by a small detachment of United States troops. Boats descending the river were stopped, and underwent a rigid examination. In this manner his expedition was broken up, and those who had shared in his intrigues shared also in his ruin.

The fate of no man was more deplored, than that of Mr. Blannerhasset and his family. He was an Irish gentleman of fortune—devoted to science, and fond of retirement. He had selected a small island in the Ohio river as his retreat, and spared no expense in its improvement; "and to crown the enchantment of the scene," says Mr. Wirt, in his speech upon the trial of Colonel Burr, "a wife, lovely beyond her sex, had blessed him with her love, and made him the father of her children. But the enchanter came—the crucible was laid aside; music was disrobed of all its charms, and the lovely mistress of this fairy scene—the Calypso of this enchanted Isle, was seen at midnight, shivering on the banks of the Ohio, mingling her tears with the torrents that froze as they fell; eluding, by stratagems, the ministers of justice; destitute of the comforts she had shared with so many, and a stranger to those luxuries she had diffused with so liberal a hand."

The object of Burr is shrouded still in mystery. The ostensible end and aim we have mentioned—the improvement of the Washita lands. That such, however, was its real object, no one can pretend. The conquest of Mexico—the seizure of New-Orleans—the severance of the Union—and the formation of a western empire—have all been enumerated, and each with plausibility, as the final object of a scheme, fraught with treason, madness and folly. The lesson, however, thus taught, will long be remembered.

An officer, high in the army—once high in the confidence of his country; a man of talents—of an address and manner highly prepossessing, embarks in an expedition hostile to the peace and welfare of his country. He advances a thousand miles on his journey—is arrested in his career by little more than a corporal's guard, and taken from thence by an officer with one or two attendants, another thousand miles to court—is tried and acquitted, because no act of treason was proved to have been committed by him in the district, selected by the public prosecutor for his trial—is arraigned a second time at the bar "of public opinion," consigned to disgrace, and rendered infamous—and still, we are told by foreigners, there is no energy in republican institutions. The fact, however, is otherwise. A republican government is the strongest on earth; and the ballot-box the most powerful instrument in existence. It is

> "A weapon that comes down as still,
>   As snow-flakes fall upon the sod;
> But executes a freeman's will,
>   As lightning does the will of God."

Under a despotic government, everything is smooth and quiet upon the surface. It is, however, a sea of black and bitter waters, whose angry billows once excited, "cast up mire and dirt." In a republic it is otherwise. Its free and independent citizens, "live, and move, and have their being" upon a stream, (if not for ever pure,) for ever rolling; and though its mighty flood may sometimes rise a little higher, and flow a little faster than could be wished—and although its foaming torrent, as it dashes along, may now and then throw up its fleecy cloud, it rises only to disappear; and as it fades away before the sunbeams of intelligence, "the signal bow of promise" spans the arch of our political horizon, and publishes to every land the solemn, the important, and now indisputable fact, that there is no danger.

Among the incidents which occurred when Illinois was yet a territory, the introduction of steamboats upon the Mississippi and its branches, stands out in bold relief. In 1812, the steamboat New Orleans, with a cargo of between three and four hundred tons, descended the Ohio and Mississippi rivers from Pittsburgh to New-Orleans, in two hundred and fifty-nine hours. The ordinary passage of a flat-bottomed, or keel-boat from the same place, was, at that time, about seventy-five days; and from New-Orleans to Pittsburgh considerably more. The contrast was so great, and the advantages of steam navigation, more especially in ascending the stream, so striking, that a new era was at once produced. The first experiment having been successful, others followed of course, till several hundred boats, vieing in magnificence with the finest specimens of naval architecture in this country and Europe, covered its surface. The introduction of similar boats into Lake Michigan, the Upper Mississippi, the Missouri, and Illinois rivers, soon completed their triumph, and the old flat-bottomed boats, keel-boats, and barges of the Mississippi, were shortly enumerated among things that were.

It being the historian's province to speak of things that formerly existed, as well as of things that now exist; and there being something, even at this day, on which the imagination delights to linger, in "All the way to Shawneetown long time ago,* we should err exceedingly in taste, as well as in judgment, were we to allow the old Mississippi flat-bottomed boats, keel-boats, and barges, to pass unheeded by.

Although we do not believe that mankind will go to war again in *triremes*, or *biremes*,† as of old, still there is something in Virgil's and in Homer's battles, which surpass in interest Trafalgar or the Nile—and although a modern revenue-cutter would, in all probability, have annihilated the navies of Greece and Rome, the fleets of Anthony and Cæsar, they were all great in "their day and generation." It was just so with the boats of the Mississippi, and the hardy race of men, who by main strength propelled "vessels of enormous bulk" up and down its stream. The latter are principally extinct. Their familiarity, however, with danger—their dexterity among "the chutes—the races—the snaggs—the chains—the sawyers and planters—points of islands—wreck-heaps and cypress-bends" of this mighty river—their perseverance amid perils—their hardihood, and sometimes their liberality, demand our applause.

The larger class of barges required some thirty or forty men to manage them, and sailed frequently in company. Their arrival, as we are told, at one time, was the sure forerunner of a riot; lawless and dissolute, and sometimes more numerous than the whole population where they happened to land, they indulged themselves in great excesses, and sometimes without restraint. The citizens were compelled to arm in their own defence; and the victory, more frequently than otherwise, was in favor of the party "most prodigal of life and careless of consequences." An increase of population along the river was gradually improving this state of things, and working a reformation, when the introduction of steamboats produced a revolution. The number of men required for navigation being lessened, (a steamboat carrying ten times the burden, and performing the voyage in a fifth part of the time,) the boatmen's character became more elevated; and discipline being introduced among them, the Mississippi steamboats were hailed by every class of citizens along the river, with exceeding joy; and their arrival, like their predecessors, (the Mississippi barges,) no longer occasioned a declaration of war.

The termination of hostilities with England and the savages, in 1815; the introduction of steamboats upon our lakes and rivers; the extent and fertility of our soil, and salubrity of its climate, in the years 1815, 1816, 1817 and 1818, brought many emigrants hither, mostly from Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina, who settled principally in the southern part of the (then) Territory of Illinois. In consequence of this accession, Congress, on the 18th of April, 1818, passed a law to enable the people of the Illinois territory, to form a Constitution and State government. The preliminary steps* for that purpose having been taken, a convention met at Kaskaskia, and on the 26th of August, 1818, adopted our present State Constitution.

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* The chorus of a favorite boat-song.

† Triremes and biremes were the names of two classes of vessels among the Greeks and Romans. The former had three, and the latter, two benches of rowers. The skill of the rowers determined generally the fate of the battle.

By the act of Congress, approved April 18th, 1818, entitled "An act to enable the people of the Illinois Territory to frame a Constitution and State government, and for the admission of said State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes," the boundaries of said State were fixed as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash river; thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana to the northwest corner of said State; thence east with the line of same State to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude 42° 30′; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi river; thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio river; and thence up the latter river, along its northwestern shore to the place of beginning." The above boundaries were recognized by the convention which met at Kaskaskia to frame the Constitution, and have since been regarded by the Legislature of Illinois as final and conclusive. (See note 3.)

Within the above boundaries, there are thirty-five millions nine hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and two acres, or fifty-six thousand one hundred and fifty-eight square miles. The State of Illinois, it will therefore be seen, is larger than New-York, Ohio, or Pennsylvania. It contains more arable land than all New-England; and more than England and Wales together. It is larger than Denmark and Portugal; and has more square miles than Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, united.

The Constitution of Illinois differs but little from the constitution of the other, and neighboring States.

The governor is elected for four years, and ineligible for the next succeeding term. He must be thirty years of age, and have been a citizen of the United States for thirty years, and resident of the State for two years preceding his election. A lieutenant governor is elected for the same time, and must possess the same qualifications. The last clause in the Constitution, however, was afterward modified, and "any person thirty years of age, who was a citizen of the United States, and had resided within the limits of Illinois for two years preceding the election, was rendered eligible to the office of lieutenant-governor."† Senators are elected for four years, and representatives for two. The General Assembly meets once in two years, (on the first Monday in December,) unless convened specially by the governor. The judicial power is vested in the supreme court, consisting, at this time, of nine judges, which meet at the capital once a year, on the first Monday in December; and in nine circuit courts, held twice a year in each county, by the nine circuit judges. These circuit judges hold the supreme court. They are also members of the council of revision, (an unfortunate circumstance, as it is of no practical use, and tends to make all of them politicians.) They are appointed by the General Assembly, a circumstance equally unfortunate. There are, also, county commissioners' courts held in each county. Probate justice's courts, and courts held by justices of the peace; the three last, together with the sheriff and recorder of each county, are elected by the people. The governor receives, at the present time, a salary of two thousand dollars a year; and the judges of the supreme and circuit courts, fifteen hundred each. Provision is made for amending the Constitution, in express terms, and two attempts have been made for that purpose already, both of which proved abortive; and, perhaps, fortunately so, as the time has not yet come when the Constitutionof this State can be so amended as to enhance its value.

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* One of the preliminary steps was the taking of the census. Although done by legal authority, its accuracy was questioned at the time, as it has frequently been since.

† This modification was made (after the Constitution was completed and signed) to meet a particular case. The members of the convention had in view a French gentleman, of Kaskaskia, (Peter Menard,) as a candidate for the office of lieutenant-governor. As the Constitution originally stood, he was ineligible. It was, therefore, amended to make him eligible; and Mr. Menard was elected to the office of lieutenant-governor, at the next election thereafter

From 1818 till the breaking out of the Sac war, in 1832, little occured of much interest requiring our attention, other than what will be found under distinct heads hereafter. We will, therefore, pass over that period of fourteen years, and call the attention of our readers to the Sac war—observing, in the meantime, that the population of the State, during that period, increased with great rapidity; being, in 1810, twelve thousand two hundred and eighty-two; in 1820, fifty-seven thousand; and in 1830, one hundred and fifty-seven thousand. The increase of wealth was about in the same proportion.

NOTE I.

A question has recently been mooted, whether "the day of sale" means the time when the land is entered, paid for, and a certificate given, or when the patent is executed. When the land is paid for, and a certificate given, the United States, to all intents and purposes, are divested of their interest in the premises; and the purchaser is vested with such interest. He becomes then a freeholder, to all intents and purposes; his title, thenceforward, passes by deed, and is subject to judgment and execution. 'T is therefore absurd to pretend, that "the day of sale" means the day on which the patent is signed, or any other day than that on which the land was entered, paid for, and a certificate given, all of which are contemporaneous acts.

NOTE II.

This provision is, or ought to have been, superfluous. No person having any regard whatever for principle, would have thought of adopting one rule for residents, and another for non-residents, in the assessment and collection of taxes. Inasmuch, however, as the better way to keep men honest is to remove all temptation to be otherwise; or, in other words, to deprive them of the ability to do harm, in case they are inclined to do so this provision is, perhaps, well enough.

NOTE III.

An effort having been made, in 1840, to annex all that part of the State of Illinois, between "an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend, or extreme of Lake Michigan;" and its northern line drawn east and west, at latitude 42° 30′ north; the question in relation to its northern boundary demands a few moments attention.

On the 30th of March, 1840, James Duane Doty, the present governor of Wisconsin, addressed a letter to the people of Wisconsin, in which he says: "I hope no inducement which may be held out by political expediency, or respect for a government which has attempted to infringe the rights of a State (Wisconsin,) which had no voice in her councils, will deter us from proceeding to frame a permanent government for the State, *according to its constituted boundaries.*" In a prior letter, of the 19th of January, 1840, addressed to sundry individuals in northern Illinois, Governor Doty observes: "My doctrine has been and still is, that if Congress saw fit to establish more than three States in the territory northwest of the Ohio—the ordinance fixed definitely the northern boundary of the states bordering on the Ohio river, on "a line drawn east and west through the southerly bend, or extreme of Lake Michigan."

It is therefore lawful for those (that is, those living north of the line last aforesaid,) to unite with the people who occupy the other portion of the fifth State, (now called Wisconsin Territory,) to frame a State government for themselves, according to the articles of cession contained in the ordinance of 1787. This right is paramount to any act of Congress."

"The public debt (says Governor Doty,) of Illinois is enough alone to alarm the property-holders in every part of the State, especially the industrious farmers."

"Justice, (continues Governor Doty,) however, I think requires that provision should be made in the constitution of the new State, for the completion of the canal from Chicago to the State line, and also the improvement of the navigation of the Rock river, and the repayment of a fair proportion of the expense incurred by Illinois upon these works. A proportion so equitable I cannot but believe would be accepted by Illinois, and the course pursued by Wisconsin approved by the world."

At the instance of Governor Doty, a few public meetings were held in northern Illinois, and delegates were appointed to meet in convention, etc., but when and where I have no recollection, and at present no means of ascertaining—the proposition was too absurd to meet with much countenance, and was speedily abandoned.

We have already remarked, that the Territory of Illinois included the present State of Illinois and the whole of Wisconsin Territory. Congress, therefore, had a perfect right to include the whole in the State of Illinois—or such part of it as they thought proper; not, however, excluding therefrom any portion thereof south of the line drawn "east and west through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan." They had, also, by the ordinance of 1787, full power and authority (if expedient,) to form one or two States in that part of said territory north of the aforesaid line. It does not, however, of course follow, that the whole of it was to be included in such States, nor was Congress required to do so. They did, in point of fact, establish the line at latitude 42° 30′ north. Illinois ratified and confirmed the line—the northern part of said territory was annexed, first to Michigan, and afterward erected into a separate territory.

The act of Congress, approved April 30, 1802, admitting Ohio into the Union—the act of Congress, of January 15, 1805, erecting the Territory of Michigan, recognized the "east and west lines drawn through the southerly bend, or extreme of Lake Michigan. The act of Congress, approved May 20, 1812, for surveying the northern line of Ohio, recognized the same. Of course the question between Ohio and Michigan, which agitated this community to a considerable extent a few years since, was entirely different from the one now presented. When Indiana was admitted into the Union, (April 19, 1816,) its northern line was established ten miles north of the first mentioned line, and parallel thereto. This has never been questioned, either by Indiana or Michigan. Nor is there any reason whatever for disputing the northern line of Illinois, or the authority of Congress to establish it at a point on Lake Michigan, in latitude 42° 38′ north, and running from thence west to the Mississippi.

CHAPTER XIX.

Causes of Indian hostilities in general—Philip's letter to the Governor of Massachusetts—Black Hawk born on Rock river, in Illinois, 1767—Winnebagoes—Menonemies—Pottawatomies—Sacs and Foxes—Treaty of St. Louis, June 27, 1804—Black Hawk's opinion of it—Fort Madison—Attempts to cut off its garrison—Whites settle on the lands ceded—Were in some instances the aggressors—Treaty of Prairie Du Chien, August 19, 1825—American mediators, etc.—Unsuccessful attack on keelboats by Indians, July 30, 1827—Black Hawk suspected—General Atkinson marches into the Winnebago country, and arrests those suspected—Indians suspected tried, 1828—Black Hawk, among others, tried and acquitted—Treaty of Prairie Du Chien, July 15, 1830—Black Hawk not a party to it—Difficulties between Black Hawk and Keokuk—Several depredations committed—Governor Reynolds—General Gaines—Black Hawk crosses the Mississippi to its west bank—Recrosses the Mississippi in the spring of 1832, and ascends the Rock river—Governor Reynolds calls out one thousand militia—General Whitesides elected brigadier-general—Ascends Rock river to Dixon's—Major Stillman ascends Rock river in advance of the army—Is defeated, May 14th, 1832—Captain Adams—Major Hackleton—General Whitesides's brigade visits the battle ground and buries the dead—Returns to Dixon's—General Atkinson arrives—Keokuk's address—Indian Creek settlement attacked, and its inhabitants massacred—Miss Hall's narrative—General Whitesides's brigade marches to Pawpaw grove, and from thence to Fox river and to Ottaway—Are discharged——A part volunteer again—Black Hawk moves up the Rock river to its head waters, and is pursued—A Dunkard preacher massacred near Chicago—A party of spies attacked, and four killed—St. Vrain—Mr. Smith—Mr. Winters—Attack on Plum Creek—Captain Stephenson—Captain, afterward General Dodge—General Semple—General Atkinson fortifies his camp at Dixon's, and awaits the arrival of the Illinois militia—General Henry—General Posey—General Alexander—Militia arrive at Dixon's, and General Brady assumes command of the whole—Congress direct six hundred mounted rangers to be enlisted—Major Demont—Rev. Zadock Casey—The whole army march up Rock river—Joined by one hundred Pottawatomies, under Wa-ban-see—Arrive at Koshkanong—General Atkinson assumes the command—General Henry sent to Fort Winnebago, and General Posey to Fort Hamilton, for supplies—General Henry pursues Black Hawk up the White Water, thence to the Wisconsin—Overtakes him on the 21st of July—Battle of Wisconsin—General Ewing—General Fry—Colonel Jones—Indians defeated—Reaches the Blue Mounds on the 22nd of July—General Atkinson arrives—The army crosses the Wisconsin—Overtakes Black Hawk on the Mississippi—Battle of the Bad Axe—Indians defeated, August 2, 1832—General Atkinson's official report of the battle—Captain Throcmorton's account—Black Hawk escapes—Governor Cass's report of the campaign—Black Hawk taken prisoner by the Winnebagoes, and brought to Prairie Du Chien—General Scott ordered to the scene of action—Cholera at Chicago—Treaty of 1832—Black Hawk taken to Washington, and through the Eastern cities—Dies October 3, 1838—His character.

Whatever doubts may exist, in relation to the war of 1756 having been a native of America, there can be none in relation to the Black

Hawk war, of 1832. The latter is conceded, by all, to have been "a native of Illinois." Its origin was here; and its progress and termination were here and in the neighborhood. We should, therefore, do injustice to our subject, were we to pass over an event, so prominent in our history, with a few slight or casual remarks.

Those who have recently migrated hither, and those acquainted imperfectly with our annals, can scarcely believe, that twelve years have not yet elapsed, since the country in our vicinity was the theatre of an Indian massacre, and its whole population driven to seek protection from the guns of Fort Dearborn. Such, however, is the fact, strange as it may seem.

Most of the difficulties between the white and red man, for the last two hundred years, have grown out of a desire, manifested by the former, to possess the lands, or hunting-grounds of the latter. As early as 1667, we find a letter of Philip, of Pakanoket, without date, (known generally as King Philip,) directed to the Governor of Massachusetts, on this subject. This letter, on account of its singularity, we insert entire.

> "To the much honored Governor, Mr. Thomas Prince, dwelling at Plymouth:
>
> "King Philip, desire to let you understand that he could not come to the court, for Tom, his interpreter, has a pain in his back; that he could not travel so far, and Philip's sister is very sick. Philip would entreat that favor of you, and any of the magistrates, if any English or Endians speak about any land, he pray you to give them no answer at all. This last summer he maid that promise with you, that he would not sell no land in seven years time; for that he would have no English trouble him before that time, he has not forgot that you promise him; he will come as soon as possible, he can speak with you, and so I rest.
>
> "Your very loving friend,
>
> "Philip P——,
> "Dwelling at Hope Neck."

It would seem from the tenor of the above letter, that Philip had been summoned to court at Plymouth, but being unwilling to trust the English, he excused himself because Tom had a "pain in his back," and his sister "was very sick." It would seem farther, that Philip had been importuned to sell land to the English, and that it was agreed on all hands, that no purchase or sale should be made for seven years.

In tracing the war of 1756 to its source, we find the intrusion upon, or rather the surveying of Indian lands, one of its prominent causes. The Pontiac war had its source in the same cause; the war with the Miamies, which terminated in the defeat of "Little Turtle." And in our days, Tecumseh's hostility, and Black Hawk's, later still, all originated in controversies about land.

Black Hawk, the Indian chief who has recently occupied a considerable space in the public mind, and cost, it is said, the United States more than two millions of dollars, was born, as it is supposed, about the year 1767, on Rock river, in Illinois.

At the time of which we are about to speak, the Winnebagoes occupied all that part of the Wisconsin territory, bordering on the river Wisconsin, and in the vicinity of Winnebago lake. Their population, in 1820, was estimated at one thousand five hundred and fifty souls, of whom five hundred were warriors. White Loon was a conspicuous chief among them. He opposed General Wayne in 1794; fought at Tippecanoe in 1811; was active during the war of 1812, on the side of the British; and treated with General Harrison, at Greenville, in 1814.

The Menonimies resided still further north, upon a river of that name, in the vicinity of Green Bay. They were estimated, in 1820, at three hundred and fifty souls, of whom one hundred were warriors.

The Pottawatomies occupied the head waters of Lake Michigan; they were estimated, in 1820, at three thousand four hundred souls. The United States paid them yearly five thousand seven hundred dollars. The Pottawatomies were known to the French at an early day. In 1668, three hundred of their warriors visited Father Allouez, at Chegaumegon, an island in Lake Superior.

The Sacs (or rather the Sauks,) and Foxes, usually mentioned together, (one nation in fact,) occupied the country west of the Pottawatomies, between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers; they were estimated, in 1820, at three thousand souls. They were also known to the French; and Christianity was taught them by the Jesuits, in 1668. Keokuk was for many years a conspicuous chief among them; as also Black Hawk, before referred to. The latter was a grandson of Na-na-ma-kee, or Thunder, and having taken the scalp of an enemy, at the early age of fifteen, was admitted to the rank of "a brave." A short time afterward, he joined a war-party against the Osages, and became noted for his valor. On his return, he was allowed to join in the war-dance of his nation: he frequently led war-parties against the enemies of his tribe, and in almost every instance was victorious.

On the 27th of June, 1804, a treaty was made at St. Louis, by General Harrison, with the Sacs and Foxes; and the lands east of the Mississippi were ceded to the United States. This treaty having been executed, as Black Hawk pretended, without the knowledge or consent of the nation, and having been the subject of much altercation, and the cause of serious difficulty thereafter, we insert it entire. (See note 1.)

When Fort Madison was afterward erected on the Mississippi river, above the De Moyne rapids, the Indians expressed their dissatisfaction, and made an unsuccessful attempt to cut off the garrison.

The Territory of Illinois, in 1818, having been admitted into the Union, and peace between Great Britain and the United States been restored, emigrants from every direction repaired thither, and the country of the Sacs and Foxes, was shortly surrounded by the settlements of white men. In order to hasten the departure of the Indians from the ceded territory, some outrages, it is said, and we have no doubt of the fact, were committed on their persons and their effects.

On the 19th of August, 1825, a treaty was held at Prairie Du Chien with the Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Chippeways, Sioux, and other northwestern tribes, by William Clarke and Lewis Cass, on behalf of the United States, for the purpose of bringing about a peace between the Sacs and the other tribes. The United States undertook the part of mediators. However pure their motives, the effect was not such as could have been desired. Hostilities continued, and murders frequently happened. In the summer of 1827, a party of twenty-four Chippeways, on a tour to Fort Snelling, was surprised by a band of Sioux, and eight of their number were killed and wounded. The commander of Fort Snelling, caused four of the Sioux to be delivered to the Chippeways, by whom they were shot. Red Bird, a chief of the Sioux, resented the affront, and determined to retaliate. He accordingly led a party against the Chippeways, and was defeated. On his return home, he was derided as being "no brave." Red Bird, disappointed of vengeance upon the Chippeways, resolved to seek it among their abettors the whites; and on the 24th of July, 1827, two whites in the vicinity of Prairie Du Chien were killed, and another wounded; and on the 30th of July, two keel-boats conveying military stores to Fort Snelling, were attacked, two of their crew killed, and four wounded. Black Hawk was charged, among others, with this last offence.

General Atkinson thereupon marched with a brigade of troops, regulars and militia, into the Winnebago country, and made prisoners of Red Bird and six others, who were held in confinement at Prairie Du Chien, until a trial could be had. Red Bird died in prison. A part of those arrested were convicted, and a part acquitted. Those convicted were executed on the 26th of December, in the following year, (1828.)

Black Hawk and Kanonekan, or the youngest of the Thunders, and a son of Red Bird, all of whom had been charged with attacking the boats, were acquitted. Black Hawk was confined for more than a year, before he could be brought to trial; and imprisonment to him was more insufferable than any punishment which could have been inflicted. He could not understand why, if one was guilty, he should not immediately be punished; and if innocent, why he should not be discharged. Imprisonment being regarded by the Indians as evidence of cowardice, presuming they dare not punish the culprit; such a delay of justice exceeded altogether his comprehension.

Black Hawk was discharged merely for want of proof, not for want of guilt. Although doubts upon the subject were once entertained, there was none afterward. His confessions, which he had sense enough to withhold till after his acquittal, were conclusive.

Matters remained in this state for about three years. Though violence was frequently done, punishment seldom followed. General Atkinson, in 1831, supposed and believed that efforts were in progress to unite all the Indians, from Rock river to Mexico, in a war. It seems, from what occurred afterward, that he was not mistaken. Black Hawk in his memoirs of himself, says: "Runners were sent to the Arkansas, Red River and Texas—not on the subject of our lands, but a secret mission, which I am not at present permitted to explain."

A treaty on the 15th of July, 1830, had been made at Prairie Du Chien, by which the Sacs and Foxes ceded all their country east of the Mississippi to the United States. The Sioux, Iowas, and several other tribes, participated in the sale: but Black Hawk had nothing to do with it. Keokuk, or the Watchful Fox, at this time headed the Sacs, who made the treaty. Black Hawk, when apprised of what they had done, disapproved of it, and was much agitated. Keokuk was a friend of the whites, and Black Hawk used to say, that he, (Keokuk,) sold his country for nothing.

In the summer of 1831, Black Hawk says he heard, while on a visit to the Indian agent at Rock Island, for the first time, "talk of their having to leave their village." "The trader," he says, "explained to him the terms of the treaty, and advised him to select a good place for a village, and remove to it in the spring." Keokuk had consented to go, and was using all his influence to induce others to go with him.

A party began now to be organized, in opposition to that of Keokuk. Of this Black Hawk became the head. "I now promised this party," says he, "to be their leader; and raised the standard of opposition to Keokuk, with a full determination not to leave the village."

The Sac village was on the point of land formed by the Rock river and the Mississippi. Here were about seven hundred acres, which had usually been planted with corn. The Sac village had stood there for one hundred and fifty years; and the country of the Sacs had extended from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Missouri.

About the time of the execution of the treaty of Prairie Du Chien, several petty outrages were committed on the Indians by the whites, which served to exasperate still more those who were already excited.

One of Black Hawk's men having found a hive of bees in the woods, took it to his wigwam. Some whites repaired thither, and demanded it. It was given up. Perceiving some skins in the wigwam, the whites took them also. It was a hard case. The skins belonged to the Indian, and were the result of his winter's hunt. He owed his trader, and without their aid he could neither pay his debt, nor purchase necessaries for his family.

Previous to this, Black Hawk himself, it is said, had met with ill treatment from some whites. When hunting alone, they fell upon and beat him, so that he was lame, and disabled for a considerable time. Driven to desperation, he at length took up arms. He was deceived, however, by his friends. He had supposed that the Chippeways, the Ottawas, Winnebagoes, and Pottawatomies, would join his standard; at least he was told so. He was told, also, that their British father at Malden stood ready to help them. His head men had visited Malden, and there been informed, that if they had not sold their country, it could not be taken from them.

Black Hawk, when he first learned that Keokuk had sold the Sac village, with the rest of their country on the east side of the Mississippi, remonstrated with him upon the subject; "and Keokuk was so well satisfied," says Black Hawk, "that he had done what he had no right to do, and what he ought not to have done, that he promised to go to the whites and endeavor to get it back again." Black Hawk, as he informs us, agreed to give up the lead mines, if he could be allowed to enjoy their old village, and the little point of land which their wives had cultivated for years undisturbed, and the graves of their fathers.

Relying on this promise of Keokuk, the Sacs set out on their winter's hunt, in the fall of 1830, as usual. Returning from thence in the spring of 1831, they found the whites in possession of their village, and their own wives and children on the banks of the Mississippi, without a shelter. "This," said Black Hawk, "is insufferable. Where is there a white man who could, or who would endure this? None!—not the most servile slave."

The Indians, having heard during their absence of what was going on, returned earlier than usual. The ice had not yet left the Mississippi. Before it was time to plant corn, their resolution was taken. "Their village, they would" said Black Hawk, "again possess." They acted in accordance with this resolution, and "went on, and took possession." The whites were alarmed; and doubting their ability to drive off the Indians, said, they would live and plant together.

The whites, however, took care to appropriate the best ground to themselves. The Indians having resolved not to be the aggressors, submitted to a great variety of insults and injuries. Some of their women were severely beaten, for trifling offences; and one young man was so beaten that he died. We have no evidence that retaliation for either was ever attempted.

Other evils were also experienced by the Sacs. Ardent spirits were brought thither, and they were cheated out of their property, their guns, and their hunting apparatus.

The Indians had been told, in the fall of 1830, that they must not come again east of the Mississippi. Soon afterward, the lands they had occupied, or a part of them, were sold to private adventurers, and the Indians were ordered to leave them. Black Hawk, however, and his band, refused to go. The settlers thereupon exclaimed against *Indian encroachments;* and Governor Reynolds forthwith declared the State of Illinois invaded by hostile savages.

On the 28th of May, 1831, Governor Reynolds wrote to General Gaines, the military commander of the western department, that he had received undoubted information, that a section of the State near Rock Island was invaded by a hostile band of the Sac Indians, headed by Black Hawk; that to repel said invasion, and protect the citizens of Illinois, he had called on seven hundred of the militia of said State, to be mounted and ready for service; and respectfully requested his coöperation. General Gaines in reply, said he had ordered six companies of regular troops to proceed from Jefferson barracks to the Sac village, and, if necessary, he would add two companies from Prairie Du Chien. This he considered sufficient; but, continued he, if the Indian force should be augmented by other Indians, he would correspond with his excellency by express, and avail himself of the mounted volunteers he had tendered.

The object, said Governor Reynolds, of the State government, is to protect their own citizens, by removing said Indians; "peaceably, if they can; forcibly, if they must."

Governor Reynolds, in his letter to General Gaines, suggests that a request from him to the Indians to remove, might possibly have a salutary effect.

No alternative now remained. General Gaines proceeded at once to the country in dispute, and by discreet and prudent management, succeeded in settling the most prominent difficulties, which amounted on examination to little or nothing. On the 20th of June, 1831, General Gaines wrote to the secretary of war as follows:

> "I have visited the Rock river villages, to ascertain the localities and dispositions of the Indians. They are resolved to abstain from hostilities except in their own defence. Few of their warriors were to be seen. Their women, children, and old men, appeared to be anxious, and none attempted to run off. I am resolved to abstain from firing a shot without some bloodshed, or some manifest attempt to shed blood on the part of the Indians. I have already induced nearly one-third of them to cross the Mississippi; the residue say they will not cross, and their women urge their husbands to fight, rather than to move and abandon their homes."

Thus matters stood till the Illinois militia arrived. On the 7th of June, Black Hawk met General Gaines, and told him he should not remove. On the 25th, the militia arrived. The Indians, to avoid difficulty, fled across the Mississippi; and, on the 26th, the army took possession of the Sac village, without firing a gun.

On the 27th Black Hawk raised a white flag, to indicate his wish for a parley—a parley ensued, and a treaty followed.

General Gaines thereupon wrote to the secretary of war, that the Indians were as completely humbled as if they had been chastised in battle, and less disposed to disturb the frontier inhabitants. Governor Reynolds expressed also a similar opinion. In this, however, they were both mistaken. General Gaines promised the Indians corn, in lieu of that they had been compelled to abandon. The supply, however, was insufficient, and they began to feel the effects of hunger. "In this state of things," says Black Hawk, "the Indians went over the river to steal corn from their own land;" and a new series of troubles immediately began, which ended afterward in bloodshed.

Early in the spring of 1832, Black Hawk, regardless of the admonitions of General Atkinson, who was then stationed at Fort Armstrong, (Rock Island,) with a small body of United States troops, recrossed the Mississippi, and commenced his march up the Rock river.

Governor Reynolds thereupon, at the instance of General Atkinson, issued an order for a thousand militia, from the central and southern counties of the State, to rendezvous at Beardstown, on the Illinois river, immediately. This order was promptly executed, and on or about the 15th of April, 1832, a brigade of a thousand mounted men, was armed and equipped for service, and General Samuel Whitesides, who had some experience in Indian warfare, was elected its commander. Colonel, now General Fry, (the present acting canal commissioner,) commanded one of the regiments; Colonel De Witt, of Morgan county, another—the commandant of the third is not recollected. Being thus organized, they commenced their march immediately for Rock Island, upon the Mississippi, where they found General Atkinson, then at Fort Armstrong, with about four hundred regular troops, and a few militia.

General Whitesides, at the head of the mounted volunteers, at once proceeded up the Rock river, on its south side, by way of the prophet's town, which was deserted as they approached, and which they burned as they passed through it to Dixon's ferry. General Atkinson and the militia under his command, at the same time ascended the river in Mackinaw boats, taking with them supplies for the army. General Whitesides, having marched to Dixon's, in advance of the boats for several days, was destitute of provisions; a circumstance exceedingly embarrassing to men, other than those determined, at all hazards, to obey the calls of their country.

On their arrival at Dixon's, they found Major Stillman already there, with two hundred and seventy mounted volunteers from Peoria, Tazewell, and the adjacent counties, well armed, and desirous of being actively engaged. At their own solicitation they were received into the public service, and mustered immediately. General Whitesides was awaiting the arrival of General Atkinson with supplies, when Major Stillman was permitted, at his own solicitation and the solicitation of his men, to make a tour of observation up the river, to the "Old Man's Creek," about fifteen miles north of Dixon's. Instead of returning from thence to the encampment at Dixon's, as they were directed to do, they continued their march some twelve or fifteen miles further up the river to a small stream, (called frequently, but erroneously, the Sycamore,) where, on the 14th of May, 1832, a little before sundown, they dismounted, in order to encamp for the night. Their encampment was judiciously selected in a beautiful oak-grove, destitute of underbrush, on the north side of the stream. While they were thus preparing to encamp, a small party of Indians, five only in number. were discovered at a distance upon a high mound on the prairie. Black Hawk says they bore a white flag, and were sent by him to invite the Americans in a friendly manner to his camp. This, however, is denied by Major Stillman's men. Black Hawk may perhaps have been correct, and the flag not have been seen or recognized by the American troops, excited as they were with the prospect of "an Indian fight." Those whose horses were yet unsaddled, immediately remounted, and without orders or a commander, "gave chase" to the Indians. Others followed as soon as they could saddle their horses, in the same confusion, until about three-fourths of the whole detachment were engaged in "the pursuit." Three of the five Indians were overtaken and captured before they reached the woods; the pursuit of the other two was continued into the edge of the forest, where a party of warriors with Black Hawk among them rose from their ambush, and with a terrific war-whoop rushed upon the assailants. Such was the consternation of Major Stillman's detachment, that they faced directly about "as if by instinct," and commenced a disorderly flight. Major Stillman, who was somewhere "among the confused mass," ordered them to retreat across the marsh, to a more elevated position on the prairie, and make a stand. The first part of the order was promptly obeyed—the second, not so much so, as no "elevated portion of the prairie" could be found, till they reached General Whitesides's encampment at Dixon's ferry, being thirty miles distant. In passing through the encampment they had left, to pursue the Indians before referred to, they communicated their own panic to those who had remained; all of whom, seeing their comrades retreating at full speed, with savages at their heels, mounted their horses as quick as possible, some without bridles, some without saddles, and some without either, and joined in the flight; leaving their tents, camp-equipage, baggage-wagons, provisions and ammunition, to whoever might claim them. Never, surely, was the principle more strikingly illustrated, that "to the victors belong the spoils."

We should do injustice to several individuals, were we to assert that among Major Stillman's corps there were no gallant spirits. The fact is otherwise. Amid the confusion and disorder which prevailed, one Captain Adams made a bold and gallant stand. Having passed the little creek, since called "Stillman's run,"* he endeavored to rally his men—a few (twelve or fifteen only,) obeyed his call—with these he made a stand, until the whole detachment had passed by. He then retreated, pursued by a party of savages for about five miles, where he and two of his brave companions were killed. His body was found on the succeeding day, pierced by an Indian's spear. A savage was found, also, dead by his side. The spear was "hacked all over," apparently with a sword, and the savage pierced by the latter. It would seem, then, that a personal conflict had taken place between Captain Adams and the savage, in which both of them were slain.

Near where Captain Adams was killed, Major Hackleton (late speaker of the House of Representatives of Illinois,) having by some accident been dismounted, had a severe encounter with an Indian, in which the latter was killed, and the former escaped with a slight wound in his hand.

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* We have alluded in a former part of this work, to a remarkable turn in the Mississippi river, called the "English turn," and have shown its origin, (page 147.) The place where the first battle was fought in the Black Hawk war, is called "Stillman's run," not from the rapidity of the current, but the rapidity of Major Stillman's flight across it.

A few more such would have saved the honor of the detachment, and secured northern Illinois and Wisconsin from plunder, devastation, and war.

Some of the fugitives reached Dixon's about twelve o'clock at night, and from that time forward until morning, they continued to arrive, generally in small parties of three, four, and five, and not unfrequently alone; each reporting, that the Indians in great force (some twelve or fifteen hundred,) were just behind, and that he was left alone to tell the fate of his unfortunate companions. Consternation at once filled the whole camp at Dixon's—the soldiers were called immediately to arms, the whole detachment was drawn up in line of battle, and kept under arms until morning. No enemy, however, appeared. The roll of Major Stillman's detachment was then called, and nearly every fourth man being absent, it was said "he had fallen." The roll-call being completed, and fifty-two "not answering," supposed to be killed, one of the survivors, "a gentleman of distinction," whose courage never has been, and probably never will be doubted, "mounted a stump," and in an eloquent strain congratulated his "brethren-in-arms on their escape from a savage foe;" mingling, of course, "expressions of sorrow for those who had fallen," and in conclusion observed: "Sirs—Bonaparte—Wellington—never commanded such disciplined forces—the most imposing scene of all was their outflanking us—they outflanked us in the majesty of their greatness, and their muskets glistened in the moonbeams."*

Whatever may have been the force of Black Hawk, (no matter whether forty or fifteen hundred,) the consternation was general, and the situation of Governor Reynolds and General Whitesides at Dixon's, anything but pleasant. They were in the Pottawatomy, and near the Winnebago country; they were destitute of provisions, (General Atkinson not having yet arrived,) and the time for which they had been called out was within ten days of expiring. The force immediately opposed to them was uncertain, as to number and character, and a union of all the northern tribes in a war was more than probable; to march against the foe under such circumstances, was little less than desperation. Still the hearts of many beat high, and all said, "we will go." About ten or twelve old oxen belonging to Dixon, were slaughtered, and without bread or salt, served out to the troops. They thereupon took up their line of march for "the battle-ground." On arriving thither they found eleven of their comrades on the field, shamefully mutilated: some with their heads, others with their hands cut off—some with their tongues, and some with their hearts torn out—some with their feet cut off, and some with their intestines scattered about the prairie. They gathered up their mutilated remains, as well as they could, and buried them in a common grave, on a ridge of land by "Stillman's run," near the centre of the battle-field. Here they encamped for the night—resting upon their saddles, with their guns in one hand and their horses' bridles in the other, expecting every moment an attack from the enemy. The morning, however, dawned, and no enemy appeared. Scouting parties were thereupon sent out in every direction, and no track or trace of the savages having been found, the whole party returned to Dixon's. General Atkinson not having yet arrived, another day's fast succeeded. The second day, however, brought them reinforcements and supplies—both of which were acceptable after several days of hunger, toil, and peril.

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* All of Major Stillman's detachment afterward returned except twelve—of whom, eleven were found and buried, on the succeeding day. Black Hawk says he had but forty warriors in the action, of whom three were killed—all of them when on a mission of peace. It is said by well informed Americans, that Black Hawk's warriors were more numerous—some say seventy-three—magnified by others into fifteen hundred. The idea of forty warriors outflanking "in all the majesty of their greatness" about two hundred Illinois militia, is amusing.

The first act of hostility, it would seem, then, was committed by the whites. Black Hawk, we have no doubt, wished to avoid an appeal to arms. He was, however, against his will at war. He had nothing to gain. Destiny had marked him and his tribe. He had no allies ; he once expected aid from the Pottawatomies, the Winnebagoes, and the Kickapoos, and even from the English. When, however, the time came for action, they fled the unequal contest. Some of the Indians became allies of the Americans, and others remained spectators of the scene. A portion only, and that a small one, of his own tribe had followed his standard. Keokuk, his superior in eloquence and in arms, had for years been the friend of white men. Notwithstanding the efforts of Black Hawk to induce his people to unite against the whites—which at one time they were inclined to do, not only on account of their love for war and plunder, but on account of the injustice with which a great part, and probably the whole of them, had been treated by the whites—a majority adhered still to Keokuk ; the latter, however, stood on "a mine, liable to be exploded by a single flash." He was, for a long time, in danger of being slain, as the friend of white men. He remained, however, calm and unawed, ruling his little state with mildness and firmness, amid perils and danger. Black Hawk having on one occasion, previous to recrossing the Mississippi, introduced whiskey into the councils of his nation, Keokuk saw that a crisis was at hand. As soon, therefore, as Black Hawk had ceased to speak of the blood which had been shed ; of their relations being driven from their hunting-grounds ; of the recent insults they had received ; of the injuries which had often been inflicted by the whites, and hinted at the ready vengeance that might be taken on an exposed frontier ; of defenceless cabins, and of rich and abundant booty—after the braves had begun to dance around the war-pole of the nation, to paint and give other indications of a hostile nature, Keokuk having watched, with the eye of an eagle, the rising storm, and seeing it unfold itself, now mingled in the dance ; he drank, he listened, and apparently assented to all that was said. The warriors at length called on him to lead them to battle. Keokuk then rose, and with that pathos which never failed him, sympathized in their wrongs, and, for a moment, seemed to unite in their thirst for vengeance. Having thus won their confidence, he proceeded to consider their propositions—alluded to the power of the whites, and the hopelessness of the contest. He then told them that he was their chief; that it was his duty to rule them at home as a father, and to lead them forth to battle, if they were determined to go. But in the present case, there was no alternative: the power of the United States was such that, unless they conquered that great and invincible nation, they must perish. That he would lead them instantly to war on one condition: and that was, that they should put all their women and children to death, and then resolve, that having crossed the Mississippi, they would never return, but perish rather than yield, among the graves of their fathers. "The proposal, desperate as it was, presented," says Judge Hall, in his narrative of the above incident, "the only true issue; it calmed at once the passions of the moment; the turmoil subsided, order was restored, and the authority of Keokuk rëestablished firmer than ever." Black Hawk, therefore, was driven to arms; a small party, "the British Band," only numbering about two hundred warriors in all, adhering to his standard. His haughty spirit spurned American jurisdiction; and having recrossed the Mississippi, he disdained to flee. Deprived of his "own broad acres" in a mysterious manner, and by his own legitimate contract—himself an exile from his country and his tribe, he had no resources but in himself. Paper deeds, and seals, and signatures, exceeded his comprehension—expressions of a common passion, repeated by Indian tale-bearers, were magnified by fear into measures of formidable resistance; and as he who is giddy by danger rushes headlong on his fate, so did Black Hawk. He rose without hope—to him and his followers there was no to-morrow. He fought bravely; but what "can a horde of savages do against a nation of armed men?"

"Farewell!" said he afterward to his nation. "Black Hawk tried to serve you and to avenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. His plans, however, are stopped; he can do nothing further. He is near his end; his sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk."

The affair at "Stillman's-run," alarmed the whole country; Black Hawk's forty, or seventy-three warriors, as the case may be, were magnified into a thousand, and sometimes into fifteen hundred. Governor Reynolds, therefore, on the following day issued orders for three thousand militia to rendezvous at Hennepin, on the 10th of June, "to subdue the Indians, and drive them out of the State."

Notwithstanding the rapidity with which the intelligence of the first battle had been diffused, messengers from the hostile Sacs reached the De Moyne rapids, on the Mississippi, twenty-four hours before an express, sent thither by Governor Reynolds, arrived there.

War now existing, retaliation, according to the Indian mode, was of course anticipated. That the war-whoop would awake once more the "sleep of the cradle," all feared, and all expected. There was, at that time, a small settlement upon the Indian Creek, a little stream which enters Fox river, about ten miles above Ottaway, and about thirty from Hennepin, the place of rendezvous for the contemplated army. In that settlement there resided a man by the name of Hall, who had once beaten an Indian (as the savages alleged) with great severity, and as revenge never slumbers in the savage bosom, an opportunity was now presented for its indulgence; and the little settlement, above refered to, in La Salle county, became its theatre. This was in May, 1832. About twelve years ago, in the present county of La Salle, and about sixty miles from Chicago, Hall received notice from a Pottawotamy Indian, by the name of Shabamri, that a party of Sacs were preparing for a marauding expedition, and he was advised to flee. He did so, and went to Ottaway; but returned, unadvisedly, and was massacred about two hours after his return. (See note 2.)

The American forces being now concentrated, and a supply of provisions having been received; intelligence also of the massacre upon the Indian Creek, having reached them, General Whitesides's brigade took up its line of march, and passed again over the battle field, and through Pawpaw grove to Fox river. The Indians, however, had fled, and the few settlers which remained after the massacre, had gone to Ottaway. General Whitesides marched, therefore, immediately thither; and the term of service for which his brigade had been ordered out having expired, they were discharged.

By the efforts, however, of Colonel Fry, Colonel Snyder, (now deceased,) General Semple, (now a Senator in Congress,) and several others, three or four companies were prevailed upon to remain until the new levies should arrive. An extensive frontier was thus preserved from imminent peril.

Black Hawk, soon after the affair at "Stillman's run," repaired to the neighborhood of the four lakes in Wisconsin, the head waters of Rock river, about sixty miles from Fort Winnebago, whither he was afterward followed by the American army.

About this time, a travelling preacher, of the denomination called Dunkards, was massacred on the road to Chicago. His head was severed from his body, and carried off as a trophy. His beard was nearly a yard in length, and he was noted for his singular appearance.

On the 22nd of May, a party of spies, having been sent by General Atkinson with dispatches to Fort Armstrong, were attacked by the Indians, and four of them killed. St. Vrain, an Indian agent, was of their number. They were all scalped, and their scalps taken from thence to Black Hawk's encampment. A Mr. Smith, also, was massacred near the Blue Mounds, on the Galena road; and Mr. Winters, a mail contractor, near Dixon's ferry.

On the 6th of June, a small settlement at the mouth of Plum river, near Galena, was attacked; the people, however, retreated to a blockhouse they had previously erected, and defended themselves successfully.

During this period, Captain Stephenson, (now deceased,) and Captain Dodge, (now General Dodge,) with small companies of armed citizens, ranged the country about Galena; and several skirmishes took place between them and the Indians, in which the latter were sometimes victorious.

Captain Stephenson, in charging a party of Indians, lost four of his men, and was himself badly wounded, (supposed at first to be mortally.) The Indians, however, lost several of their men, and did not therefore follow up the victory.

Captain Dodge, about the same time, with a party of thirty men, pursued some ten or twelve Indians—who he supposed had murdered five men at Spafford's farm—into a swamp, and killed and scalped the whole of them; losing three of his own men in the engagement.

Captain Snyder also, on two occasions, encountered a small body of warriors; in the first of which, he defeated the Indians, and in the last, was defeated himself. General Semple was in both, and distinguished himself for his skill and bravery.

General Atkinson, on his arrival at Dixon's, established and fortified his camp on the north side of the river, to protect his men and the public stores under his charge, and awaited the arrival of the three thousand militia ordered by Governor Reynolds into the public service. On the 20th of June, the Illinois militia rendezvoued at the mouth of the little Vermillion, (near Peru,) and were organized into three brigades, of about one thousand men each—of these, General Henry, General Posey, and General Alexander, were elected brigadiers. They set out immediately for Dixon's, where they joined the United States troops, commanded by Colonel Tyler; and General Brady, of the United States army, assumed command of the whole. Congress also, in June, ordered six hundred mounted men to be raised for the defence of the frontier. More than three thousand men, actually in arms, were now in pursuit of Black Hawk and his followers.

From Dixon's, Major Demont, of the Spy battalion, with about one hundred and fifty Illinois militia, advanced toward Galena; and (on the 24th of June, 1832,) was attacked by a party of two hundred warriors, near Buffalo grove, commanded by Black Hawk in person. The battle was severely contested on both sides, and several were killed. Major Demont, though compelled to retreat, gained applause for his gallantry. Repossessing himself of the blockhouse he had left in the morning, he was besieged by the Indians, who, after several ineffectual attempts to obtain possession of it, retired. Here the Rev. Zadock Casey—lieutenant-governor afterward—we are told killed an Indian, thus encircling, in the language of the day, his brow with laurels. Major Demont's battalion having rejoined the army, the whole marched up the Rock river. At Sycamore they were joined by a hundred of the Pottawatomies, collected by Billy Caldwell, and John Robinson, two Indian chiefs, and George E. Walker of Ottaway. Much was anticipated from this Indian accession to their force, and but little realized. Though commanded by Wa-ban-see, a veteran chief of that tribe, it soon evaporated, and the whole party returned shortly after to their homes. The army continued, however, to advance, fortifying its camp every night, to guard against surprise; and on the 4th of July, reached lake Koshkenong, an expansion of Rock river. Here General Brady was taken sick, and General Atkinson resumed the command.

Destitute almost of provisions, Generals Henry and Alexander, with a hundred and sixty men, together with a battalion, commanded by Major Dodge, (now general,) were sent from thence to Fort Winnebago, and General Posey to Fort Hamilton, for supplies, with orders to return immediately to the mouth of the White Water. The residue of the troops were employed in building blockhouses for their protection, and the comfort and security of the sick, now amounting to about a hundred. These were called Fort Koshkenong, and Fort Atkinson. On reaching Fort Winnebago, General Henry was informed that Black Hawk, and his entire force, were encamped about thirty miles from thence up the White Water. A council of war was thereupon held, and it was resolved to march immediately in pursuit of him. An express being sent to General Atkinson, informing him of their resolution and its cause, it met his approbation; and the latter, with the remaining troops, moved up the White Water, in order to act in concert with the former. General Henry's brigade, having in their march fallen upon the trail of Black Hawk, leading toward the Wisconsin in a direction of the Blue Mounds, it was resolved to pursue him thither, and a second express was sent to General Atkinson, of this change in their route—desiring, that the latter would join them at the Blue Mounds.

General Henry, by forced marches, on the fourth day thereafter (July 21, 1832,) overtook the enemy a little before sundown, secreted in a low ravine, near the Wisconsin. An attack by the Indians upon the second battalion, commanded by Major Ewing, (now general,) furnished the first evidence that savages were near. General Ewing, with admirable presence of mind, formed his battalion and maintained his ground until General Henry and Major Dodge, with their respective commands, came to his relief. The army was then formed in a hollow square, (the rear being open,) Colonel Jones's, Major Ewing's, and Major Dodge's battalions occupying its front, Colonel Fry's the right, and Colonel Collins's the left. A spirited attack was immediately commenced by the Indians, upon the right, where they were repulsed with considerable loss. An attack was then made upon the left, where they were repulsed also. The whole line was then ordered to charge. This order was promptly executed. The Indians at once raised a hideous yell, which was met and answered by one more hideous from the American ranks—"Stillman is not here"—and the former were driven immediately from the field. Night coming on, further pursuit was considered hazardous, and the army encamped.

The loss of the Americans was one killed and eight wounded—sixty-two of the enemy next morning were found dead on the field.

General Henry's brigade marched to the Blue Mounds on the following day, twenty-five miles distant, bearing their sick and wounded upon litters, and two days thereafter was rejoined by General Atkinson, with the regular troops and the remaining brigades.

On the 26th of July, 1832, the whole army reached the Wisconsin at Helena, where they crossed the river on the 27th and 28th upon rafts of logs. Striking an Indian trail on the 29th, they advanced by forced marches through a difficult and mountainous region to the Mississippi, where, on the 2nd of August, they overtook the enemy a little below the mouth of the "Bad-axe." Here a decisive action took place, in which the Indians were again defeated.

We subjoin General Atkinson's official account of it:

HEAD QUARTERS, First Artillery Corps, Northwestern Army

PRAIRIE DES CHIENS, Aug. 25, 1832.

SIR: I have the honor to report to you, that I crossed the Ouisconsin on the 27th and 28th ultimo, with a select body of troops, consisting of the regulars under Colonel Taylor, four hundred in number, part of Henry's, Posey's and Alexander's brigades, amounting in all to 1300 men, and immediately fell upon the trail of the enemy, and pursued it by a forced march, through a mountainous and difficult country, till the morning of the 2nd inst., when we came up with his main body on the left bank of the Mississippi, nearly opposite the mouth of the Ioway, which we attacked, defeated and dispersed, with a loss on his part of about a hundred and fifty men killed, and thirty-nine women and children taken prisoners—the precise number could not be ascertained, as the greater portion was slain after being forced into the river. Our loss in killed and wounded, which is stated below, is very small in comparison with the enemy, which may be attributed to the enemy's being forced from his positions by a rapid charge at the commencement, and throughout the engagement—the remnant of the enemy, cut up and disheartened, crossed to the opposite side of the river, and has fled into the interior, with a view, it is supposed, of joining Keokuk and Wapello's bands of Sacs and Foxes.

The horses of the volunteer troops being exhausted by long marches, and the regular troops without shoes, it was not thought advisable to continue the pursuit; indeed, a stop to the further effusion of blood seemed to be called for, till it might be ascertained if the enemy would surrender.

It is ascertained from our prisoners, that the enemy lost in the battle of the Ouisconsin sixty-eight killed, and a very large number wounded; his whole loss does not fall short of three hundred; after the battle on the Ouisconsin, those of the enemy's women and children, and some who were dismounted, attempted to make their escape by descending that river; but judicious measures being taken by Captain Loomis and Lieutenant Street, Indian agent, thirty-two women and children and four men have been captured, and some fifteen men killed by the detachment under Lieutenant Ritner.

The day after the battle on the river, I fell down with the regular troops to this place by water, and the mounted men will join us to-day. It is now my purpose to direct Keokuk to demand a surrender of the remaining principal men of the hostile party, which, from the large number of women and children we hold prisoners, I have every reason to believe will be complied with. Should it not, they should be pursued and subdued, a step Major-General Scott will take upon his arrival.

I cannot speak too highly of the brave conduct of the regular and volunteer forces engaged in the last battle and the fatiguing march that preceded it; as soon as the reports of officers of the brigades and corps are handed in, they shall be submitted with further remarks.

KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Sixth Infantry, 5 killed, 2 wounded.
Fifth do. 2 wounded.
Dodge's mounted battalion, 1 captain, 5 privates killed.
Henry's do. do. 1 lieutenant, 6 privates killed.
Alexander's do. do. 1 private wounded.
Posey's do. do. 1 private wounded,

I have the honor to be with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
H. Atkinson,
Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A.
Maj. Gen. Macomb, Commander-in-chief, Washington.

We subjoin, also, Captain Throcmorton's account of the same, (of the steamboat Warrior,) and regret exceedingly, that a regard to historic truth requires its insertion—it bears date on the 2nd of August, 1832, and is as follows:

"I arrived at this place on Monday last, (July 30th) and was dispatched with the Warrior alone, to Wopeshaw's village, one hundred and twenty miles above, to inform them of the approach of the Sacs, and to order down all the friendly Indians to this place. On our way down we met one of the Sioux band, who informed us that the Indians, our enemies, were on Bad-axe river, to the number of four hundred. We stopped, and cut some wood and prepared for action. About four o'clock on Wednesday afternoon (August 1st,) we found the *gentlemen* [Indians] where he stated he left them. As we neared them, they raised a white flag, and endeavored to decoy us; but we were a little too old for them; for instead of landing, we ordered them to send a boat on board, which they declined. After about fifteen minutes delay, giving them time to remove a few of their women and children, we let slip a six-pounder, loaded with canister, followed by a severe fire of musketry; and if ever you saw straight blankets, you would have seen them there. I fought them at anchor most of the time, and we were all very much exposed. I have a ball which came in close by where I was standing, and passed through the bulkhead of the wheel-room. We fought them for about an hour or more, until our wood began to fail, and night coming on, we left and went on to the prairie. This little fight cost them twenty-three killed, and of course a great many wounded. We never lost a man, and had but one man wounded, (shot through the leg.) The next morning before we could get back again, on account of a heavy fog, they had the whole [of General Atkinson's] army upon them. We found them at it, walked in, and took a hand ourselves. The first shot from the Warrior *laid out three.* I can hardly tell you anything about it, for I am in great haste, as I am now on my way to the field again. The army lost eight or nine killed, and seventeen wounded, whom we brought down. One died on deck last night. We brought down thirty-six prisoners, women and children. I tell you what, *Sam*, there is no fun in fighting Indians, particularly at this season, when the grass is so very bright. Every man, and even my cabin-boy, fought well. We had sixteen regulars, five riflemen, and twenty of ourselves. Mr. How, of Platt, Mr. James G. Soulard, and one of the Rolettes, were with us, and fought well."

"The flippant and vaunting style of the above letter," as Drake, in his Life of Black Hawk, observes, "is in good keeping with the spirit which prompted the firing upon a flag of truce." In mercy to Captain Throcmorton, we hope that some portion of his statement is erroneous; and from information derived from other sources, we have no doubt of the fact.

The steamboat Warrior was chartered at Prairie du Chien, for the purpose of taking supplies to the army. It reached the battle-ground some time after the action had commenced. It was, therefore, indiscreet for its commanding officer to thrust forward "the steamboat Warrior," as "principal" in a transaction, wherein truth will scarcely award her the rank of "an accessory."

It is a subject of regret that so little discrimination was made, between the slaughter of those in arms, and others. Here, women and children, without design, came in for their share. Some who sought refuge in the Mississippi, and attempted to buffet its waves, were here shot down by the soldiers. A Sac woman, by the name of Na-wa-se, the sister of a distinguished chief, having been in the hottest of the fight, succeeded, at length, in reaching the river. Wrapping her infant in her blanket, and holding it between her teeth, she plunged into the water; and seizing hold of the tail of a horse whose rider was swimming to the opposite shore, was carried safely across the stream.

There is, however, some apology, even for this indiscriminate slaughter. When the Americans closed upon the Indians, the latter were all huddled together. The high grass on "the bottoms" prevented discrimination, and the slaughter fell upon all. It could not, under such circumstances, be confined to the warrior. Many women, and some children, were thus unintentionally slain.

A young squaw, standing in the grass a short distance from the American lines, holding her child, a little girl of four years old, in her arms, was shot down. The ball having struck the right arm of the child above its elbow, and shattered the bone, passed into the breast of its mother, and killed her on the spot; she fell upon her child, and confined it to the ground. When the battle was over, and the Indians were driven from the field, Lieutenant Anderson, of the United States army, hearing its cries, repaired to the spot; and removing the dead mother, took the child in his arms to the place for surgical aid. Its arm was afterward amputated; and during the operation, the half-starved child sat quietly eating a piece of hard biscuit, insensible, apparently, of its condition. It afterward recovered.*

Black Hawk himself fled; he was now an exile in the land of his fathers. Although he had escaped himself, he took nothing with him. Even the certificate of good character, and of his having fought bravely against the Americans in the war of 1812, signed by a British officer, it is said, was picked up afterward on the field.

Black Hawk, in speaking of the last battle, says: "That when the whites came upon his people, they tried to give themselves up; and made no show of resistance until the soldiers began to slaughter them, when, and not before, his braves determined to fight until they were slain."

It would seem, then, according to Black Hawk's statement, that a considerable part of the blood which had been spilt, especially during the latter part of the campaign, arose out of the precipitancy of those who only sought "a fight with the Indians."

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* The author would not hazard the above assertion, were it not confirmed by the best of evidence.

The Sac war here terminated. Governor Cass, the secretary of war, in his report to the president, November 25th, 1832, in speaking of it, says:

> "General Atkinson, with the regular troops and militia under his command, pursued the Indians through a country very difficult to be penetrated, of which little was known, and where much exertion was required to procure regular supplies. These circumstances necessarily delayed the operations, and were productive of great responsibility to the commanding officer, and of great sufferings and privations to all employed in this harassing warfare. The Indians, however, were driven from their fastnesses, and fled toward the Mississippi, with the intention of seeking refuge in the country west of that river. They were immediately followed by General Atkinson, with a mounted force, overtaken, and completely vanquished. The arrangements of the commanding general, as well in the pursuit as in the action, were prompt and judicious, and the conduct of the officers and men was exemplary. The campaign terminated in the unqualified submission of the hostile party, and in the adoption of measures for the permanent security of the frontiers, and the result has produced upon the Indians of that region, a salutary impression, which it is to be hoped will prevent the recurrence of similar scenes."

On the 27th of August, 1832, at about eleven o'clock, A. M., two Winnebago Indians, Decorie, called the One-eyed, and Chaetar, arrived in camp at Prairie Du Chien, bringing Black Hawk and the prophet, as prisoners.

The One-eyed, in a speech to General Street, said.

"We have done as you told us. We always do as you tell us, because we know it is for our good. You told us to bring them to you alive: we have done so. If you had told us to bring their heads alone, we should have done so. We want you to keep them safe. If they are to be hurt, we do not want to see it. Wait until we are gone before you do it. We know you are our friend, because you take our part; and that is the reason why we do what you tell us to do. You say you love your red children. We think we love you as much, if not more, than you love us. We have confidence in you, and you may rely on us. We have been promised a great deal if we would take these men; that it would do much good to our people. We now hope to see what will be done for us. We now put these men into your hands. We have done all that you told us to do."

To this affectionate speech, General Street replied.

Chaetar, the other Winnebago orator, next made a speech; and last, though not least, Black Hawk himself, in which, if the speech is correctly reported, he puts all his contemporaries to the blush. He says, among other things: "My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose clear on us in the morning, and at night it sunk in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. This was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. He is now a prisoner to the white man. But he can stand the torture. He is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian; he has done nothing of which an Indian need to be ashamed. He has fought the battles of his country against the white men, who came, year after year, to cheat them and take away their lands. You know the cause of our making war—it is known to all white men—they ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians, and drive them from their homes. But the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak bad of the Indian, and look at him spitefully. But the Indian does not tell lies; Indians do not steal. Black Hawk is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. He has done his duty—his Father will meet him and reward him.

"The white men do not scalp the head, but they do worse—they poison the heart: it is not pure with them. His countrymen will not be scalped, but they will, in a few years, become like the white men, so that you cannot hurt them; and there must be, as in the white settlements, nearly as many officers as men, to take care of them and keep them in order. Farewell to my nation! Farewell to Black Hawk!"

It ought not, perhaps, to excite surprise, that the author of such a speech —"the king of the woods"—should have been caressed on his eastern tour through the Atlantic States, extorting the smile of approbation as he passed, from friends and foes.

The defender of his "household gods, and the great gods of his country," will always find admirers, and sometimes meet with favor where it is least expected.

No sound is so appalling as the war-whoop; no story, in deep intensity, surpasses the savage massacre. It is not therefore surprising, that its frequent repetition in northern Illinois and Wisconsin, in May and June, 1832, should have excited the attention of our whole population.

Among other prompt and efficient means adopted by Government, to bring the war to a close, General Scott was ordered from the sea-board, with nine companies of artillery, to the scene of action; and such was the dispatch with which the order was executed, that in eighteen days, four out of six companies of artillery ordered from Fort Monroe on Chesapeake Bay, a little below Washington, reached Chicago, eighteen hundred miles distant. Such an instance of celerity had never been known. The annals of war in no instance present a parallel.

General Scott's detachment, however, carried in its bosom the seeds of dissolution. An enemy more formidable than the sword preyed upon its vitals, and the stoutest hearts quailed before it. A class of cadets from West Point, to evince their patriotic ardor, accompanied the expedition; and on the first of July, 1832, the whole force destined for Chicago, animated with hope, stimulated by duty, and anticipating glory, arrived safely at Detroit. While moored at its wharf, two instances of a strange and hitherto unknown disease, created in this little band unusual alarm. The attention of the army surgeons, and of the village physicians, was immediately directed thither—all, however, to no purpose. In a few hours, the persons thus attacked were no more.

The Asiatic Cholera was then raging violently at the East and in Canada, and as it usually ascended the streams and overspread their valleys first, the mystery was solved. The cholera was in the camp—and every countenance o'erspread with gloom. They had scarcely reëmbarked, when several new cases appeared. Three companies of artillery and two of infantry, commanded by Colonel Twiggs, alarmed for their safety, and unable or unwilling to proceed together with the cadets from West Point, were thereupon landed from the steamboat at Fort Gratiot, about forty miles on their way. Some of them died in the hospital, some in the woods, and some deserted to avoid the pestilence; and being scattered about the country, shunned by the terrified inhabitants, lay down in the fields and died, without a friend to close their eyes, or to console the last moments of their existence. Some, having a license to depart, were seen marching about they knew not whither, with their knapsacks upon their backs, repelled from the cottage doors—not through inhumanity, but from fear of contagion—till nature being exhausted, they fell and expired. Of two hundred and eight men under Colonel Twiggs, a few only survived.* Some of the companies were entirely broken up. The cadets, by the advice and direction of General Scott, returned.

The residue continued on their course, and most of them arrived safely at Mackinaw. There was, at that time, but few sick or diseased among them. The cholera, however, soon renewed its ravages, and on their passage from Mackinaw to Chicago, thirty were thrown overboard. What a striking illustration of Dr. Johnson's remarks, "War has means of destruction more formidable than the sword. Of the thousands and tens of thousands that perish, a small part ever feel the stroke of an enemy—the rest languish in tents and ships amid damps and putrefaction—pale, torpid, spiritless and helpless; gasping and groaning, unpitied by men made obdurate by misery, and are at last whelmed in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance."

General Scott reached Chicago on the 8th of July, 1832. On his arrival, Fort Dearborn was converted in a hospital. The troops stationed there, and a few families who had sought a temporary shelter within its walls, immediately left it, and bivouacked in its neighborhood; some in tents, if they had them, some under hovels erected in a few hours, and some, less fortunate, like the ravens, on the open prairie. A few boards set up against the fence, constituted a decent tenement; and a sick woman, we are told, was protected from the storm by a salver reversed.

During the first thirty days after General Scott's arrival, ninety of his detachment paid their debts to nature, and were "whelmed in pits," without coffins—"without notice, and without remembrance." The scene of horror occasioned by this singular disease, no pen can describe, no heart conceive, and no tongue can adequately tell.

The burial of the dead was intrusted, at that time, to a sergeant, and his duty was executed with military precision as soon as life was extinguished. On one occasion, several were removed from the hospital to be buried at once. The grave had been already dug; (near where the American Temperance House now stands,) they had been wrapped each in a blanket, and laid by its side; the last military honors had been paid to the dead, and nothing remained to complete the scene, but to tumble them one after the other in—when a corpse appeared to move. A brother soldier resorting thither, his old messmate, whom they were about to bury, opened his eyes and asked for some water. The sergeant said they might take him back again "as he was not ready to be buried yet." The orders was obeyed, and the soldier lived for many years thereafter.

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* One account says nine only escaped.

We read of the yellow fever in New-Orleans, and of the thousands it has slain; of the same disease in Philadelphia, when five thousand in a few months fell its victims; of the plague in eastern cities, and in London, in the reign of the third Edward; and of the first James, when the metropolis of England, containing at that time (in 1604, two hundred and forty years ago,) less than one-half of the population of New-York, lost thirty thousand in a single year;* and of the "great plague," in 1665, when ninety thousand were carried off in the English metropolis—when the tolling of the bell at St. Paul's being resumed, after having been suspended for a long time, produced a "thrill of pleasure," indicating as it did an abatement of the pestilence;—still, in all the accounts we have seen, we can discover nothing more appalling than Fort Gratiot and Chicago, at the time of which we have been speaking, present for contemplation.

General Scott, after having been at Chicago for about a month, and the disease with which his troops had been afflicted having abated, resumed his march, and late in August 1832, reached the Mississippi.

Many, from a state of perfect health, in six or seven hours were reduced to a corpse. Dr. Everett fell a victim at Fort Gratiot, to those he had sought to save. Lieutenant Clay, a young man of the most brilliant promise, just graduated at West Point, in eight hours after being attacked was no more. A solitary grave near the Mississippi marks the spot where the hopes of a bereaved mother were laid. The intervening country was filled with the spoils of Death "the conqueror."

Before the remnant of General Scott's division reached the Mississippi, Black Hawk's warriors had been dispersed, and Black Hawk himself was a prisoner.

General Scott arrived, therefore, merely in time to participate in the negotiation that followed.

In September, 1832, a second treaty was made by the United States with the Winnebagoes, and another with the Sacs and Foxes; four millions of acres were ceded by the former, and twenty-six millions by the latter, "of a quality not inferior to any between the same parallels of latitude." An annuity of twenty thousand dollars was paid to the tribe; and as a reward for the fidelity of Keokuk and his friendly band, a reservation of forty miles square was made for them in Iowa, including his principal village. Black Hawk, his two sons, the prophet, and several others, were to remain as hostages, during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

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* Above thirty thousand persons (says Hume,) are computed to have died of it in a year, though the city contained, at that time, little more than a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants.

On the 9th of September, the Indian prisoners and their guards went on board the Winnebago, (steamboat) and descended the river to Jefferson barracks, ten miles below St. Louis; and on the 22nd of April, 1833, the captive Indians reached Washington. Black Hawk had an interview with President Jackson, and the first words with which, it is said, he accosted the president, were, "I am a man, and you are another." At the close of this speech, he says:

"We did not expect to conquer the whites—they had too many houses, too many men. I took up the hatchet, for my part, to revenge injuries which my people could no longer endure. Had I borne them longer without striking, my people would have said, 'Black Hawk is a woman —he is too old to be a chief—he is no Sac.' These reflections caused me to raise the war-whoop. I say no more of it; it is known to you. Keokuk once was here—you took him by the hand; and when he wished to return to his home, you were willing. Black Hawk expects that, like Keokuk, we shall be permitted to return too."

The president told him he was well acquainted with the circumstances which led to the disasters to which he had alluded. It was unnecessary to look back upon them. He intended now to secure the observance of peace. They need not feel any uneasiness about their women and children: they should not suffer from the Sioux and Menonemies. He would compel the red men to be at peace with one another. That when he was satisfied that all things would remain quiet, they should be permitted to return. He then took him by the hand and dismissed him. On the 26th of April, the captive chiefs were conducted to Fort Monroe, which is upon a small island, on the west side of Chesapeake Bay, in Virginia.* Here they remained till the 4th of June, 1833, when orders were given for their liberation and return to their own country. On taking leave of Colonel Eustiss, the commandant of Fort Monroe, to whom Black Hawk had become ardently attached, he said, "The memory of your friendship will remain, till the Great Spirit says it is time for Black Hawk to sing his death-song;" then presenting him with a hunting-dress, and some feathers of a white eagle, he continued: "Accept these, my brother, I have given one like them to the White Otter; accept it as a memorial of Black Hawk. When he is far away, this will serve to remind you of him. May the Great Spirit bless you and your children. Farewell."

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* While at Washington, their portraits were taken by Mr. Catlin. As he was about to take that of Neopope, one of Black Hawk's principal men, Neopope, it is said, seized the ball and chain that were fastened to his leg, and raising them up, exclaimed, with a look of scorn: "Make me so, and show me to the great father!" On Mr. Catlin's refusing to paint him as he wished, he kept varying his countenance with grimaces, to prevent him from catching a likeness. On visiting the Navy-Yard, Black Hawk, it is said, remarked, "That he suspected the great father was getting ready for war."

On visiting Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, and other places, he became quite "*a lion.*" Among others, the ladies sought his acquaintance, and were highly complimented by the old chief, with the appellation generally, of "Pretty squaws! pretty squaws!"

On returning to his people, with much difficulty he was received, and accepted once more as a chief. He lived in peace and quietness till October 3, 1830, when he was gathered to his fathers, and buried on the banks of the Mississippi.

Black Hawk, compared with Philip of Pokanoket, Pontiac, Little Turtle, or Tecumseh, was but an ordinary man—inferior vastly, to either. That he was brave is probable. Mere bravery is but a common virtue in the savage. That he was politic beyond others, can scarcely be pretended. He evinced no peculiar talents in any of his plans, nor did he exhibit extraordinary skill in their accomplishment. That he was injured, all admit; and being roused to resentment, that he fought bravely, and sometimes successfully, cannot be denied. Deserted by those who had promised to be his friends, and deceived by men from whom he expected succor, he was convinced, at an early day, that his race was run. That he displayed the white flag, and gave notice of his willingness to surrender, on different occasions—before his little band of warriors were defeated, and dispersed—and was met and answered by the rifle, and obliged to fly, in order to save his life; that his flag was first fired upon by the whites, and then, as he says, "he fired too;" we must, with proof upon the subject everywhere abounding, in honesty admit. Black Hawk, therefore, merely fulfilled his destiny. The savage, it would seem, is ordained to retire before the civilized man. Such, for the last four thousand years, has been the course of God's Providence. Black Hawk affords another, and the last illustration, of its truth.

NOTE I.

By the treaty made at Fort Harmar in Ohio, on the 9th of January, 1797, the Pottawatomy and Sac tribes of Indians, among others, "were received into friendship by the United States," and "a league of peace and amity" established between them respectively; and on the 27th of June, 1804, a treaty was made and executed at St. Louis, in the words following:

"Articles of a treaty, made at St. Louis, in the District of Louisiana, between William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory and of the District of Louisiana, superintendent of Indian affairs for the said territory and district, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, for concluding any treaty, or treaties, which may be found necessary with any of the northwestern tribes of Indians, of the one part; and the chiefs and head men of the united Sac and Fox tribes, of the other part.

Article 1. The United States receive the united Sac and Fox tribes into their friendship and protection; and the said tribes agree to consider themselves under the protection of the United States, and of no other power whatsoever.

Article 2. The general boundary-line between the lands of the United States and of the said Indian tribes, shall be as follows, viz: Beginning at a point on the Missouri river, opposite to the mouth of the Gasconade river; thence, in a direct course so as to strike the river Jeffreon, at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the said Jeffreon to the Mississippi; thence, up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Wisconsin river, and up the same to a point which shall be thirty-six miles, in a direct line, from the mouth of said river; thence, by a direct line, to a point where the Fox river (a branch of the Illinois,) leaves the small lake called Sakaegan; thence, down the Fox river to the Illinois river, and down the same to the Mississippi. And the said tribes, for and in consideration of the friendship and protection of the United States, which is now extended to them; of the goods (to the value of two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty cents,) which are now delivered, and of the annuity hereinafter stipulated to be paid, do hereby cede and relinquish for ever, to the United States, all the lands included within the above-described boundary.

Article 3. In consideration of the cession and relinquishment of land made in the preceding article, the United States will deliver to the said tribes, at the town of St. Louis, or some other convenient place on the Mississippi, yearly and every year, goods suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of one thousand dollars, (six hundred of which are intended for the Sacs, and four hundred for the Foxes,) reckoning their value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States, where they shall be procured. And if the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils convenient for them, the same shall, at the subsequent annual delivery, be furnished accordingly.

Article 4. The United States will never interrupt the said tribes in the possession of the lands which they rightfully claim; but will, on the contrary, protect them in the quiet enjoyment of the same, against their own citizens, and against all other white persons, who may intrude upon them. And the said tribes do hereby engage, that they will never sell their land, or any part thereof, to any sovereign power but the United States; nor to the citizens or subjects of any other sovereign power, nor to the citizens of the United States.

Article 5. Lest the friendship which is now established between the United States and the said Indian tribes, should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured to the other; by the said tribes, or either of them, to the superintendent of Indian affairs, or one of his deputies; and by the superintendent, or other person appointed by the president, to the chiefs of the said tribes. And it shall be the duty of the said chiefs, upon complaint being made, as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons, against whom the complaint is made, to the end that he, or they, may be punished agreeably to the laws of the state or territory where the offence may have been committed. And, in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder, shall be committed on any Indian, or Indians, belonging to the said tribes, or either of them, the person or persons so offending, shall be tried, and if found guilty, punished, in like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is further agreed, that the chiefs of the said tribes shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses, or other property, which may be stolen from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual or individuals of their tribes. And the property so recovered, shall be forthwith delivered to the superintendent, or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner. And in cases where the exertions of the chiefs shall be ineffectual in recovering the property stolen, as aforesaid, if sufficient proof can be obtained, that such property was actually stolen by any Indian, or Indians, belonging to the said tribes or either of them, the United States may deduct from the annuity of the said tribes, a sum equal to the value of the property which was stolen. And the United States hereby guaranty to any Indian or Indians, of the said tribes, a full indemnification for any horses, or other property, which may be stolen from them, by any of their citizens: *Provided,* that the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States.

Article 6. If any citizen of the United States, or any other white person, should form a settlement, upon the lands which are the property of the Sac and Fox tribes, upon complaint being made thereof, to the superintendent, or other person having charge of the affairs of the Indians, such intruder shall forthwith be removed.

Article 7. As long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property, the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them.

Article 8. As laws of the United States, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, are already extended to the country inhabited by the Sacs and Foxes, and as it is provided by those laws, that no person shall reside, as a trader, in the Indian country, without a license under the hand and seal of the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other person appointed for the purpose by the president, the said tribes do promise and agree, that they will not suffer any trader to reside among them, without such license, and that they will, from time to time, give notice to the superintendent, or to the agent for their tribes, of all the traders that may be in their country.

Article 9. In order to put a stop to the abuses and impositions which are practiced upon the said tribes, by the private traders, the United States will, at a convenient time, establish a trading-house or factory, where the individuals of the said tribes can be supplied with goods at a more reasonable rate than they have been accustomed to procure them.

Article 10. In order to evince the sincerity of their friendship and affection for the United States, and a respectful deference for their advice, by an act which will not only be acceptable to them, but to the common Father of all the nations of the earth, the said tribes do, hereby, promise and agree that they will put an end to the bloody war which has heretofore raged between their tribe and the Great and Little Osages. And for the purpose of burying the tomahawk, and renewing the friendly intercourse between themselves and the Osages, a meeting of their respective chiefs shall take place, at which, under the direction of the above-named commissioner, or the agent of Indian affairs residing at St. Louis, an adjustment of all their differences shall be made, and peace established upon a firm and lasting basis.

Article 11. As it is probable that the Government of the United States will establish a military post at or near the mouth of the Wisconsin river, and as the land on the lower side of the river may not be suitable for that purpose, the said tribes hereby agree, that a fort may be built, either on the upper side of the Wisconsin, or on the right bank of the Mississippi, as the one or the other may be found most convenient; and a tract of land not exceeding two miles square, shall be given for that purpose; and the said tribes do further agree, that they will, at all times, allow to traders and other persons travelling through their country, under the authority of the United States, a free and safe passage for themselves, and their property of every description; and that for such passage, they shall, at no time, and on no account whatever, be subject to any toll or exaction.

Article 12. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall be ratified by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the chiefs and head men of said Sac and Fox tribes, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals. Done at St. Louis, in the District of Louisiana, on the third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the independence of the United States, the twenty-ninth.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

It is agreed that nothing in this treaty contained, shall affect the claim of any individual or individuals, who may have obtained grants of lands from the Spanish government, and which are not included within the general boundary line, laid down in this treaty: *Pro-*

vided, that such grant have any time been made known to the said tribes and recognized by them.

William Henry Harrison. (L. S.)
Layowvois, or Laiyuva, his ⋈ mark. (L. S.)
Pashepaho, or the Stabber, his ⋈ mark. (L. S.)
Quashquame, or Jumping-Fish, his ⋈ mark. (L. S.)
Outchequaha, or Sun-Fish, his ⋈ mark. (L. S)
Hashequarhiqua, or The Bear, his ⋈ mark. (L. S.)

In presence of
William Prince, Secretary to the Commissioner.
John Griffin, one of the Judges of the Indiana Territory.
J. Bruff, Major U. States Artillery.
Amos Stoddard, Captain corps of Artillerists.
P. Choteau, Agent de la haute Louisiana, pour le department sauvage.
Ch. Gratiot.
Aug. Choteau.
Vigo.
S. Warrel. Lieut. U. States Artillery.
D. Delaunay.
Joseph Barron,
H'polite Bolen, his ⋈ mark. } Sworn interpreters.

On the 31st of December thereafter, this treaty was submitted to the Senate of the United States, by the president, and the same was duly ratified.

Of this treaty Black Hawk gives the following account. See Patterson's Life of Black Hawk, dictated by himself, and certified to be authentic, by Antoine Le Clair, United States interpreter, and under date of the 16th of October, 1833, at page 27.

"Some moons after this young chief (Lieutenant Pike,) descended the Mississippi, one of our people killed an American, and was confined in the prison of St. Louis for the offence. We held a council at our village to see what could be done for him—which determined that Quash-qua-me, Pa she-pa-ho, Ou-che-qua-ha, and Ha-she-quar-hi-qua, should go down to St. Louis, and see our American father, and do all they could to have our friend released, by paying for the person killed; thus covering the blood and satisfying the relations of the man murdered! This being the only means with us of saving a person who had killed another, and we *then* thought it was the same way with the whites.

"The party started with the good wishes of the whole nation, hoping they would accomplish the object of their mission. The relations of the prisoner blacked their faces and fasted, hoping the Great Spirit would take pity on them, and return the husband and the father to his wife and children.

"Quash-qua-me and party remained a long time absent. They at length returned and encamped a short distance below the village, but did not come up that day, nor did any person approach their camp. They appeared to be dressed in fine coats, and had medals. From these circumstances, we were in hopes they had brought us good news. Early the next morning, the council lodge was crowded—Quash-qua-me and party came up, and gave us the following account of their mission.

"On their arrival at St. Louis, they met their American father, and explained to him their business, and urged the release of their friend. The American chief told them he wanted land, and they agreed to give him some on the west side of the Mississippi, and some on the Illinois side opposite the Jeffreon. When the business was all arranged, they expected to have their friend released to come home with them. But about the time they were ready to start, their friend was led out of prison, who ran a short distance, and was *shot dead*. This is all they could recollect of what was said and done. They had been drunk the greater part of the time they were in St. Louis.

"This is all myself or nation knew of the treaty of 1804. It has been explained to me since. I find by that treaty, all our country east of the Mississippi, and south of the Jeffreon, was ceded to the United States for one thousand dollars a year! I will leave it to the people of the United States to say, whether our nation was properly represented in this treaty; or whether we received a fair compensation for the extent of country ceded by those four individuals. I could say much more about this treaty, but I will not at this time It has been the origin of all our difficulties."

Our Government, it is believed, in their intercourse with the savages, have never instituted any particular inquiries, for the purpose of ascertaining how far the chiefs were authorized to act by their people. The circumstances, in almost every case, have precluded the necessity, or even possibility, of such inquiries. In the one now under consideration, the American commissioner, (General Harrison,) notwithstanding Black Hawk's statement to the contrary, had every reason to suppose, that the chiefs who signed the treaty, had full power and authority to act in the premises; and subsequent acts conclusively show, in this respect, that he was not mistaken.

The Sacs and Foxes took no part in the war of the revolution, and none, we believe, in the Indian disturbances, which terminated by the treaty of Greenville, in 1795. They owned an extensive country, and had, (comparatively speaking,) but a limited population. It was frequently a matter of complaint with them, that while their neighbors were receiving annuities from the United States, the Sacs and Foxes were overlooked or forgotten. To sell a part of their lands, and receive annuities therefor, it would seem then was desirable. The commissioner, therefore, had a right to suppose, and unquestionably did suppose, that the chiefs with whom he was about to negotiate, were authorized by their tribes to do so. That they were so authorized, and that Black Hawk's statement, therefore, is untrue, is also evident from other facts and circumstances.

Black Hawk says, that a council had been held, and that four chiefs were deputed to go to St. Louis, etc.

The treaty, it seems, was signed by five, instead of four chiefs; and Pah-she-pa-ho, one of their number, it is conceded by all, was, at the time, the great head chief of the Sac nation.

Again. The treaty was publicly made; and a number of high-minded and honorable men were parties to it, in the character of commissioner, secretary, and witnesses. Among them were several officers of the army. The first governor of the territory of Louisiana, and Pierre Chouteau, at that time agent for the Sac and Fox Indians, and well acquainted with them.

Black Hawk is also mistaken in some other particulars. He says: "One of our people killed an American, and was confined in the prison at St. Louis for the offence." This, he says, occurred some moons after Lieutenant Pike descended the Mississippi. Lieutenant Pike did not, in fact, leave St. Louis upon his expedition, until the 9th of August, 1805, more than a year after the date of the treaty. Black Hawk is, therefore, a bad chronicler of events.

Besides, this treaty, instead of being disavowed by the Indians, was recognized by them as binding, and the annuities therein mentioned, were paid to, and received by them. It was also recognized as binding by Black Hawk himself, at Portage Des Sioux, in 1816, at which time he affixed his own signature to a treaty, recognizing the former one made at St. Louis on the 3rd of November, 1804.

The pretence then set up by Black Hawk, that the cession of lands made in 1804, was without authority, fails; and the pretence itself would, in all probability, never have been made, but for certain evil-minded persons, anxious to foment difficulties between the civilized and the savage man.

NOTE II.

The massacre, above referred to, and the captivity of the Misses Hall—one of them a young lady of sixteen, and the other of eighteen—the daughters of Mr. Hall, before mentioned, having excited an abiding interest in this community, the reader, we have no doubt, will excuse the license we have taken of inserting their "melancholy tale."*

"On the 21st of May, 1832," says the narrator, Mrs. Munson, "at about four o'clock in the afternoon, as Mr. Pettigrew's, and our (Mr. Hall's) family were assembled at the house of Mr. William Davis, in Indian Creek settlement, in La Salle county, Illinois, a large party of Indians, about seventy in number, were seen crossing Mr. Davis's fence, about eight or ten paces from the house. As they approached, Mr. Pettigrew attempted to shut the door, but was shot down in doing so. The savages then rushed in and massacred every one present, except my sister and myself. The persons massacred were, Mr. Pettigrew, Mrs. Davis, Mrs. Pettigrew, Mrs. Hall, (my mother) and Miss Davis, a young lady of about fifteen, and six children, four of them boys and two of them girls. These were in the house: Mr. Davis, Mr. Hall, (my father,) William Norris, and Henry George, were massacred without—fifteen in all. The time occupied in the massacre was less, probably, than ten minutes. When the Indians entered, my sister and myself were sitting near the door, sewing. I got immediately upon the bed, and stood there during the massacre. The confusion was such—the terror inspired by the firing of guns in the house, and the shrieks of the wounded and dying so great—that I have no recollection in what manner they were killed. As soon as the massacre was over, three Indians seized and dragged me from the bed without much violence, and led me into the yard. I was then taken by two of them about half-way across the creek—fifty paces or more, perhaps, distant. From thence I was led back into the yard, in front of the house, where I saw my sister for the first time since our separation.

"We were then taken by four Indians—two having hold of each—and hurried off on foot in a northern direction as fast as we could run, for about two miles, through timber bordering upon the creek, when we came to a place where the Indians had left their horses, previous to the attack. We were then placed, without constraint, upon two of their poorest horses, each of which was led by an Indian, and proceeded as fast as our horses could travel, in a direction, as I supposed, toward the camp, accompanied by about thirty warriors. We continued travelling in this manner until about midnight, when we halted to rest our horses—the Indians exhibiting all the while, symptoms of great uneasiness, arising, apparently, from their apprehension of being pursued. After resting for about two hours, we started again on the same horses as before, and travelled, at a brisk gait, the residue of the night, and all next day until about noon, when we halted, and the Indians having scalded some beans, and roasted some acorns, desired us to eat. We eat some of the beans and tasted of the acorns, not from any disposition we had to eat, but to avoid giving offence to our captors. We remained in this place for one or two hours. The Indians, after having finished their scanty meal, busied themselves in dressing the scalps they had taken, stretching them upon small hoops. Among them I recognized, by the the color of the hair, my own mother's. It produced a kind of faintness, or blindness, and I fell into a swoon; from which I was awaked, shortly thereafter, by a summons to set out upon our journey. We travelled on in the same way, but more leisurely than before, until almost night, when the horse I rode gave out, and I was seated behind an Indian who rode a fine horse, belonging to Mr. Henderson, taken from the settlement in which we were captured. In this manner we continued on until about nine o'clock at night, when we reached the camp, having travelled, as I suppose, about ninety miles in twenty-eight hours.

"The Sac camp was on the bank of a small creek, surrounded by low marshy ground, scattered over with small, burr-oak trees. On our arrival, several squaws came to our assistance, took us from our horses, and conducted us into the camp; prepared a place for us to sit down, and presented us some parched corn, some meal and maple-sugar mixed, and desired us to eat. We did so, more through fear than hunger; and at their request threw a small parcel (about a table-spoon full) into the fire, as did also the squaws and the Indians which accompanied us. There was much apparent rejoicing on our arrival. About ten o'clock we were invited by the squaws to lie down, which we did, and enjoyed a kind of confused, or disordered slumber, which lasted until after sunrise. The next morning, soon after we rose, our fears of massacre and torture began to abate. We were presented with some boiled beans and sugar for breakfast, and ate a little, having, though almost exhausted, as yet no appetite for food. About ten o'clock the camp broke up, and we all moved about five miles across the creek, and encamped again on an elevated spot covered with timber, near a small creek. We travelled, each upon a separate horse, heavily laden with provisions, blankets, kettles, and other furniture required in an Indian camp. We arrived at our new encampment a little before sundown. Here a white pole was stuck in the ground, and the scalps taken, when we were captured, hung up as trophies. About fifty warriors assembled in the centre, and commenced a dance, in which a few of the squaws participated. They danced around this pole to the music of a drum, and gourds so prepared as to make a rattling noise. I was invited frequently by the squaws to join in the dance, but refused. The first dance was had in the morning, after our arrival in camp ; the same was repeated daily while we continued among them. Soon after we arose on the first morning after our arrival, some warriors came to our lodge and took us out, and gave me a red flag, and placed something in the hands of my sister which I do not recollect, and made us march around through the encampment, passing each wigwam. They then led us to the centre of the spot they had cleared off, to prepare for the dance, near where the white pole was stuck up ; then placing a blanket upon the earth, and after painting our faces red and black, ordered us to lie down with our faces toward the ground. They then danced around us with war-clubs, tomahawks and spears. Before its conclusion we were taken away by two squaws, who, we understood, were the wives of Black Hawk. In the evening, as soon as the dance was over, we were presented with a supper, consisting of coffee, fried cakes, boiled corn, and fried venison, with fried leeks, of which we ate more freely than before. We continued with them for four days longer, during which we fared in a similar manner, until the two last days, when we got out of flour. When our flour was exhausted, we had coffee, meat, and pounded corn made into soup. On being delivered over to the squaws, above mentioned, we were separated from each other, but permitted to visit every day, and remain for about two hours without interruption. These squaws encamped near each other, and we were considered as their children, and treated as such. Our encampments were removed five or six miles each day, and my sister and myself were always permitted to ride at such removals. Our fare was usually better than that of others in our wigwam. Our fears of massacre had now subsided—being received and adopted into the family of a chief. We were not required to perform any labor, but were closely watched to prevent our escape.

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* We are indebted to Colonel Hamilton, of Chicago, for the following interesting narrative of Miss. Rachel Hall, now Mrs. Munson.

" On the fifth day after our arrival at the Sac camp, we were told that we must go with some Winnebago chiefs, who had come for us. At that time the Sac encampment was on a considerable stream, the outlet, as I supposed, of some lake. There were a number of large lakes in its vicinity. The squaws with whom we lived, were, apparently, distressed at the idea of our leaving them. The Winnebagoes endeavored to make us understand that they were about to take us to the white people. This, however, we did not believe ; but on the contrary, supposed they intended to take us entirely away from our country, friends, and home.

" We left the Sac encampment with four Winnebagoes the same evening, and travelled about fifteen miles ; each of us riding on horseback behind a Winnebago chief—the latter expressing frequently their fears of pursuit by the Sacs, who exhibited great uneasiness at our departure ; the prophet having cut two locks of hair from my head, and one from my sister's, just before we left them.*

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* The Indians' account of this transaction varies a little from Mrs. Munson's. The Indians said that a young warrior claimed one of the Miss Halls as his prize, and was unwilling to give her up. That the Winnebagoes, who were at that time on friendly terms with the whites, after using all the arguments they were capable of, had recourse to threats, which, together with ten horses, offered for their ransom, finally succeeded. The young warrior cutting from Miss Hall's head a lock of hair, bore no affinity to a similar act among the whites. It was done in order to preserve a trophy of his warlike exploits.

"We reached the Winnebago encampment a little after dark, and were kindly received. It was more comfortable than any we had seen; and we slept sounder and better than before. We rose early next morning. The Indians, however, had been up some time; ate breakfast before sunrise, and started in canoes up the river. There were, I believe, eight in company. We continued on our course until nearly sundown, when we landed and encamped on the bank of the river. There were present about a hundred Winnebago warriors. During the next day, four Sac Indians arrived in camp, dressed in 'white men's clothes,' and desired to talk with us. We were told, however, by the Winnebago chiefs, that we must shut our ears and turn away from them, which we did. 'The Blind' and his son, left our encampment during the night, and returned early in the morning. Immediately afterward, they came to us, and 'the Blind' asked if we thought the whites would hang them if they took us to the fort. We gave them to understand that they would not. They next inquired, if we thought the white people would give them anything for taking us to them. We gave them to understand that they would. 'The Blind' then collected his horses, and with the 'Whirling Thunder,' and about twenty of the Winnebagoes, we crossed the river and pursued our journey—my sister and myself, each on a separate horse. We encamped about dark; rose early next morning, and after a hasty meal of pork and potatoes, (the first we had seen since our captivity,) of which we ate heartily, we travelled on until we reached the fort, the Blue Mounds, (Wisconsin Territory.) Before our arrival thither, we had become satisfied that our protectors were taking us to our friends, and that we had formerly done them injustice. About three miles from the fort, we stopped, and the Indians cooked some venison; after which they took a white handkerchief which I had, and tying it to a long pole, three Indians proceeded with it to the fort. About a quarter of a mile from thence, we were met by a Frenchman. The Indians formed a ring, and the Frenchman rode into it, and held a talk with our protectors. The latter expressed an unwillingness to give us up until they could see Mr. Gratiot, the agent. Being informed by the Frenchman that we should be well treated, and that they should see us daily, until Mr. Gratiot's arrival, they delivered us into the Frenchman's care; we repaired immediately to the fort, where the ladies of the garrison, (who in the meantime had assembled,) received us with the utmost tenderness. We were thereupon attired once more in the costume of our own country; and next day started for Galena. On reaching a little fort at White-Oak Springs, we were met by our eldest brother, who, together with a younger one, was at work in a field near the house, when we were captured—and when the massacre began fled, and arrived in safety at Dixon's ferry. On leaving Galena, we went on board the steamboat Winnebago, for St. Louis, which place we reached in five days; and were kindly received by its citizens, and hospitably entertained by Governor Clark. Previous to our leaving Galena, we had received an affectionate letter from the Rev. Mr. Horn, of Morgan county, inviting us to make his house our future home. We accepted the invitation, and left St. Louis in the steamboat Caroline for Beardstown, on the Illinois river, whither we arrived on the third day thereafter. On landing, we were kindly received by its citizens; and in a few hours reached the residence of Mr. Horn, five miles distant, in the latter part of July, 1832, when our troubles ended."

The Miss Halls' brother having married and settled in Putnam county, Illinois, about this time, he invited his sisters to come and reside with him; they did so in the fore part of August, 1832. The elder Miss Hall afterward, in March, 1833, married Mr. William Munson, and settled in La Salle county, about twelve miles north of Ottaway. The younger sister, in May, 1833, married Mr. William Horn, a son of the reverend clergyman, who had so kindly offered them a home in his family, and removed to Morgan county, in this State."

The Legislature of Illinois, in 1833, donated a quarter section of land (one hundred and sixty acres,) to the Miss Halls, lying in the village of Juliet, Will county. It was sold, we believe, several years since by them, for a small consideration. The land thus donated, was granted by the United States to the State of Illinois, for the completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal. Had the Legislature given them thrice its value in money, and raised that amount by taxation, it would have done the Legislature some credit, and the people would have cheerfully paid it. By giving, however, what did not belong to them, and thus violating their trust, a different question is presented to the people of this State for their reflection. Congress also gave them a considerable donation in money.

NOTE III.

The author acknowledges his obligations to Doctor Levi D. Boone, of Chicago, for the account herein given of General Whitesides's, and General Henry's expeditions. Doctor Boone commanded a company in General Whitesides's brigade; and was surgeon of one of the regiments attached to General Henry's. He remained with both till they were respectively discharged. He is a kinsman of Colonel Daniel Boone, of Kentucky, conspicuous in border warfare. He is familiar with all the incidents he relates, and a gentleman of high respectability.

CHAPTER XX.

Mormons settle in Illinois, April, 1840—Found the city of Nauvoo—Joseph Smith—His Biography—Is directed by an Angel to the spot where the sacred record, "the Book of Mormon," was afterward found—Oliver Cowdrey, his friend, describes the place, in Palmyra, Wayne county, New-York—Records contained in a stone box had been deposited there fourteen hundred years—Records delivered into the hands of the Prophet, (Joseph Smith,) September 22nd, 1827—Gold plates described—Urim and Thummim, etc.—The Prophet ridiculed—Afterward persecuted—Goes to Pennsylvania —Translates the Book of Mormon—Certificates, etc.—The Prophet baptized, in 1829—An edition of the Book of Mormon printed in 1830—Church of the Latter Day Saints organized at Manchester, Ontario county, New-York, April 6th, 1830 —Mormon Creed—Not even a plausible imposition—Mormons, in 1833, remove to Jackson county, Missouri—Difficulty with their neighbors—Remove to Clay county, Missouri—And from thence to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835—Kirtland Bank—Joseph Smith President—Bank fails—Mormons remove to Caldwell county, Missouri, and build the city of the Far West—Difficulty with their neighbors—Expelled from Missouri, 1838—Remove to Illinois in the spring of 1840—City of Nauvoo incorporated, December 16th, 1840—Provisions in its charter—Nauvoo Tavern incorporated—Nauvoo Legion—Nauvoo University—Joseph Smith appointed Lieutenant-general—Ordinance of Nauvoo, for repealing acts of the Legislature—Mr. Caswell's description of Nauvoo, and its Prophet—Religious toleration.

In April, 1840, a large number of "the Latter Day Saints," or Mormons, came hither and located themselves on the east bank of the Mississippi, at a place known and distinguished upon the map, by the name of Commerce, in Hancock county, Illinois. They had been driven from Missouri, and sought refuge here, with "their little ones and their cattle." They purchased a considerable tract of land in the vicinity, and commenced building a city, which they called Nauvoo—signifying, as we have been told, by a Mormon preacher, "peaceable, or pleasant."

As the Mormons, and more especially their leader, Joseph Smith, (known generally as Jo Smith,) who unites in his own proper person the "prophet, the seer, the merchant, the revelator, the president, the elder, the editor, the general of the Nauvoo legion, and last, though not least, the tavern-keeper," (See note 1.) are destined "to cut a considerable figure in the world;" an account of the origin and progress of this singular sect, and a brief notice of "the Mormon prophet," we have no doubt, will be acceptable to our readers.

Joseph Smith was born at Sharon, in Windsor county, Vermont, on the 23rd of December, 1805, and of course was thirty-eight years old in December last, (1843.) His parents were in humble circumstances, and the prophet's opportunities of acquiring knowledge in early life were limited. He read indifferently, wrote and spelt badly, and made but little progress in arithmetic. Other, and higher branches of learning, to him were as a sealed book, of which he *was* totally, and *is now* exceedingly, ignorant. When he was about ten years of age his parents removed from Vermont, and settled upon a small farm near Palmyra, Wayne county, New-York, where Joseph, the subject of this memoir, aided and assisted his father in the cultivation of his farm, until the year 1826.

Some time in the year 1820, when "the prophet" was about fifteen years of age, "he began," as he says, "to reflect upon the necessity of being prepared for a future state of existence; but how, or in what way to prepare himself, was a question as yet undetermined in his mind. He perceived that it was a question of infinite importance, and that the salvation of his soul depended upon a correct understanding of the same. He saw that if he understood not the way, it would be impossible to walk in it, except by chance; and the thought of resting his hopes of eternal life upon chance, or uncertainty, was more than he could endure. If he went to the religious denominations to seek information, each one pointed to its own particular tenets—'this is the way, walk ye in it'—while, at the same time, the doctrines of each were, in many respects, in direct opposition to each other. It also occurred to his mind that God was the author of but one doctrine, and, therefore, could acknowledge but one denomination as his church; and that such denomination must be a people who believe and teach that one doctrine, (whatever it may be,) and build upon the same. He then reflected upon the immense number of doctrines now in the world, which had given rise to many hundreds of different denominations. The great question to be decided in his mind was, if any one of these denominations be the church of Christ, which one is it? Until he could become satisfied in relation to this question, he could not rest contented. To trust to the decisions of fallible men, and build his hopes on the same, without any certainty and knowledge of his own, would not satisfy the anxious desires that pervaded his breast; to decide without any positive and definite evidence on which he could rely, upon a subject involving the future welfare of his soul, was revolting to his feelings. The only alternative that seemed to be left him was to read the Scriptures, and endeavor to follow their doctrines. He accordingly commenced perusing the sacred pages of the Bible, believing the things that he read." Whether the above reflections passed through the mind of a lad of fifteen, uneducated, and exhibiting, as yet, no evidence of precocious genius; or whether they are the reflections of maturer life, or the emanations of other and brighter intellects than his own, our readers will judge for themselves;—of this we give no opinion. We follow "the prophet's" own narrative, being desirous of giving him a fair and impartial hearing. "He now saw, that if he inquired of God there was not only a possibility, but a probability—yea, more, a certainty that he should obtain a knowledge—which, of all the doctrines, was the doctrine of

Christ. He therefore retired to a secret place, in a grove but a short distance from his father's house, and knelt down and began to call upon the Lord. At first he was severely tempted by the powers of darkness, which endeavored to overcome him; but he continued to seek for deliverance, until darkness gave way from his mind, and he was enabled to pray in fervency of the spirit, and in faith; and while thus pouring out his soul, anxiously desiring an answer from God, he at length saw a very bright and glorious light in the heavens above, which, at first, seemed to be at a considerable distance. He continued praying, while the light appeared to be gradually descending toward him; and as it drew nearer, it increased in brightness and magnitude; so that by the time it reached the tops of the trees, the whole wilderness, for some distance around, was illuminated in a most glorious and brilliant manner. He expected to have seen the leaves and boughs of the trees consumed, as soon as the light came in contact with them; but perceiving that it did not produce that effect, he was encouraged with the hopes of being able to endure its presence. It continued descending slowly, until it rested upon the earth, and he was enveloped in the midst of it. When it first came upon him, it produced a peculiar sensation throughout his whole system; and immediately his mind was caught away from the natural objects with which he was surrounded, and he was enveloped in a heavenly vision, and saw two glorious personages, who exactly resembled each other in their features, or likeness. He was informed that his sins were forgiven. He was also informed upon the subjects which had for some time previously agitated his mind, *viz:* that all the religious denominations were believing in incorrect doctrines, and, consequently, that none of them was acknowledged by God, as his church and kingdom; and he was expressly commanded to go not after them. And he received a promise that the true doctrine, the fulness of the gospel, should, at some future time, be made known to him; after which the vision withdrew, leaving his mind in a state of calmness and peace indescribable. Some time after having received this glorious manifestation, being young, he was again entangled in the vanities of the world, of which he afterward sincerely and truly repented.

"Afterward, on the 21st of September, A. D. 1823, it pleased God again to hear his prayers. He had retired to rest, as usual; his mind was drawn out in fervent prayer, and his soul was filled with a desire to commune with some kind messenger, who could communicate to him the desired information of his acceptance with God; and also unfold the principles of the doctrines of Christ, according to the promise which he had received in the former vision. While he was thus pouring out his desires to the Father of all good, endeavoring to exercise faith in his former promises; on a sudden, a light like that of day, only of a purer and far more glorious appearance and brightness, burst into the room—indeed, the first sight was as though the house was filled with consuming fire. This sudden appearance of a light so bright, as must naturally be expected, occasioned a shock, or sensation, visible to the extremities of the body. It was, however, followed by a calmness and serenity of mind, and an overwhelming rapture of joy that repressed his understanding, and in a moment a personage stood before him.

" Notwithstanding the brightness of the light, which had previously illuminated the room, there seemed to be an additional glory surrounding or accompanying this personage, which shone with an increased degree of brilliancy, of which he was in the midst ; and though his countenance was as lightning, it was of a pleasing, innocent, and glorious appearance ; so much so, that every fear was banished from the heart, and nothing but calmness pervaded the soul.

" The statue of this personage was above the ordinary size of men in this age. His garment was perfectly white, and had the appearance of being without seam.

" This glorious being declared himself to be an angel of God, sent forth by commandment to communicate to him that his sins were forgiven, and that his prayers were heard, and also to bring the joyful tidings, that the covenant which God made with ancient Israel concerning their posterity, was at last to be fulfilled ; that the great preparatory work for the second coming of the Messiah, was speedily to commence ; that the time was at hand for the gospel, in its fulness, to be preached in peace unto all nations ; that a people might be prepared with faith and righteousness, for the millennial reign of universal peace and joy.

" He was informed, that he was called and chosen, to be an instrument in the hands of God to bring about some of his marvellous purposes, in this glorious dispensation. It was also made manifest to him, that the American Indians were a remnant of Israel ; that when they first emigrated to America they were an enlightened people, possessing a knowledge of the true God—enjoying his favor and peculiar blessings from his hand ; that the prophets, and inspired writers among them, were required to keep a sacred history of the most important events transpiring among them, which history was handed down for many generations, till at length they fell into great wickedness. The most part of them were destroyed, and the records (by commandment of God to one of the last prophets among them,) were safely deposited, to preserve them from the hands of the wicked, who sought to destroy them. If faithful, he was to be the instrument who should be highly favored in bringing these sacred things to light. At the same time, he was expressly informed, that it must be done with an eye to the glory of God ; that no one could be intrusted with these sacred writings, who should endeavor to *aggrandize himself, by* converting *sacred things to unrighteous or speculative purposes.*

"The angel, after giving him many instructions concerning things past and to come, disappeared, and the light and glory of God withdrew, leaving his mind in perfect peace ; while a calmness and serenity indescribable, pervaded the soul. Before many days, the vision was twice renewed, instructing him further concerning the great work of God, about to be performed on earth. In the morning he went out to his labor, as usual. The vision was renewed; the angel again appeared; and having been informed by the previous visions of the night, concerning the place where those records were deposited, he was instructed to go immediately and view them."

Accordingly he repaired to the place. The prophet's narrative here terminates. Oliver Cowdrey, his friend, however, who says he has visited the spot, describes it as follows:

"As you go on the mail road from Palmyra to Canandaigua, in New-York, about three or four miles from the little village of Manchester, you pass a hill on the east side of the road—the north end rises suddenly from the plain, and forms a promontory without timber, and is covered with grass. As you pass to the south, you soon come to scattering timber, the surface having been cleared by art or wind, and at a short distance farther, on the left, you are surrounded with the common forest of the country; the first clearing was occupied for pasturage; its steep ascent and narrow summit not admitting the plough of the husbandman, with any degree of ease or profit. It was at the second mentioned place where the record was found to be deposited, on the west side of the hill, not far from the top down its side; and when I," (says Mr. Cowdrey,) "visited the place in 1830, there were several trees standing."

"How far the records were anciently below the surface," (says Mr. Cowdrey,) "I am unable to say; but from the fact, that they had been buried some fourteen hundred years on the side of a hill so steep, one is ready to conclude that they were some feet below. A hole" continues the narrator, "of sufficient depth was dug. At the bottom of this was laid a stone of suitable size, the upper surface being smooth. At each edge was placed a large quantity of cement, and into this cement, at the four edges of the stone, were placed erect four others, their bottom edges resting in the cement at the outer edges of the first stone—the four last placed erect formed a box—the corners also were so firmly cemented, that the moisture from without was prevented from entering. This box was sufficiently large to admit a breastplate, such as was used by the ancients to defend the chest, etc., from the arms and weapons of the enemy. From the bottom of the box arose three small pillars, composed of the same description of cement used on the edges; and upon these 'three pillars were placed the records.' This box containing the records was covered with another stone, the bottom surface being flat, and the upper crowning. When it was first visited by Mr. Smith, on the morning of the 22nd of September, 1823, a part of the crowning stone was visible above the surface. On arriving at this depository 'a little exertion, and a light-pry, brought to his natural vision its contents.'

"While contemplating this sacred treasure with wonder and astonishment, behold! the angel of the Lord, who had previously visited him, again stood in his presence, and his soul was again enlightened, as it was the evening before, and he was filled with the Holy Ghost; and the heavens were opened, and the glory of the Lord shone round about, and rested upon him. While he thus stood gazing and admiring, the angel said: 'Look!' and as he thus spoke, he beheld the prince of darkness, surrounded by his innumerable train of associates." The whole conversation between the angel and the prophet, (then a lad of eighteen—this, it will be observed, was in 1823,) we have not space to insert. We can give extracts only, but will endeavor, in the extracts we select, to do justice to all. "'You cannot,' continues the narrative, 'at this time obtain this record, for the commandment of God is strict, and if ever these sacred things are obtained, they must be by prayer and faithfulness in obeying the Lord. They are not deposited here for the sake of accumulating gains, and wealth, for the glory of this world. They were sealed by the prayer of faith; and because of the knowledge which they contain, they are of no worth among the children of men, only for their knowledge. In them is contained the fulness of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as it was given to his people in this land; and when it shall be brought forth by the power of God, it shall be carried to the Gentiles, of whom many will receive it; and after, will the seed of Israel be brought into the fold of their Redeemer, by obeying it also. No man can obtain them if his heart is impure, because they contain that which is sacred. By them will the Lord make a great and marvellous work; the wisdom of the wise shall be as nought, and the understanding of the prudent shall be hid.'. Notwithstanding this great display of power, the angel, we are told, promised him another sign, which, when it came to pass, he would know that 'the Lord is God.' The other sign spoken of, was this: 'When it is known that the Lord has shown you these things, the workers of iniquity will seek your overthrow. They will circulate falsehoods to destroy your reputation; and also will seek to take your life; but remember this, if you are faithful, and shall hereafter continue to keep the commandments of the Lord, you shall be preserved, to bring them forth in due time. He will give you a commandment to come and take them. When they are interpreted, the Lord will give the holy priesthood to some, and they shall begin to proclaim this gospel, and baptize by water, and after that they shall have power to give the Holy Ghost by the laying on of their hands. Then will persecution rage more and more; but it will increase, the more opposed, and spread further and further; and when this takes place, and all things are prepared, the ten tribes of Israel will be revealed in the north country, whither they have been for a long season. But notwithstanding the workers of iniquity shall seek your destruction, the cause of the Lord will be extended, and you will be borne off conqueror, if you keep all his commandments. Your name shall be known among the nations—for the work which the Lord will perform by your hand, shall cause the righteous to rejoice, and the wicked to rage—with the one it shall be had in honor, and with the other in reproach; yet with these it shall be a terror, because of the great and marvellous work which shall follow the coming forth of this fulness of the gospel. Now, go thy way,' etc. Although other instructions were given by the angel, and for the four succeeding years much intercourse was had with the heavenly messenger, nothing of much importance occurred till the 22nd of September, 1827, 'when the angel of the Lord delivered the records into his hands.'

"These records were engraved on plates which had the appearance of gold. Each plate was not far from seven by eight inches in width and length, being not quite as thick as common tin. They were filled on both sides with engravings, in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume as the leaves of a book, and fastened at one edge with three rings running through the whole. This volume was something near six inches in thickness, a part of which was sealed. The characters or letters upon the unsealed part, were small, and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction, as well as much skill in the art of engraving. With the records was found a curious instrument, called by the ancients, Urim and Thummim, which consisted of two transparent stones, clear as crystal, set in two rims of a bow—this was in use in ancient times, by persons called Seers—it was an instrument, by the use of which they received revelations of things distant, or of things past or future."

"The inhabitants of the vicinity," continues the narrative, "having been informed that Mr. Smith had seen heavenly visions, and had discovered sacred records, began to ridicule, and mock at these things; and while proceeding home, through the wilderness and fields, he (Smith) was waylaid by two ruffians, who had secreted themselves for the purpose of robbing him of the same. One of them struck him with a club before he perceived them; but being a strong man, and large in stature, with great exertion he cleared himself from them, and ran toward home; being closely pursued until he came near his father's house, when his pursuers, for fear of being detected, turned and fled.

"The news of his discoveries soon spread abroad throughout all the country. False reports, misrepresentations, and base slanders, flew as if upon the wings of the wind, in every direction. The house was frequently beset by mobs and evil designed persons. Several times he was shot at, and very narrowly escaped. Every device was used to get the plates away from him, and being continually in danger of his life, from a gang of abandoned wretches, he at length concluded to leave the place and go to Pennsylvania; and accordingly packed up his goods, putting the plates into a barrel of beans, and proceeded on his journey.

"On his way thither, he was twice overtaken by officers with search warrants, who returned 'much chagrined at not being able to discover the object of their research;' without further molestation, he reached the northern part of Pennsylvania, near the Susquehannah river, in which part his father-in-law resided.

"He then commenced translating the record, as he says, 'by the gift and power of God, through the means of the Urim and Thummim, and being a poor writer, he was under the necessity of employing a scribe to write the translation as it came from his mouth."

He continued the work of translating as his pecuniary circumstances would permit, until he finished the unsealed part of the record. The first translation is entitled the Book of Mormon. (See note 2.)

"Mormon," continues the narrator, "had made an abridgment from the records of his forefathers upon plates, which abridgment, he entitled the Book of Mormon; and being commanded of God, he hid up in the hill of Cumorah, all the sacred records of his forefathers, which were in his possession, except the abridgment, called the Book of Mormon, which he gave to his son Moroni to finish. Moroni served his nation a few years, and continued the writings, in which he informs us, that the Lamanites hunted those few Nephites who escaped the great and tremendous battle of Cumorah, (See note 3.) until they were all destroyed, excepting those who were mingled with the Lamanites; and that he was left alone, and kept himself hid, for they sought to destroy every Nephite who would not deny Christ.

"After the book was translated, the Lord raised up witnesses to hear testimony of its truth, who, at the close of the volume send forth their testimony."

The first certificate purports to be signed by Oliver Cowdrey, Daniel Whitman, and Martin Harris, without date. They certify, that they "have seen the plates which contain the records; that it was translated by the gift and power of God—for his voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore, we know of a surety that the work is true; and we declare, with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates and the engravings thereon."

Eight other witnesses, to wit: Christian Whitman, Jacob Whitman, Peter Whitman, jun., John Whitman, Heman Page, Joseph Smith, sen., Hyrum Smith, and Samuel H. Smith, certify that "Joseph Smith, the translator of this work, has shown them the plates herein spoken of, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated, we did handle with our hands, and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work and of curious workmanship." The last witnesses concur substantially with the first, excepting that they did not see the angel of God come down and bring them.

The book being now translated, another difficulty arose. "Knowing that no one had authority to administer the sacred ordinance of baptism, Mr. Cowdrey and the prophet were at a loss what to do." The difficulty, however, was soon obviated, "for a holy angel stood before them, and laying his hands upon their heads, ordained them, and commanded them to baptize each other, which they accordingly did." This was in 1829. In 1830, a large edition of the Book of Mormon first appeared in print; and on the 6th of April, 1830, "the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day

Saints," was organized in the town of Manchester, Ontario county, in the State of New-York, and "the hearts of the saints were comforted and filled with great joy."

We would here insert the Mormon creed, but its great length prevents us from doing so; and its abridgment might, perhaps, be regarded as an attempt to do them injustice.

We will, however, observe, that "the gospel of the Book of Mormon is regarded by the Latter Day Saints with the same veneration as the New Testament is among Christians." A fact improbable in itself, requires other and stronger evidence to confirm its truth, than a fact corresponding with our own impressions, or sustained by probabilities. In order to do the Mormons justice, we have transcribed their own account of themselves, and, to prevent the appearance of wrong, have done it in their own words. We can discover nothing, however, in their story, which is even plausible. The frequent communications of "the prophet" with an angel, the gold plates, the discovery, and afterward the translation of the Book of Mormon in the manner above related; had we not seen in our own days similar impostures practiced with success, (that, for instance, of the celebrated Matthias, in New-York, a few years since, and several others more recently,) would have excited our special wonder; as it is, nothing excites surprise. The present age, notwithstanding its intelligence, to use a common, but appropriate, though undignified expression, is "an age of humbugs." The gold plates, it is said, no longer exist; their loss seems to be irreparable. Could they be seen and examined by the world, and their contents again be deciphered, we have no doubt they would attract the attention of many thither, if for no other purpose, than to see religion and gold so admirably blended. The law delivered to Moses, was written on tables of stone—how much more valuable must that be written on plates of gold! Our Saviour cast the money-changers out of the temple—the Mormon prophet is endeavoring to bring them in. Our Saviour, in his efforts to divorce God and Mammon, lost his life upon the cross—the Mormon prophet seeks, by their union, immortality.

The church of the Latter Day Saints, we have already remarked, was organized on the 6th of April, 1830, at Manchester, in New-York. Its members at first were few and inconsiderable; they increased, however, rapidly; and in 1833 removed to the State of Missouri, and purchased a tract of land in Jackson county. Here they had difficulty with their neighbors; some of them were tarred and feathered; some were killed, and the whole compelled to remove. They afterward located themselves in Clay county, Missouri, on the opposite side of the river, where they remained for some time in peace and quietness. In 1835, a part, or nearly the whole, removed easterly, and settled at Kirtland, in Geauga county, Ohio, about twenty miles from Cleveland. Here they commenced building a temple, on which, it is said, sixty thousand dollars were expended. In 1836, a solemn assembly was called, in Kirtland,

and the Latter Day Saints, to use their own expression, "had an interesting time of it." Several hundred elders were present, "and the work of God increased both in America and England, and in the islands of the great sea." A circumstance unfortunately happened here, of which no mention is made in their church records, and is not, I believe, alluded to in any of the Mormon publications.

A bank was incorporated at Kirtland, at the instance of, or purchased by, the Mormons, and "the prophet," Joseph Smith, became its president. The bank failed for want of capital, or integrity in its managers, and its failure was accompanied by more than ordinary depravity. Property to a considerable amount had been purchased, and paid for in its bills, and the title to property thus purchased, had become vested in "the saints," and the bills were unredeemed. This, however, affects neither the truth nor the falsity of the Mormon doctrine. Other banks failed at the same time; even the "wild-cat" banks of Michigan, *based on real estate*, which is *said* to be more permanent than any other, failed about this time, and some of them probably from the same cause. We ought not, therefore, to consider the Kirtland bank as having anything to do with the Mormon creed; and we now speak of it merely to show the danger of uniting the prophet, the apostle, and the banker, all in one. Whether the temple at Kirtland was paid for in bills of this bank, we are uninformed. Of this, however, we are certain—the residence of "the prophet," after its failure, became irksome in Ohio, and he thereupon, with his "apostles," his elders, and the great body of "the saints," removed to Caldwell county, in Missouri, and purchased a large tract of land, and built the city of the "Far West." Difficulties, however, attended them even here; and in August, 1838, these difficulties rose to such a height, that the militia were called in, and the Mormons were finally driven, by force of arms, from the State of Missouri, and sought protection, as we have already stated, on this side of the Mississippi. After wandering about some time, (their leader, Joseph Smith, in jail.) they finally purchased a beautiful tract of land in Hancock county, in this State, and in the spring of 1840 commenced building the city of Nauvoo. They were kindly received in Illinois, and its Legislature, at the first session thereafter, passed several acts for their benefit—all tending to establish an "*imperium in imperio,*" a government within a government. The folly of our Legislature, in passing those acts, if not manifest already, is destined soon to become so.

On the 7th of December, 1840, the General Assembly of Illinois met at Springfield, and notwithstanding the delay incident to business in the early part of the session, an act to incorporate the city of Nauvoo passed through all the forms of legislation, and was approved on the 16th of December, early in the second week of the session. It preceded even the "Poetry Bill,"* of that year, by two days. There are some provisions in this bill a little extraordinary, though founded, it is presumed, in great wisdom—such presumptions being always attached to the doings and proceedings of legislative bodies, and especially to those of ours. The 1st section of the act fixes its boundaries equal to some of the largest cities in Europe. The 2nd section authorizes its extension indefinitely: "Whenever any tract of land, adjoining the city of Nauvoo, shall have been laid out into town lots, and duly recorded according to the law, the same shall form a part of the city of Nauvoo."

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* The "Poetry Bill" is a name given to the act, authorizing each member and officer of the General Assembly, to draw his warrant on the treasurer for a hundred dollars; which is usually the first legislative act done.

The 3rd section of the act authorizes the city to purchase, receive, and hold real estate out of the city, for the use of its inhabitants; and to sell, lease, convey and dispose of property, real and personal, for the benefit of the city. This, we believe, is the first instance of a city having been converted, by legislative enactment, into a land speculator.

The 11th section of the act, authorizes the city council to make, ordain, establish, and execute all such ordinances, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, as they may deem necessary, etc. The laws of this State being omitted when they ought to have been inserted, rendered the ordinances of the city council paramount, apparently so at least, to any law of the State, and in fact nullifies the statutes of Illinois, not only in the present city of Nauvoo, but in the country adjacent thereto, whenever the city shall think proper to extend its jurisdiction thither. The act to incorporate the city of Chicago, (section 3rd,) authorizes the common council to pass ordinances, etc., "not contrary to the laws of this State." The city of Chicago is thereupon subject to these laws; the city of Nauvoo, it would seem, is not; such, at all events, is the construction put upon the act of incorporation by the common council of Nauvoo, as will appear from the ordinances they have since passed—whether with or without authority, we assume not the province of determining.

The 17th section of the act, gives the mayor exclusive jurisdiction in all cases, arising under the ordinances—with a right of appeal to the municipal court, held before the mayor and aldermen, and from thence to the circuit court of Hancock county. The same section authorizes the municipal court to grant writs of *habeas corpus*, etc. These last powers, we believe, are given to no other city in the State; they, in fact, render the mayor of Nauvoo, who is elected by its citizens, an absolute prince in his dominions; and to confirm his independence, and to render it more certain, the 25th section of the act organizes the inhabitants of said city into a body of *independent military* men, to be called the "Nauvoo legion;" and however strange it may appear, the commissioned officers of this legion are created a perpetual court-martial, with full power and authority to make, ordain, establish, and execute all such laws and ordinances, as may be considered necessary for the benefit, government, and regulation of the legion. Its commanding officer is created, also, a lieutenant-general, and of course outranks every other military officer in the State, except the governor. He is, by law, at the disposal of the mayor, in executing the laws and ordinances of the city. The act, also, "entitles the Nauvoo legion to its proportion of the public arms." Joseph Smith, "the prophet," has since been commissioned lieutenant-general, and the Nauvoo legion been supplied with arms out of the public arsenal. When we take into consideration the fact, that Lieutenant-general Smith had just arrived here from Missouri, at the time of receiving his commission, we must confess, that his promotion was exceedingly rapid. In order to carry out and perfect this system of entire independence, the city council, by the 24th section of the act, is authorized to establish a university, by the name of the "Chancellor and Regents of the University of the City of Nauvoo," with perpetual succession, "and full power to pass, ordain, establish, and execute all such laws and ordinances, as they may consider necessary for the welfare and prosperity thereof," regardless of the laws, which are again omitted here as before.

The act, therefore, to incorporate the city of Nauvoo, it would seem, is a perfect anomaly in legislation.

The beneficence, however, of the General Assembly, did not terminate with the incorporation of the city. On the 23rd of February thereafter, they incorporated a tavern within the city, with a capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, under the name of the "Nauvoo House Association." This is the house of which we have already spoken. The 9th section of the last act declares, that no liquors shall ever be vended as a beverage, or introduced into common use in said house. (See note 4.) And as Joseph Smith furnished the lot whereon to erect said house, it was further declared, "that said Smith and his heirs, shall have a suite of rooms in said house, in perpetual succession."

Having incorporated a city, and a tavern within the city, the General Assembly proceeded next, and four days only thereafter, (February 27, 1841,) to incorporate the "Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association," with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, and the privilege of increasing it to three hundred thousand dollars.

The sole object of said association, by the 2nd section of the act, is declared to be "the promotion of agriculture and husbandry, and for the manufacturing of flour, lumber, and such other useful articles as are necessary for the every-day purposes of life."

The General Assembly also passed a special law, for the appointment of a notary public, in the city of Nauvoo. Of this, however, we do not complain.

And in the act in relation to a road therein named, which is an act to amend "an act, concerning the road from Warsaw to Quincy;" they added a second section, which provides "that any citizen of Hancock county may, by voluntary enrollment, attach himself to the Nauvoo legion, with all the privileges which appertain to that independent military body."

This last act, and this last extraordinary provision, is referred to on this occasion, merely to exhibit a specimen of improvident legislation;

not on account of any intrinsic importance it possesses. In a country, and under a government like ours, excessive legislation is always inexpedient, and sometimes dangerous; it should, therefore, be avoided. The idea of passing a special statute for every little daily occurrence, is too ridiculous to be tolerated, too expensive to be endured, and too absurd to be persisted in for a length of time. The Mormons are entitled to the same protection as the rest of our citizens; to the same privileges, which are common to us all. The idea, however, of enacting half-a-dozen statutes, in as many weeks, for their special benefit, is too preposterous, we hope, to be again repeated.

The practice of the Mormons, under their act of incorporation, deserves next our attention.

That the Mormons were dealt harshly with in Missouri, there is no doubt. That they were wronged in many respects, we believe. That Governor Boggs's exterminating order was issued without authority—oppressive, impolitic and unjust—seems now to be conceded. Still, it furnishes no excuse for some of the Mormon proceedings.

On the 8th of December, 1843, an extra ordinance was passed by the city council of Nauvoo, for the extra case of Joseph Smith; by the first section of which it is enacted, "That it shall be lawful for any officer of the city, with, or without process, to arrest any person who shall come to arrest Joseph Smith with process growing out of the Missouri difficulties; and the person so arrested, shall be tried by the municipal court upon testimony, and if found guilty, sentenced to imprisonment in the city prison for life.'

Here, then, is a direct attempt to set the laws of the State, and of the nation, at defiance; an attempt to legislate without authority, and to nullify a solemn act of our Legislature.

On the 17th of February, 1842, an ordinance was passed, entitled "An ordinance concerning marriages," by the second section of which a person is authorized to marry with, or without license. We have a statute, requiring a license, in all cases, from the clerk of the commsssioner's court. Whether the law be expedient or not is immaterial. The idea of its being repealed, or annulled, by the city council of Nauvoo, is not to be tolerated.*

On the 21st of November, 1843, an ordinance was passed by the city council, making it highly penal, even to one hundred dollars fine, and six months imprisonment, for any officer to serve a process in the city of Nauvoo, "unless it be examined by, and receive the approval and signature of the mayor of said city, on the back of said process."

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* A new kind of ceremony, appertaining to marriage, has lately been introduced into the municipal regulations of Nauvoo. Persons, inclined so to do, are married for the next world, as well as this. The ceremony is, therefore, performed in the alternative for time or eternity. Those married for time, have recently, as we have been informed, been married a second time, for eternity.

The conduct of the city council, in relation to the above ordinances, or rather the conduct of Lieutenant-general Smith, who unites in his own person the office of prophet, priest, and king, and is, in fact, council, mayor, and executive officer of Nauvoo, has begun already to breed a tempest; and great prudence will, unquestionably, be required to assuage its fury.

The Mormons have occupied already more space than we had intended; still we are unwilling to leave the subject without inserting some extracts from the British Critic, an English publication, printed in London, in October, 1842.

"An English gentleman, (Mr. Henry Caswell,) of talents and respectability, ascending the Mississippi in a steamboat, in 1842, was told that three hundred English emigrants were on board, to join 'the prophet' at Nauvoo. He walked into that part of the vessel appropriated to the poorer class of travellers, and beheld his countrymen crowded together in a comfortless manner. He addressed them, and found they were from the neighborhood of Preston, in Lancashire. They were decent looking people, and by no means of the lower class. He took the liberty of questioning them respecting their plans, and found they were the dupes of Mormon missionaries.

"Early on Sunday morning he was landed opposite to Nauvoo, and in a few minutes crossed the river in a large canoe, filled with Mormons 'going to meeting;' and in a few minutes found himself in this extraordinary city. It is built on a grand plan, accommodated to the bend of the river, and to the site of the temple.

"The view of the winding Mississippi from this elevation, ('the temple,') was truly magnificent. The whole lower part of the town from thence was distinctly seen, and contained, as was said, ten thousand people.*

"The temple," says Mr. Caswell, "being unfinished, about half-past ten o'clock a congregation of perhaps two thousand persons assembled in a grove, within a short distance of the sanctuary. Their appearance was quite respectable, and fully equal to that of dissenting meetings generally in the western country. Many gray-headed old men were there, and many well-dressed females. Their sturdy forms, their clear complexions, and their heavy movements, strongly contrasting with the slight figure, the sallow visage, and the elastic step of the American. There, too, were the bright and unconscious looks of little children, who, born among the privileges of England's church, baptized with her consecrated waters, and taught to lisp their prayers and repeat her catechism, had now been led into this clan of heresy, to listen to the ravings of a false prophet, and to imbibe the principles of a semi-pagan delusion.

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* Large accessions to its population have been made since, and it is now (1844) said to contain eighteen thousand people; some say twenty-two thousand. This may be, and probably is, an over estimate. It is, however, the largest town in the State, and rapidly increasing.

"Two elders shortly came forward, and one of them having made a few commonplace remarks on the nature of prayer, and dwelt for a considerable time on the character and perfections of the Almighty, proceeded in the following strain:

"'We thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast, in these latter days, restored the gifts of prophecy, of revelation, and of great signs and wonders, as in the days of old. We thank thee, that as thou didst formerly raise up thy servant, Joseph, to deliver his brethren in Egypt, so thou hast raised up another Joseph to save his brethren from bondage to sectarian delusion, and to bring them into this great and good land—a land flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands, and which thou didst promise to be an inheritance for the seed of Jacob for ever more. We pray for thy servant and prophet, Joseph, that thou wouldst bless him, and prosper him; that although the archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him, his bow may abide in strength, and the arms of his hands be made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob. We pray also for thy temple, that the nations of the earth may bring gold and incense; that the sons of strangers may build up its walls, and fly to it as a cloud, and as doves to their windows. We pray thee, also, to hasten the ingathering of thy people, every man to his heritage, and every man to his land. We pray, that as thou hast set up this place as an ensign for the nations, so thou wouldst continue to assemble here the outcasts, and gather together the dispersed from the four corners of the earth. May every valley be exalted, and every mountain and hill be made low, and the crooked places straight, and the rough places plain; and may the glory of the Lord be revealed, and all flesh see it together. Bring thy sons from afar, and thy daughters from the ends of the earth, and let them bring their gold and their silver with them.'

"After prayer, the other elder commenced a discourse on the necessity of a revelation for America, as well as Asia, and on the probability of continued revelations. At its close, a hymn was sung, and a third elder came forward, and observed, 'that his office required of him to speak of business, and especially of the 'Nauvoo house;' and among other things said, that 'the Lord had commenced this work, and the work must be done; yes, it shall be done—it will be done.' That a small amount of stock had hitherto been taken; that the committee had gone on borrowing and borrowing till they could borrow no longer; that mechanics had been employed on the house; that they wanted their pay, and the committee were not able to pay them; that he came there with seven thousand dollars, and now had but two thousand—having expended five thousand upon the work of the Lord. He, therefore, called upon the brethren to obey God's command, and take stock.' This address being concluded, others followed in the same strain, and appeared as familiar with worldly business and operations of finance, as with prophecies and the book of Mormon. None, however, came forward to take stock, and one of the elders thereupon remarked, that 'as they had not made up their minds as to the amount of stock they would take, he wished them to come to his house the next day [illegible] that purpose.'

"The public exercises being closed, Mr. Caswell, accompanied by a prominent member of the church, next visited the temple. Its position, says he, is commanding, and is designed to be one of the best edifices in the country. It is a hundred and twenty feet by a hundred, and when completed, will be fifty feet up to the eaves. Its expense is estimated at three hundred thousand dollars. The baptismal font is finished. It is a capacious laver, about twenty feet square, and rests on the backs of twelve oxen, well sculptured, and large as life. The laver and oxen are of wood, painted, but are to be gilded. Here baptisms for the dead are celebrated, as well as baptisms for the healing of diseases. Baptisms for the remission of sins are performed in the Mississippi."

Since Mr. Caswell's visit to Nauvoo, the temple has progressed considerably, and the Nauvoo House has been finished. It is now occupied by "the prophet," and a suite of rooms reserved therein, as we are gravely told, by God's command, "for his servant Joseph and his seed after him, from generation to generation." How that fact is, we know not; a suite of rooms, however, we know is reserved in the act of incorporation, for Joseph Smith and his heirs, "in perpetual succession."

"Mr. Caswell was next introduced to the prophet, and had, as he says, the honor of an interview with him. He describes him as a coarse plebeian person in aspect, and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and clown. His hands are large and fat, and on one of his fingers he wore a massive gold ring, with some inscription upon it. His dress was of coarse country manufacture, and his white hat was enveloped by a piece of black crape, being in mourning for a brother. He (Mr. Caswell,) had no opportunity of observing his eyes, he (Smith,) appearing deficient in that open, staid, fixed look which characterizes an honest man." (See note 5.)

"The Mormon system," says Mr. Caswell, "mad as it is, has method in its madness, and many shrewd and calculating hands are at work in its maintenance and propagation; and whatever may befall its originators, it has the elements of increase and endurance. Mormon missionaries have been sent forth, and are now at work in almost every country in Christendom. They have recently gone to Russia, with letters of credence from the Mormon prophet. Their numbers, in England, we have no doubt are increasing rapidly; and it remains," says Mr. Caswell, "for Christians of the present day to determine whether Mormonism shall sink to the level of those fanatical sects which, like new stars, have blazed for a little while, and then sunk into obscurity; or whether, like a second Mohammedanism, it shall extend itself, sword in hand, till Christianity be levelled with the dust."

We may, perhaps, be accused of giving an undue importance to "the prophet." The wretch who burnt the temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was "decreed" to oblivion. Black Hawk, who cost our Government, it is said, two millions of dollars, died recently in obscurity. Both, however, will be "talked about," when saints and martyrs, and patriots and heroes, whose whole lives have been devoted to the service of their country and their God, shall be neglected or forgotten.

The laws of Illinois make no provision for the support of public worship. Religion is here regarded as a matter between the creature and the Creator. The ordinance of 1787, and the constitution of the State, forbid any legislative interference in matters of conscience. Acting in accordance with the views and opinions expressed by Jesus of Nazareth, while on earth, the humble and devout Christians of Illinois—and it is hoped there are many such—neither seek nor desire legislative aid. Many different sects of course abound; that circumstance, however, we have no doubt, tends to preserve religion in its purity. Persecution has too often marked the progress of great majorities. Diversity, therefore, of opinion in matters of religion, like counter currents in the ocean, keep it for ever pure—for ever rolling—and although a little wherry may sometimes be lost, and whole navies occasionally be swallowed up, 't is far better, than that stagnant or putrid waters should bear the pestilence for ever on their bosom.

NOTE I.

The prophet has the sole and exclusive charge of the Nauvoo House—a large boarding-house in Nauvoo, as is said, "for the kings and nobles of the earth, and all weary travellers to lodge in, while they contemplate the word of the Lord, and the corner-stone which he has appointed for Zion;" and does not appear to burden himself, or his position, "with any very troublesome sense of dignity, or responsibility;" and off his guard exhibits a humor approaching to naivette. A respectable citizen of Chicago, passing through Nauvoo a few weeks since, happened, accidentally, to be present when "the prophet" challenged one of his guests "to pull at a stick." This is performed by the persons sitting opposite to each other on the floor, having a small stick between them, of which each takes hold with one or both hands, as the case may be, and he who pulls up his adversary wins. Those acquainted with "the prophet" will credit, without an effort, the above relation.

NOTE II.

The Book of Mormon contains five hundred and seventy-one close printed pages. The copy of which we speak, is the third edition, carefully revised by the translator. Printed by Robinson & Smith, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1840. It purports to be "an account written by the hand of Mormon, upon plates taken from the plates of Nephi." Its style is in imitation of the Scriptures. It contains no information of any importance, and as a moral work is entirely valueless.

NOTE III.

The battle of Cumorah here spoken of, was fought in Palmyra, Wayne county, New-York, in which hundreds of thousands were slain on both sides. In order to do ample justice to "the prophet," we insert from his narrative his own words. "The war commenced at the Isthmus of Darien, and was very destructive to both nations," (the Nephites and Lamanites,) "for many years; at length the Nephites were driven before their enemies a great distance to the north and northeast; and having gathered their whole nation together, both men, women and children, they encamped in and around about the hill of Cumorah," (Palmyra, New-York,) "where the records were found. Here they were met by the Lamanites, and were slain, and hewn down, and slaughtered, both male and female, the aged, middle-aged, and children. Hundreds of thousands were slain on both sides, and the nation of the Nephites was destroyed, excepting a few who had deserted over to the Lamanites, and a few who escaped into the south country, and a few who fell wounded, and were left by the Lamanites on the field of battle for dead, among whom were Mormon, and his son Moroni, who were righteous men."

NOTE IV.

This provision has since been abrogated, not by an act of the Legislature, but by an ordinance of the city council, which is paramount thereto. In the ordinances of Nauvoo, we find the following.

"An ordinance for the health and convenience of travellers and other persons.

"Sec. 1. Be it ordained by the city council of Nauvoo, that the mayor of the city be, and is hereby authorized to sell or give spirits of any quantity, as he, in his wisdom, shall judge to be for the health, comfort, or convenience of such travellers, or other persons, as shall visit his house from time to time.

"Passed December 12, 1843.

"Joseph Smith, Mayor.

"Willard Richards, Recorder."

NOTE V.

The author, having had a little acquaintance with "the prophet," differs in some respects from Mr. Caswell, in relation to his appearance and manners. Mr. Smith was born, and for many years lived, in great obscurity. He was, in early life, uneducated. Since he has attracted the gaze and wonder of the world, he has improved considerably in his mind and manners. In his person he is still coarse. His manners are not refined; he is, however, far from being clownish. The massive gold ring of which Mr. Caswell speaks, he still wears; whether to gratify a foolish vanity, or to effect some other and higher object, we are at a loss to determine. In his conversation he is uncommonly shrewd, and exhibits more knowledge of books, sacred and profane, than his personal appearance at first seems to promise. There is, however, a kind of levity in his manners, unbecoming the prophet or apostle. He is, upon the whole, an ordinary man; and considering his pretensions, a very ordinary man, in his person, his manners, his conversation and character; and were it not for the aid which persecution always confers, and the notoriety which pretensions like his, absurd and ridiculous, uniformly give, he would before this have sunk into obscurity.

CHAPTER XXI.

Public Lands—Title thereto—Proclamation of George III.—Ejectment to recover—Case of Johnson and others—Chief-Justice Marshall's opinion—Lands not a source of profit to the nation—Real Estate the worst property a nation can own—Distribution, etc.—The question considered—Its corrupting tendency.

The title of the inhabitants of Illinois to its soil, is the same as in the other States of the American Republic, except in one particular, which we shall mention hereafter.

We have already spoken of a proclamation issued by George III., soon after the cession of this country to England, in 1763; and of an Indian grant of two tracts of land, made to William Murray and others, in violation of its provisions, (chapter xi. page 211,) the consideration of which, is said to have been twenty-four thousand dollars and upward. On the 18th of October, 1775, Tabac, and certain other chiefs of the Piankeshaw tribe, at Vincennes, executed another deed, in contravention also of said proclamation, to Louis Viviat, for himself and the Honorable John Earl of Dunmore, at that time Governor of Virginia under the crown, his son John Murray, Thomas Johnson, William Murray, one of the grantees in the former deed, and others, of an extensive tract of land upon the Wabash, in consideration of thirty-one thousand dollars, and upward, paid to said chiefs. The above deeds embrace a large portion of the State of Illinois, (the city of Chicago, among the rest,) and were pronounced by some of the ablest lawyers in England (Lord Camden, among others,) to be good and valid deeds. The question having, within a few years, been decided by the supreme court of the United States against the claimants under the above grants; and that decision being the basis upon which our titles to the houses and lands we occupy altogether depends, an abstract of the case cannot fail to interest some portion of our readers.*

Johnson, the son and devisee of Thomas Johnson, one of the grantees in the deed executed on the 18th of October, 1775, by the Piankeshaw tribe of Indians, before referred to, brought an action of ejectment against McIntosh in the district court of this State, to recover a tract of land in the State and district of Illinois.

The defendant, McIntosh, claimed under a patent from the United

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* Those wishing for more information upon the subject, will find it reported in viii. Wheaton's Reports, 543.

States, and the question to be determined was, whether a prior deed, executed by the Piankeshaw Indians in 1775, in contravention of the proclamation of the King of England, was paramount to a subsequent deed from the same tribe to the United States, and a patent from the latter to the defendant.

It will be seen at once that the question was one of magnitude, not so much on account of the property at stake in this suit, as on account of the principle involved in its decision. It was argued by Messrs. Harper and Webster for the plaintiff, and Messrs. Winder and Murray for the defendant; and the judgment of the court below (which had been rendered for the defendant,) was affirmed.

The opinion of the supreme court, given by Chief Justice Marshall, on that occasion, having "defined our position" in relation to Indian titles with great accuracy, those titles being traced therein back to their source, and the reason for their validity given, we shall attempt nothing more than a brief abstract of the opinion of that eminent jurist.

On the discovery of this country by Columbus, the maritime states of Europe, stimulated by the love of glory, and still more by the hope of gain and the prospect of dominion, embarked in several adventurous enterprises, the objects of which were to found colonies—to search for the precious metals—and to exchange the products and manufactures of the old world, for what was valuable and attractive in the new. England, (with the exception of Spain,) was in advance of her continental neighbors. During that period, "the right of discovery" received a universal acquiescence—became the basis of European policy, and regulated the exercise of sovereignty on this side of the Atlantic. Of this fact there is no doubt; the history of that period furnishes, not only uniform, but conclusive evidence of its truth.

In respect to inhabited lands, no important objection can be raised against it; but in respect to countries occupied by the natives, (even savages,) its correctness and humanity are not equally apparent.

The Indian tribes inhabiting this vast Continent, claimed an exclusive possession, as sovereign and absolute proprietors of the soil. They acknowledged no obedience, allegiance or subordination, to any foreign power whatever; and so far as they had the means, they have since asserted their right of dominion, and yielded it up only when lost by conquest, or transferred by treaty.

It is needless here to discuss the question, whether civilized man may demand of the savage, for use and occupation, lands overrun only by the latter—not cultivated—because the Saxon race have, in no instance, we believe, claimed jurisdiction, or attempted to expel the latter, except in cases of war, of purchase, and of voluntary cessions.

Although Alexander VI., as we have already stated, by a papal bull, granted the whole Continent to the crown of Castile in 1493, Spain erected her empire in America, upon other and different bases. Portugal sustained her claim to Brazil by "the right of discovery." France predicated her title to the vast countries she claimed in America, on the same right. The States of Holland made some acquisitions here, and sustained their right to them on the common principle, at that time adopted in Europe; and no one of the European powers gave its assent to this principle more unequivocally than England.

As early as 1496, the English monarch granted a commission to the Cabots, to discover countries unknown to Christian people; and take possession of them in the name of the King of England. In 1578, a right was given to Sir Humphrey Gilbert to discover, and take possession, of heathen and barbarous lands. This was afterward renewed to Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1606, a charter was granted to Sir Thomas Gates and others, under which the first permanent settlement was made in Virginia; others were issued soon afterward, which purport to convey the soil, as well as the right of dominion, to the grantees; at the time of the execution of these several grants or patents, the whole country was held and occupied by the savages.

The right acquired by discovery, "merely excluded other European nations from the right to acquire a title from the natives;" and vested in the discoverers "a capacity to extinguish the Indian title, and to perfect their own dominion over the soil, and to dispose of it according to their will and pleasure." This principle of discovery created, of course, a peculiar relation between the original inhabitants and the Europeans; the former were admitted to possess "a present right of occupancy," subordinate, however, to "the ultimate dominion of the discoverer." In a certain sense they were permitted to exercise rights of sovereignty over it; they were permitted to sell or transfer it to the discoverers, and no others; and until such sale, they were generally permitted to occupy it as sovereigns *de facto*. Europeans claimed, therefore, and exercised, the right to grant the soil while yet in possession of the natives, "subject to their right of occupancy."

The history of America, from its first discovery to the present day, says Chief Justice Marshall, proves, we think, the universal recognition of these principles.

France made grants similar to those of England; and claimed the whole valley of the Mississippi by the right of discovery. According to the European principles, her title was perfect until 1763, at which time Illinois and other states and territories, were ceded to England. By the treaty of peace, at the close of the revolutionary war, in 1783, Great Britain relinquished to the United States all claim, not only to the government, but to the soil, within the limits whose boundaries were fixed in the second article of the treaty. By this treaty, the power of government, and the right to the soil which had previously been in Great Britain, passed definitively to the United States. According to every principle, then, which had obtained in Europe and elsewhere, a clear title to all the lands within the boundary lines described in the treaty, was vested in the United States "subject only to the Indian right of occupancy," and the exclusive power to extinguish that right, was vested in the Government, which might constitutionally exercise it.

The United States have also, in several instances, acceded to the broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants hold this country; and have maintained, "that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title to occupancy, either by purchase or conquest; and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty, as the circumstances of the people will allow them to exercise;" and having since purchased of the several Indian tribes, the whole State of Illinois, and received from the States of New-York, Massachusetts, Virginia, and Connecticut, a release of all their interests under patents from the crown of England, the title seems apparently of record, more satisfactory than almost any state or nation can exhibit of its domain.

By the treaty of Greenville, made and entered into on the 3rd of August, 1795, between General Wayne in behalf of the United States, and the sachems, chiefs, and warriors of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawatomies, Miamies, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias, "one piece of land, six miles square at the mouth of the Chicago river, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood;" one other piece, twelve miles square, at the mouth of the Illinois river; and one other piece, including the old fort at Peoria, near the south end of the Illinois lake on Illinois river, were, among other lands, ceded to the United States.

On the 7th of June, 1803, further cessions were made, by a treaty executed by the Indians at Fort Wayne, where General Harrison acted as commissioner on the part of the United States. Other cessions were afterward made, until the Indian title has become wholly extinguished within the limits of Illinois.

In relation to the morality of such cessions, nothing perhaps need here be said. The treaties which led to these cessions, were conducted, in all probability, as fairly, and probably more so, than any treaties hitherto made between civilized and savage men, in any age or any part of the world. The Indians in Illinois, having first expelled the prior occupants, overran, rather than inhabited, the country they claimed. At no period in its history, did the native population equal its number of square miles. One-half, or one-third of that number, unquestionably exceeds the truth. And, however strange it may seem, notwithstanding its occupation by them for centuries, a single year after their departure has, in every instance, eradicated (with the exception of a few tumuli or tombs,) all traces of their existence. It can hardly be supposed, then, that an all-wise Creator, who designed this world for the benefit of the human race, intended that its fairest portions should have been reserved for a few solitary hunters. Their occupation was war; their subsistence obtained from the forest. "To leave them in possession of the country, was to leave the country a wilderness;" to govern them as a distinct people, was impossible. "The Americans were under the necessity, therefore, of abandoning the country," and exposing themselves and their families to the perpetual hazard of being massacred, or of enforcing their rights by the sword. "Wars ensued, in which the whites were not, as some pretend, always the aggressors." European policy, numbers and skill, of course prevailed; and as the white population advanced, the Indians receded—the country in the neighborhood of the former became unfit for them—the game fled into thicker and more unbroken forests, and the Indians followed." Attempts to civilize and christianize the latter, have frequently been made, in sincerity and zeal, but mostly in vain. Our ancestors, who landed on Plymouth rock, labored unquestionably for their good. Purer and better men than Elliot, or Brainard, have never existed. Many of the Jesuit missionaries, who resorted thither, in character and motives, were irreproachable. Still, nothing, or scarcely nothing, was effected by their exertions. That wrongs, aggravated wrongs, at times have been done the savage, we admit. We admit, also, that attempts for their reformation have, at times, injudiciously been conducted. But that our Government have, in any instance, sought to overwhelm them with undeserved ruin, we deny; and the history of our country bears out the assertion.

The ordinance of 1787, for the government of the United States north-west of the river Ohio, contains the following provision:

> "The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians—their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent—and in their property, rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded, or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

This ordinance, it will be recollected, was passed before our present Constitution was adopted. It is true, that foreign emissaries and domestic traitors, and sometimes the cupidity of white men, have stimulated the savage to deeds of vengeance, and those deeds have recoiled on their own guilty heads. The march, however, of civilization, has been onward; and the conduct of the American nation, and ordinarily of the American people, has been mild and merciful. That sickly humanity, therefore, which attempts to justify the Indian massacre, requires another and different theatre for its successful exhibition.

Without entering into the controversy, whether agriculturists, merchants and manufacturers, have a right, on abstract principles, to expel hunters from the territory they possess, or to contract their limits, we observe, says Chief Justice Marshall, "that conquest gives a title, which the courts of the conquered cannot deny." The British government was at one time our government. Their rights have passed to the United States. They asserted a title to all the lands occupied by Indians within the chartered limits of the British colonies. It asserted also a limited sovereignty over them, and the exclusive right of extinguishing the title which occupancy gave them. These claims were maintained and established as far west as the Mississippi, by the sword. The title to a vast portion of the United States, originated in them; and it is not for courts in this country to question the validity of this title, or to sustain one incompatible with it.

" However extravagant the pretensions of converting the discovery of an inhabited country into a conquest may appear, if the principle has been asserted in the first instance; if a country has been acquired and held under it; if the property of the great mass of the community originates in it; it becomes the law of the land, and cannot be questioned.

" In England all vacant lands are vested in the crown, as representing the nation. In this country, all vacant lands are vested in the United States. In England, the title of the crown, whatever it might be, could be acquired, only by a conveyance from the crown. If an individual then purchased of the Indians, he acquired their title only. The purchaser incorporates himself with them, so far as respects the property purchased, and held their title under their protection, and subject to their laws. If they annul the grant, (and convey to a person having authority to purchase,) we know of no tribunal which can revise or set aside the proceeding. We know of no principle which can distinguish this case from a grant made by a native Indian, authorizing him to hold a particular tract of land in severalty.

" The proclamation of the king, above referred to, 'forbade all British subjects from making any purchase, or settlement whatever, or taking possession of the lands.' It was contended, however, on the authority of Campbell against Hall, (Cowper's Reports,) that the king had transcended his constitutional power, and therefore the proclamation was a nullity. That since the expulsion of the Stuart family from the throne, such authority had never been recognized. It would seem, however, that the power of granting, or refusing to grant, vacant lands, and of restraining encroachments on the Indians, has always been asserted and admitted; has never been denied; and as it respects lands in this country, has always been sustained by our courts. The grant of lands to the crown, for the use of individuals, as in this case, seems also to admit the royal assent necessary to its validity. The opinion, therefore, given by York and Pratt, one of them the attorney, and the other the solicitor-general of England, notwithstanding its great authority, is not only against the uniform practice of the crown, and the opinions given by its great law officers, but repugnant also to our practice, since we have been a nation. The court, therefore, are decidedly of opinion that the plaintiffs have not exhibited a title which can be sustained; and that there is no error in the judgment which has been rendered in the district court of Illinois."

The decision being final, all claims under the Indian deeds before mentioned, were immediately abandoned, and a patent from the United States regarded by the whole community as perfectly conclusive.

The relation which now exists (however unpleasant) between the civilized and the savage man, is perfectly natural. When the former first landed on the American Continent, they were received by the savage with uniform kindness; that kindness was at first reciprocal. The European, however, required lands for culture. Those lands were bought and paid for; all were satisfied—and all was harmony; difficulties at length arose, and having no common umpire for their adjustment, recourse was had to arms. The industry and persevering valor, however, of the white man, bore everything before it. The forests fell, the game retired, the savage followed, and the country, deprived of all that was valuable in the eyes of the latter, became to them of but little use. Other cessions were made, and the same process was repeated, till the savage saw, and felt, his danger. He sought next to repossess himself of the lands he had granted; was met on the threshold by the European, in arms; and at last driven from river to river, and from forest to forest, until an abiding place has scarcely been left. Such, however, was, and still is, nature's law. Mind governs matter, as sure as the sparks fly upward.

The question has often been asked, whether our public lands have been a source of profit, or of loss to the nation? The answer to the inquiry depends upon the view taken of the subject by the inquirer.

When cession after cession was made by the several States, and by the numerous Indian tribes within our limits, of those lands to the nation, and the lands thus ceded were pledged in payment of our public debt, they were supposed, and believed by many, adequate to the purpose. Experience, however, soon proved its fallacy. Regarding Government merely as a land speculator, and charging the fifteen million dollars paid for Louisiana, the five millions paid for Florida, the expenses of the general land office, appropriations for surveying, commissions to registers and receivers, moneys paid for extinguishing Indian titles, annuities to Indians, the expenses paid for their removal, and interest on the above several items, and crediting all the money received at public and private sales, a balance (though not large,) would, probably, be found in favor of the public lands. But if to this, the expenses attending Indian treaties, the moneys expended in the prosecution and defence of Indian wars, which constitute an equitable charge upon the fund, from Harman's fatal expedition down to the Black Hawk, including also the Creek, the Cherokee, Seminole, and lastly, the Florida war, the balance would be several millions against the public lands; after deducting, too, such as were given for military bounties, for schools and seminaries, and for canals, and internal improvements. So far then from contributing to sustain the credit of the nation, and adding to its resources, they have not, as yet, contributed a shilling toward either.*

The above facts, however, illustrate the following position: That a landed estate is the very worst which a Government can possess; that lands are of a nature more proper for private management, than for public administration; better fitted for the care of a frugal land-agent than of an officer in the State; that whenever any property is transferred from hands which are not fit to hold it, to hands that are, the buyer and seller are mutually benefitted by the exchange.

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* A committee on public lands, in Congress, May 18th, 1832, estimated their cost at $48,077,551 40, including interest and charges, and the receipts at $37,272,713,31, leaving a balance due the Government of $10,804,838,09. Several large errors, however, crept into this statement, and its accuracy cannot be depended upon. The receipts since have also been large.

When these lands were acquired by the United States, many supposed they would pay off the public debt immediately; defray the ordinary expenses of Government, and furnish a large surplus for distribution. Their subsequent history, however, presents to us, and to the world, another instructive lesson on the utility of public lands to a country, and the fallacy of large calculations. Fifty years of practical experience has exhibited a negative quantity. Had their sale been continued much longer upon credit, a severance of the Union would unquestionably have followed.

Until 1829, their minimum price was two dollars per acre; large tracts were sold to individuals at that rate on credit, and a portion only of the purchase money having been paid on the execution of the contract, the consequence was, an immense accumulation of debt to the United States, annual relief laws, and great danger to our country and its institutions.

Fortunately, however, the whole system was afterward changed. Lands were sold in small parcels, to suit the purchaser, at reduced prices, (one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre,) and for cash; the wisdom of this measure was immediately apparent. Speculation in wild lands had become unprofitable; many who indulged in dreams of principalities, woke up and found themselves without a home. The expenses incurred in their management; the infidelity, sometimes, of agents; and the consuming moth of taxation, devoured frequently their available means, and delivered over the residue to the sheriff or the marshal.

We have already remarked, that the State of Illinois contains - - - - - - - -	35,941,902	acres.
Of this, one thirty-sixth part of the whole has been granted for the support of public schools, making	998,389	“
Two townships for a University, - - - -	46,080	“
For military bounties, - - - - - -	2,831,840	“
For the Illinois and Michigan canal, - - -	289,867$\frac{85}{100}$	“
For other purposes, - - - - - -	210,132$\frac{15}{100}$	“
For the seat of Government, four sections, - -	2,560	“
When the State was admitted into the Union, the Saline reserves were granted to the State, (say)	30,000	“
Lands sold at all the public offices in the State previous to the 31st of March, 1841, - -	11,848,547	“
Since that time, probably, - - - - - -	1,250,000	“
Making altogether, - - - - -	17,507,616	“

nearly one-half of the whole. Sales, during the last three years, have been greater in Illinois than in any State in the Union,* and are now rapidly progressing.

Sales upon easy terms, liberal donations, and a cession of the inferior lands to the State for beneficial and meritorious objects, will accomplish, it is hoped, a transfer of the remaining lands in a reasonable time, from hands that are not fit to hold them, to hands that are. 'T is not the paltry sum of one dollar and a quarter per acre, paid into the treasury, but the use of these lands, reduced to private property, occupied by independent yeomanry, improved and improving, that gives them all their value.

When General Hamilton was secretary of the treasury, during the administration of President Washington, he was charged with treachery, and threatened with impeachment for the opinions he gave in relation to the public lands. His predictions, however, have been verified. No one, it is believed, anticipates at the present time a large accession to the public revenue from thence. Whether that amount, though small, shall hereafter be distributed among the States, or become a part of the public revenue, are questions for the politician and statesman, and not for the historian.

Small amounts in other countries have corrupted the public mind, degraded the public morals, and debased the public character; why not then in our own? To anticipate this, however, would be to write our history in advance.

Moneys obtained by fraud, gambling, speculation, or piracy, seldom profit their possessor. Moneys never earned, seldom endure—and not unfrequently ruin their possessor. To suppose that a few thousand dollars will tend to corrupt a legislative body, is only to suppose that man is frail; to suppose the contrary, is to discard the wisdom of ages, and reject the lessons of experience.

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* During the first, second, and third quarters of the year 1842, 386,414,71-100dths acres, were sold in this State for $483 46 75.

CHAPTER XXII.

Canal policy—Illinois and Michigan canal—Its importance—Boats passed from Lake Michigan to the Illinois river a hundred years ago—New-York canals—Languedoc canal—Holstein canal—English canals—Middlesex canal—Canal commissioners appointed by the Legislature of Illinois, February 14, 1823—And six thousand dollars appropriated for surveys—A Company incorporated for its completion, January 17, 1825—Act repealed—Congress make a donation of lands, March 2, 1827—A Board of Commissioners appointed to explore, in 1829—Act amended, February 15, 1829—Office of Canal Commissioners abolished, March 1, 1833—Act for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal, passed January 9, 1836—Railroad, etc.—Canal commenced, July 4, 1836—Speculation—Whole expense of the canal, estimated at eight millions, six hundred and fifty-four thousand, three hundred and thirty-seven dollars—First contracts, price of provisions and labor—Road along the route—Loans, etc.—Canal Fund—State then in debt—Work on canal ceases—Claims liquidated at two hundred and thirty thousand dollars—Lands and lots sold—Amount of sales—Of receipts, seven hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and thirty dollars—Amount of bonds issued—Resources—Their payment, etc.—Its future prospects—South more interested than the North in its completion—Internal improvement system—Loan of eight hundred thousand dollars authorized—Credit of the State pledged, etc.—Governor Ford's message—Work suspended for want of funds.

No principle in political economy is better established, than "that after the formation of a good government, the best and highest interest of a nation is, to adopt such a system of internal policy as will enable its whole population to enjoy, as soon as practicable, all the natural advantages of their position." A mere glance at the map of Illinois, must convince even the most casual observer, that the union of Lake Michigan and the Illinois river by a canal, is an object not only of easy accomplishment, but of great practical importance.

The attention of the first settlers of this country, at an early day, was directed to this subject, and trading establishments were erected by the French on its route. The importance of Canada and Louisiana was enhanced by the measure, and when the country passed into other hands, when the power of France had ceased, and the once proud lords of the soil had retired at the bidding of civilization and the arts, the project was renewed; and hopes are now fondly cherished, that in a few more years Lake Michigan will mingle its tributary flood with the great "father of waters."

The importance of this measure, not only to the State, but to the nation, in a civil, a military, and political point of view, can hardly be appreciated. The history and progress of other States, is full of instruction. Holland, by her industry and enterprise, robbed the ocean of its legitimate domain; and intersected her whole surface with navigable canals. A few years since, she was mistress of the seas. China, England, New-

York, and other States and territories, furnish evidence also of their value. The rise and fall of nations in every part of the world, as well as in every age, furnish also incontestible proofs, that the most intimate relations which can be created between distant sections of a common country, tend, in their nature, to preserve its independence, to call forth its energies, and increase its wealth, its power, and political importance.

In the United States, this conclusion is not only reasonable, but irresistible. When the whole of this vast country shall become thickly inhabited; and different sections, actuated by different interests, shall feel, and perhaps act, as if they were separate parts of distant and discordant nations; when jealousies shall arise, as in all probability they may, to disturb its peace, and endanger its liberties; when patriotism, innocent and defenceless as she is, shall be assailed by those arch-fiends of ruin, ambition and avarice;—a community of interest arising from the mutual dependence of one section of the country upon another, may constitute that bond of union, and perhaps the only one, which shall cause the North and the South, the East and the West,

"Like kindred drops to mingle into one."

In the early ages of the world, when Governments were composed of petty clans and monarchies, without a single bond to unite their discordant parts; had no means of familiar intercourse, and no interchange of daily thoughts and comforts, except through caravans and standing armies, jealousies and petty feuds filled every bosom; and one nation after another sunk into oblivion, without leaving a trace behind. Even England, containing a less number of square miles than Illinois, was divided into a Heptarchy; and seven independent monarchs once reigned supreme, within its limited territory. In Ireland, the kings of Lienster and Ulster, Munster and Connaught, sought for mastery. Wales had her princes, and Scotland her kings. Intermarriages and conquests at first, and reciprocal interests afterward, broke the barriers asunder which severed its discordant parts, and the Heptarchy ceased. Since then

"The king has gone from Holy-rood,
And old Llewellin's harp is still."

Great Britain and Ireland, to be sure, "intersected by a narrow frith, abhor each other;" different causes, however, from those enumerated, have heretofore severed, and may, perhaps, at no distant period, sever England and Ireland for ever. The different counties, however, in the former, like the several departments in France, by facility of intercourse, are bound reciprocally together; and when these United States shall be united by canals, by railroads, and other facilities for cheap and easy access to a market in all directions; by a sense of mutual interests, arising from mutual intercourse, and mingling commerce; it will be as impossible to split them into separate governments, whose frontiers shall be lined by custom-houses, and whose borders shall bristle with bayonets, as to reorganize the Heptarchy in England. The best security, however, for the continuance of this Union, "is industry, and a free, cheap, and easy exchange of the produce of man's labor, for whatever he may require."

The French traders and voyagers, more than a century since, passed with boats from Lake Michigan into the Illinois river, at some seasons of the year. The country, however, was not examined by men of science, and the facilities for an artificial communication were as yet unknown. All talked of the project as easy and practicable, but none of them knew, and few of them cared how, or in what manner, an achievement so brilliant was to be accomplished. Some hesitated even to inquire into the matter, lest "its beauty might be marred." Theories and dreams passed finally away, and experiment and practice succeeded. New-York led the van, other States followed.

The Alleghanies were penetrated; "the valleys exalted, and the mountains brought low."

New-York, by her example, rendered the canal system exceedingly popular, and De Witt Clinton rose like a star of the first magnitude, passed his zenith in splendor, and set in a blaze of glory. Other pretended Clintons, impelled hither by his success, entered the field of politics and fame, and sought (if not immortality,) their own profit and advantage.

The making of canals was no longer an experiment. Their utility had been tested long before. Their practicability, even at a moderate expense, reduced to certainty, and the junction of Lake Michigan and the Illinois river was regarded by the whole community as a matter of course.

The Languedoc canal, in France, which unites the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, is one hundred and eighty miles in length; has one hundred and fourteen locks and sluices, and a tunnel seven hundred and twenty feet long; it is one hundred and fourteen feet wide, and six feet deep; and cost three thousand pounds sterling, or about fifteen thousand dollars per mile.*

The Holstein canal, which unites the German Ocean with the Baltic, is fifty miles long; one hundred feet wide at the top; fifty-four feet wide at the bottom, and ten feet deep. Between two and three thousand ships have passed through it in a year; its cost was about thirty thousand dollars per mile.

The canal which unites the Clyde and the Forth, in Scotland, is thirty-five miles long; has thirty-seven locks—more than a lock for every mile. Vessels having nineteen feet beam, and seventy-three feet in length, drawing eight feet water, pass through it with ease. Its cost was twenty-three thousand dollars per mile.

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* This, and some of the statements which follow, together with the view taken of the canal subject, and of the public credit of Illinois, is extracted from a pamphlet on the same subject, written by the author, and published in 1841. Many of his positions were then controverted; what, however, was prophecy then, has become history since.

The canals in England, are three hundred and eighty-five and a half miles in length; and cost two millions pounds sterling, or about twenty-eight thousand dollars per mile. In this, however, is included a large sum paid for lands—ninety thousand pounds sterling were paid in a single instance, when the canal was but sixteen miles in length.

The Middlesex canal in Massachusetts, is twenty-eight miles in length, and cost four hundred and seventy-eight thousand dollars. It presents obstacles much greater than ours; it has twenty-two locks of solid masonry. In its construction it became necessary, in some instances, to dig to the depth of twenty feet; to cut through ledges of rocks, to fill up valleys and morasses, and throw acqueducts across intervening rivers. It cost about seventeen thousand dollars per mile.

The Erie canal having sealed the triumph of internal improvements; the practicability of uniting the waters of Lake Michigan and the Illinois river, being conceded, and its utility and eventual profit being reduced, as it were, to certainty; nothing was requisite but "common sense and common honesty," to effect "a consummation so devoutly to be wished."

On the 14th of February, 1823, Emanuel J. West, Erastus Brown, Theophilus W. Smith, Thomas Sloe, jun., and Samuel Alexander, were appointed "a board of commissioners to consider, devise, and adopt measures to effect the communication by canal and locks, between the navigable waters of the Illinois river and Lake Michigan;" and "to make, or cause to be made, estimates, etc., for completing said canal, and report to the (then) next General Assembly; and the sum of six thousand dollars was appropriated to defray the expense. (See note 1.)

Surveys and estimates were made, varying from six hundred and forty thousand, to seven hundred and sixteen thousand dollars; and on the 17th of January, 1825, an act of the Legislature of Illinois was passed, to incorporate a company, by the name of the "Illinois and Michigan Canal Association," with a capital of one million of dollars, for the purpose of completing said canal. Said company were to have and receive for their own use and benefit, all lands which the United States should give in aid of the undertaking, and all donations which private persons and individual States should make, to effect the same object. Said canal was to be completed in ten years from that time. The company were to receive all tolls for fifty years after its completion, and to release to the State, at the expiration of that time, said canal, and all lands remaining unsold, on being paid therefor the sum expended in its construction, with six per cent. interest.

No stock having been taken under the above act of incorporation, the Legislature afterward repealed the law for chartering said company.

On the 2nd of March, 1827, Congress granted to the State of Illinois, for the purpose of aiding the State in opening a canal to unite the waters of the Illinois river with those of Lake Michigan, a quantity of land, equal to one half of five sections in width, being each alternate section, on each side of the contemplated canal. Said lands were subject to the disposal of the Legislature of Illinois "for the purpose aforesaid, and no other;" said canal was to be commenced in five years thereafter, and to be finished in twenty years; if not finished as aforesaid, the State was to pay to the United States the amount received for lands previously sold, but the title of the purchases was to be good and valid.

The pecuniary embarrassments, occasioned in part by the failure of the State bank, an institution without capital, (the old State bank, in distinction from the late State Bank,) prevented any further action upon the subject, till 1829, when a board of commissioners was organized "to explore, examine, fix, and determine the route of the canal." This being done and completed, two hundred and eighty-nine acres were set apart by the President of the United States, under the act of 1827, to aid in its construction.

On the 15th of February, 1831, an act was passed to amend the act of 1829; and on the first of March, 1833, by another act, the office of canal commissioner was abolished, and the canal commissioners were required to pay over and deliver to the State treasurer all moneys, etc., in their possession; and if, upon examination, any of the officers aforesaid had not faithfully and fairly accounted for and paid over all moneys, etc., a suit was directed to be commenced upon their official bonds, etc., and jurisdiction was given to the circuit court of Fayette county, of the subject matter, with authority to direct its process to any county in the State.

On the 9th of January, 1836, an act was passed "for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal. This being the first and, at that time, the only effectual step taken with that view, claims, of course, particular attention.

Previous to this, the public attention had been directed to a railroad between Chicago and Peru; and its whole expense (a single track only,) was estimated at $1,052,428 19. or about ten thousand dollars per mile. The assent of Congress to apply the avails of the canal lands to this object, was readily obtained. With proper economy, it might have been completed several years ago, and paid for out of the avails of the Chicago lots alone.* It would have been of more value than a canal, at least for several years to come,† and perfectly adequate to all our wants. Its tolls, and the residue of the canal lands, twenty years hence, would unquestionably finish and put in successful operation, a canal of the dimensions of the present one, without assistance from the public treasury; and the revenue arising from both would defray the whole expense of our State government thereafter for ever. In that event, Illinois (free from debt,) would have occupied a proud niche in the temple of fame.

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* The canal lots (a few acres only,) in Chicago, were sold in June, 1836, for $1,503,495.

† A railroad would not, like a canal, be closed by frost, for a large portion of the year. For the transmission of passengers it would be preferable to a canal, and for the transportation of freight abundantly sufficient for the present.

Other principles, however, prevailed; a different policy was adopted, and under the act of January 9th, 1836, contracts were entered into, and on the 4th of July in that year, the first ground was broken. The event was accompanied by a public celebration in Chicago. The honorable Theophilus W. Smith, a former canal commissioner, read the Declaration of Independence; and Dr. William B. Egan, now of Chicago, delivered an able and appropriate address on the occasion.

The year 1836 will long be remembered. Speculation was then in its zenith; its unregulated spirit filled every bosom, possessed every class in the community, controlled every avenue to business, monopolized every species of influence, absorbed the whole public attention; and, for a while, subjected to its control all that was valuable, all that was desirable here on earth. "Men rose like exhalations, and their carriages glittered like meteors."

The act of January, 1836, for constructing the Illinois and Michigan canal, was a part of its legitimate fruit. The interests and influence of speculators were then predominant. To them we are indebted for its commencement at that particular time, and for our present embarrassments. An estimate of its probable expense was made by competent engineers, under the direction of the canal commissioners, and set down at $8,654,337 61, or eighty-six thousand dollars and upward per mile. About three times as much as any canal on the globe, and more than four times as much as was expended on the Erie canal.

Its dimensions, it is true, were much greater than the latter;* and when completed, (as it eventually will be,) it may justly be regarded as one of the most splendid works of internal improvement ever accomplished by so infant a people. The time, however, of its commencement was exceedingly unfortunate. Labor was then worth from twenty to thirty dollars per month and board. Pork was worth at Chicago from twenty to thirty dollars per barrel; flour, from nine to twelve dollars; salt, from twelve to fifteen dollars; oats and potatoes, seventy-five cents per bushel; and other things in the same ratio. The first contracts entered into were predicated upon the above prices. Earth excavation was from twenty-four to thirty-seven cents; solid rock, from a dollar and forty cents to a dollar and seventy-five cents; detached rock, from a dollar to a dollar and a quarter; and hardpan, from sixty-five to seventy-five cents per cubic yard.

The route of the canal was principally over marshy ground, covered, for a considerable portion of the time with water. Access to it was exceedingly difficult, and to facilitate the work, and enable the contractors to proceed, forty thousand dollars and upward, were expended by the acting commissioner, during the first year, upon a road leading thither.

The country along its route was, at that time, in a state of nature.

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* The Illinois and Michigan canal is sixty feet wide at the surface, forty feet at the base, and of sufficient depth to insure a navigation of six feet. By the act aforesaid, it was to be supplied with water from Lake Michigan.

Four years had scarcely elapsed, since it had been the theatre of an Indian massacre, and the whole of its scattered population had sought refuge from savage fury, beneath the guns of Fort Dearborn. Instead of supplying the contractors with provisions, they were supplied themselves from Michigan, Ohio, and even from New-York. Having no surplus for market, and there being, at that time, but few settlers in the country; the necessity, or rather the utility, of a canal, at that particular time, was more apparent to the owners of "corner lots," and "water lots," than to the candid or judicious observer.

The act of 1836, made provision for a loan of five hundred thousand dollars, reimbursable in 1860, at six per cent. interest, payable annually; and "the faith of the State was irrevocably pledged for the payment of the stock thus created, and the interest accruing thereon."

The money thus loaned; the premium arising from the sale of the stock thus created; the proceeds of the canal lands, and town-lots; and all the revenue in any way arising from the contemplated work, were to constitute the canal fund, to be used for canal purposes, and for no other purpose whatever.

The State of Illinois was then in debt—its revenue was insufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of government. The school-fund had been borrowed by the Legislature and expended—and the idea of taxation to pay interest or principal, it is believed, was scarcely thought of. Had taxation then, or at any other time, been suggested, the bill would unquestionably have been lost. The thought, however, of taxation, either never occurred, or its necessity, at least in imagination, was removed so far distant, that it caused no terrors.

The income of an individual is as frequently the basis of credit as his wealth. The revenue of a nation enables it to borrow money upon advantageous terms, when without such revenue, its plighted faith would scarcely suffice. The State of Illinois, without wealth, (except the canal lands, which were donated for a specific purpose,) without a revenue sufficient for her daily wants, saw, with "an eye of faith" her glory revealed; and, by the aid of public credit, irrevocably, pledged, obtained loan after loan, till the conduct of some of her sister States, caused money-lenders to pause in their career.

Having no available means of her own, and no other resources but loans, (the canal lands failing to produce, when offered for sale, ready cash,) the work finally ceased. The contractors abandoned their jobs; and, in 1843, a law was passed to liquidate and settle their damages, at a sum not exceeding two hundred and thirty thousand dollars.

The history of the canal, its commencement and progress, the loans made to effect the latter, the state of our public credit, its origin, progress, and decline, together with its cause and effect; would, of itself, occupy a volume, and presents for contemplation, subjects worthy of the statesman and the patriot. Our account of it, of course, must be brief; and for want of official documents, or rather, of information on which perfect reliance can at all times be had, must be imperfect. An approximation toward the truth, is all, therefore, the reader must expect.

Of its history, previous to 1836, nothing is required. Although several incipient steps had previously been taken in relation thereto, they were of no avail whatever. No advantage was derived even from the surveys, "as not a single field-book, or note of the engineers, ever came into the possession of the present canal Board; and the general points communicated in their reports, were of but little service in making the survey and location, or in adopting plans for its construction." (See note 2.)

The first estimate made by the chief engineer, Mr. Goodwin, as we have already stated, in 1836, was	$8,654,337 51
In 1835, after the work had progressed considerably, another estimate was made, at	7,621,444 57
In 1839, it was estimated in round numbers, at	8,000,000 00
And in 1840, at	8,480,478 68

This discrepancy serves to illustrate a remark of Mr. Goodwin, in his annual report of December 10th, 1840. "Experience," says he, "has shown, that the actual cost of any great public work, cannot be determined with certainty till its completion." The above estimates were made when labor and provisions were high, and in reference to such prices. Had the work been postponed a few years, five millions of dollars would have been a large estimate for its entire completion, less than what has already been expended. A postponement, however, might have been fatal to the undertaking, as State credit soon afterward declined; and had not the loans been made precisely as they were, it is more than probable they never would have been made, and that the canal would yet have been to be begun.

Estimating its whole expense then at eight millions of dollars, which varies but little probably from the truth, (without interest upon loans,) and assuming the deep cut and a supply of water from Lake Michigan, as the most feasible project, our next inquiry will be, what progress has been made toward its completion, and from whence have the means been derived for its accomplishment thus far:

The amount of work done, up to 1st December, 1836, was	$39, 260 58
1837,	350,649 90
1838,	911,902 40
1839,	1,479,907 58
1840,	1,117,702 30
1841,	644,875 94
1842,	155,193 33
	$4,699,492 03
Superintendence and incidental expenses,	210,000 00
Damages to contractors,	230,000 00

Whole amount of work done, including superintendence and damages, - - - - - -	$5,139,492 03
There are some unliquidated accounts, probably, to be added.	
Necessary to complete it, according to the original plan,	3,000,000
Necessary to complete it, adopting the shallow cut, and introducing the Fox river as a feeder,* - -	1,600,000

Had the shallow cut, in the first instance, been adopted, the amount already expended would have put it in successful operation, previous to this; and had its dimensions been reduced, and some unnecessary expenses, hitherto incurred, been avoided, there can be no doubt whatever of its having been completed long ago.

"The grandeur, or magnificence, however, of the plan," as Mr. Goodwin, in his official report of December 1st, 1842, observes, "would by this measure have been diminished, in the estimation of many.

"We have, however, this consolation," says Mr. Goodwin, "that should a change be made now, and it should be found, after a few years experience, that the deep cut would be preferable, and the necessary funds can then be obtained to carry out the plan, there will be no great difficulty in executing it without interfering with the navigation."

"As the days," to use an expression of Governor Ford, in his inaugural address to the Legislature of Illinois, in December, 1842, "of frenzied and ingenious scheming are numbered, let us return as speedily as possible to the dictates of common sense and sober judgment."†

The sources from whence means have hitherto been derived, for completing this great and important work, are—

1. The canal lands. Under this head are inclued several small items, *to wit:* Stone and timber taken from thence. The whole amount derived from this source, is as follows:

Ten thousand five hundred and eighty acres of land, sold in 1830, - - - - - - - -	$14,204 87
One hundred and twenty-six lots sold in Chicago, and thirty-nine in Ottawa, at the same time, - -	4,594 00
Forty thousand two hundred and ninety-five acres sold since 1836, - - - - - - - -	302,248 40
One hundred and eighty-nine lots in La Salle, Ottawa and Lockport, - - - - - - - - -	77,693
Stone and timber, - - - - - - - - -	9,659
Lots sold in Chicago and Ottawa, for which cash has been received, - - - - - -	544,074 97
Whole amount, - - - - - - -	$952,574 24

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* See Mr. Goodwin's Report.

† A plan for completing the Illinois and Michigan canal, by adopting the shallow cut, and introducing the Fox river as a feeder, is now in progress. Messrs. Oakely and Ryan, agents for the State, are in England, and hopes are now cherished of its speedy accomplishment. (See note 4.)

Of this amount, $750,530 42 has been received,* and a balance is due and unpaid. Several laws having been passed for the relief of the purchasers of canal lots in Chicago, and settlements having since been made with the purchasers; the amount, in fact, received, and the amount due and owing for lots, and lands thus sold, we are unable at present to ascertain. Some two or three, and, perhaps, four hundred thousand dollars, are probably due, or will hereafter become due, which will extinguish an equal amount of canal indebtedness.

2. Loans. There has been borrowed at different times, from different sources, and bonds negotiated therefor, - - - -	$3,747,000
There is also due to contractors a considerable amount, for which bonds and certificates of canal indebtedness have been given.	
There is also due to contractors for damages, under the act of last session, - - - - - - -	230,000
The whole amount due, and to become due, on account of the canal, is probably a little more, including interest, than - - - - - - - -	5,000,000

In order to pay this, and complete the canal, we have about two hundred and thirty thousand acres of land; several hundred city and village lots; the water-power on the whole line of the canal; a balance due for lands heretofore sold, and the canal tolls. The value of these loans, the extent of our other resources, and the probable amount of tolls, come not, strictly speaking, within the province of the historian. We think, however, we hazard nothing in saying, that if confidence in our responsibility and good faith could be restored, and a loan could be effected of sufficient magnitude to complete the work—whether on the credit of the State, or of property assigned, or pledged in security, is immaterial—the sale of the canal lands, at the time of its completion, or soon thereafter, together with the tolls, the water-power, and other incidental sources of revenue, would, in a few years, not only defray the expenses of repairs and attendance, but pay the principal and interest on all the moneys expended in its construction, and afford an income, eventually, to the State.

Although the canal is but a hundred miles in length, the Illinois river prolongs it two hundred more, and without cost or charges. We then reach the Mississippi, which, with its numerous branches, is navigable for steamboats several thousand (some say forty thousand) miles, and waters more fertile acres than the Rhine, the Rhone, the Thames, the Nile, and Ganges. When its mighty valley (the fit pasture once of the mammoth) shall be occupied by industrious husbandmen—who can estimate the amount of produce which shall then be "borne on its waves."

We have, it is true, been improvident; our public works were commenced at an unfortunate time, and upon too grand a scale. Economy, perhaps, may not in every instance have been sufficiently attended to. Some erors in judgment have, probably, intervened. Still it is a great and important work; the interest, the honor, and the welfare of the State, require its prosecution with vigor. The south, or central part of the State, is more interested in its completion than the north. (See note 3.) All, however, have a deep and an abiding interest in the event. To abandon it then, or to suspend its execution, even for a moment, except from necessity, would exhibit a want of judgment, or of patriotism.

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* See Governor Ford's message to the Legislature, of December 8th, 1842.

In addition to the Illinois and Michigan canal, a general system of internal improvement was commenced shortly afterward, upon an extensive scale.

On the 27th of February, 1837, a law for that purpose was passed, to which our misfortunes have been principally owing. Had we been contented with the canal, and attempted nothing further till its completion, the canal would, unquestionably, have been finished ere this, and put in successful operation. The credit of the State, in that event, would have been unimpaired, and its character, as to repudiation, without "spot or blemish."

Speculative men, however, entered our legislative halls. To conciliate them the act of February 27th, 1837, was passed, and a loan of eight millions of dollars at one time authorized on the faith of the State, which was irrevocably pledged "for its repayment, with semi-annual interest at six per cent. per annum." No provision being made in the original bill for the payment of interest, eight days thereafter (March 4th, 1837,) a supplemental act was passed, by the eighth section of which, "the State engaged to provide sufficient revenue and means, to pay the principal and interest on all sums of money, which, under the provisions of the act to which this was a supplement, shall be borrowed, as the same becomes due and payable; and the faith of the State was thereby irrevocably pledged, to comply with the provisions of that section."

Well might Governor Ford, in his inaugural address to the Legislature on the 8th of December, 1842, above referred to, say: "We were visionary and reckless, and without sober deliberation jumped headlong into ambitious schemes of public aggrandizement, which were not justified by our resources."

As the above act is somewhat novel in its character, we should do injustice to our readers, were we to withhold it from their perusal.

It created "a Board of fund commissioners, consisting of three members," who were to be "practical and experienced financiers," and "a Board of commissioners of public works," consisting of seven members, all of whom were to be appointed by the General Assembly, and to hold their offices for two years.

The commissioners were authorized and required, to complete within a reasonable time the following works—and the following sums were appropriated for their completion, to wit:

1.	The Improvement of the navigation of the Great Wabash,	$100,000
2.	“ “ Illinois river,	100,000
3.	“ “ Rock river,	100,000
4.	“ “ Kaskaskia river,	50,000
5.	“ “ Little Wabash,	50,000
6.	The great Western railroad, from Vincennes to St. Louis, - - - - - - - -	250,000
7.	A railroad from the city of Cairo, at or near the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi river, via Vandalia, Shelbyville and Decatur, and Bloomington, to the southern termination of the Illinois and Michigan canal, and from thence by the way of Savannah to Galena, - -	3,500,000
8.	A Southern cross railroad, from Alton to Mount Carmel, via Edwardsville, Carlysle, Salem, Fairfield and Albion ; and also a railroad from Alton to Shawneetown, - - - -	1,600,000
9.	A Northern cross railroad, from Quincy to Springfield, and from thence to the Indiana State line, in the direction of La Fayette, - -	1,850,000
10.	A branch from the central railroad, from near Shelbyville to the Indiana line, in the direction of Terre-Haut, - - - - - - -	650,000
11.	A railroad, from Peoria, on the Illinois river, to Warsaw, on the Mississippi, - - - -	700,000
12.	A railroad, from Lower Alton to the central railroad, - - - - - - -	600,000
13.	A railroad, from Belleville via Lebanon, to intersect the railroad from Alton to Mount Carmel, - - - - - - -	150,000
14.	A railroad, from Bloomington, M'Lean county, to Mackinaw, in Tazewell county ; and a branch through Tremont to Pekin, - -	350,000
15.	There was appropriated the further sum of two hundred thousand dollars, of the first money that should be obtained under the provisions of this act, for the improvement of roads and bridges, in counties through which no railroad or canal passed.* - - - - - -	200,000
	Making altogether, - - -	$10,250,000

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* This is a most singular and extraordinary appropriation. The idea of borrowing two hundred thousand dollars, and paying it over to certain counties through which no railroad or canal passed, for making roads and bridges, appears too much like a legislative bribe.

For the purpose of constructing these several works a fund was to be constituted, to consist: 1. Of moneys to be borrowed. 2. All appropriations, which should be made from time to time out of the State revenue, arising from lands and taxes. 3. All moneys to be received from tolls, etc. 4. All rents, issues, and profits, arising from lands to be purchased, etc. by the State. 5. The proceeds of all lands, which might be donated by the General government in aid of the undertaking. 6. All grants and donations from individuals. 7. All profits and interest which may accrue from said works, together with the balance (after paying the debt due to the school, college, and seminary fund) to be received under the distribution law of Congress, "which amount of said deposit, so funded, was to be charged to the said fund for internal improvements, and repayed out of the same, when demanded by the General government." 8. All nett profits, to arise from bank, and other stocks, thereafter to be subscribed for, or owned by the State, after liquidating the interest on loans contracted for the purchase of such bank or other stock.

And to secure the traveller, provision was made by law in the forty-second section of the bill, before any road was commenced, or any funds were obtained for its commencement, to require "the putting up conspicuously, and maintaining across each turnpike road and highway, boards, on which there was to be painted in capital letters, of at least nine inches in length:

RAILROAD CROSSING—LOOK OUT FOR THE ENGINE WHILE THE BELL RINGS."

The whole length of contemplated railroads, was one thousand three hundred and forty-one miles, and the ten million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, were a part only of the sum requisite for their completion. It will thus be seen that the Legislature of Illinois disposed of millions, with the same facility that Napoleon did of thrones.

The bill, however, was the legitimate offspring of the times; and as Governor Ford observed in his message, to which we again refer: "We were not satisfied with the slow, but sure profits of industry and lawful commerce. Speculation, in every branch of business, was the order of the day, and every possible means was hastily and greedily adopted to give an artificial value to property. In accomplishing this object, we surrendered our judgment to the dictates of imagination. No scheme was so extravagant as not to appear plausible. The most wild calculations were made of the advantages of a system of internal improvement—of the resources of the State to meet all expenditures, and of our ability to pay all indebtedness without taxation. Possibilities appeared to be highly probable, and probabilities wore the livery of certainty."

Notwithstanding the absurdity of the whole system, such was our credit at that time, that moneys were borrowed on bonds negotiated on account of the system of internal improvements, to the amount of five millions eighty-five thousand four hundred and forty-four dollars; and scrip, issued to contractors on account of internal improvements, for nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand three hundred and five dollars and fifty-three cents—making a debt of six millions fourteen thousand seven hundred and forty-nine dollars and fifty-three cents.

One railroad only, from Springfield to Meredocia, has been completed; and its whole income has hitherto been insufficient to keep it in repair. Others were commenced and partly finished. The whole work has finally been suspended for want of funds, and left a debt for us to pay of six millions of dollars. We regret, exceedingly, the necessity imposed upon us to admit, that the interest on those bonds, for some time past, has not been paid, and we fear it will remain so for some years to come.

The subject of the public debt, and of public credit, will be resumed when we come to speak of taxation and our future resources. At present we can do no more than frankly to admit our errors, and express a wish, that in future we may be more discreet. We hope, at all events, as the judge once said to a prisoner, brought up to receive sentence of death, to be inflicted by hanging, immediately: "That it will be a lesson to us as long as we live."

NOTE I.

The population of Illinois, at that time, was about seventy-five thousand. In 1808, the Legislature of New-York appropriated six hundred dollars, to cause an accurate survey to be made of the route between the Hudson and Lake Erie. The expenses, however, having exceeded the sum appropriated, by seventy-three dollars, a special act of the Legislature was passed to cover the deficiency. This fact is mentioned, to show the extreme caution with which the Legislature of that State proceeded in the construction of a work which has terminated so much to her glory.

NOTE II.

See the commissioners' annual report of December 10th, 1840. Mr. William Goodwin has been chief engineer on said canal since its commencement. To him the State is greatly indebted, for his zeal and fidelity in the discharge of his various and important duties. His good sense and sound judgment, his industry and economy, his amenity of manner, and integrity of purpose, are deserving of great praise. If errors have been committed, he is not, we believe, chargeable with such errors. In speaking thus of Mr. Goodwin, we should do injustice to General Fry, the acting commissioner, were we to omit the respectful mention of his name.

NOTE III.

A bushel of wheat raised within ten miles of Chicago, is worth just as much without as with the canal. Not so with a bushel of wheat raised near its route, two hundred miles distant from thence. Suppose, for instance, a bushel of wheat is worth, in Chicago, seventy-five cents, and in Springfield, forty or fifty cents. Suppose a thousand feet of pine lumber is worth ten dollars in Chicago, and twenty, or twenty-five in Springfield. Suppose a barrel of salt is worth two dollars in Chicago, and four in Springfield; it requires no aid from arithmetic to determine who is most benefitted, the farmer near Springfield, or the farmer near Chicago.

NOTE IV.

The plan referred to is as follows:

It proposes to vest the canal lands in the holders of the canal bonds, to be sold by them soon after the completion of the canal, in order to reimburse themselves for the moneys *to be advanced* for its completion, and afterward the interest, and then the principal of the moneys already advanced. It proposes also, that the canal tolls, and all the canal property, be vested in them for the like purpose.

As some doubts existed in relation to the security offered, Governor Davis, of Massachusetts, was desired by the foreign bond-holders, to inquire into and report to them the nature and sufficiency of said security; and also, to ascertain whether the canal could be completed with the $1,600,000.

Governor Davis, aided by Captain Swift as engineer, with great industry has made the necessary inquiries, and drawn up an able report upon the matters thus referred to him. The report we have not seen. It is said, however, to be favorable, and will, in all probability, obviate the difficulties now existing in relation to a further loan.

Should the loan be effected, and the canal finished, there can be no doubt but the canal lands, the canal tolls, and other property connected therewith, will, in a few years, pay the contemplated loan, together with the moneys which have been already advanced, and the interest which has accrued, and will hereafter accrue thereon.

Inasmuch, however, as our agents are still abroad, and nothing definite has been heard from either, the author forbears to comment upon the subject.

It is not, strictly speaking, within his province; and although he is less sanguine than some of his contemporaries, he entertains no doubt as to the completion and final success of the canal.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Banks in Illinois—At Shawneetown—At Edwardsville—At Cairo—Relief laws—Old State Bank—Late State Bank—Its history—Progress and decline—Legislative acts relative thereto—Banks go into liquidation.

THE cause of heat and cold in different latitudes, and of rain, hail, and snow, in different seasons, says a distinguished writer, with more truth than poetry, are explained by professors of natural science, to our entire satisfaction. The change of climate, the approach of storms, and the origin and cause, the course and progress of the wind, are also explained, and the future predicted with some *considerable certainty.* In banking, however, it is otherwise. Like the weather, it is affected by causes which control the latter, and possesses, in an eminent degree, some uncertainties peculiarly its own. While the storm and the tempest rage, and pestilence and famine reign, the fondest hopes that man e'er cherished, are frequently blasted. His property is destroyed by the tempest, or swallowed up by the earthquake ; he is exposed alike to the tornado and to the avalanche—the consuming fire—the wasting pestilence—the devouring famine ; and an excess of heat or cold, fixes frequently his destiny. In banking, similar contingencies not unfrequently happen ; and to these, man's caprice and human depravity, the infidelity of agents and the instability of popular opinion, (banks being the creatures of the latter,) are often to be added.

Of the truth of these several positions, historic recollections, especially in Illinois, are decisive.

Men in business, it is said, are like patients in the last stages of the consumption—hoping for a favorable change, but growing worse and worse every day until they expire. If we are to credit reports said to be authentic ; if the defalcations of clerks, agents, cashiers, and presidents, with which the public ear has recently been filled, are real ; banks, and their officers are worse than formerly, and, like the consumptive patient, in spite of legislation must shortly expire.

All the banks in Illinois have ceased to be. Their history is brief—their story is instructive, and the lesson taught will long be remembered.

Under the Territorial government, three banks were chartered ; one at Shawneetown, one at Edwardsville, and one at Cairo. There was also a bank at Kaskaskia : of the latter it is needless now to speak—it issued no bills, and of course defrauded no man. We regret our inability to say as much in favor of the others. When these banks were chartered, the whole population of the State was less than thirty thousand—a bank for every ten thousand souls. At that rate, Illinois ought now to have fifty banks and upward; and were the losses occasioned by each to be in the same ratio as before, a part of such losses only would finish the canal.

The bank of Cairo, like the town in which it was located, existed for several years merely in imagination. It was revived in 1836, by speculating men for speculating purposes; flourished for a short time, with various success; and at last, like the lamp in its socket, went out of itself, and peaceably expired. Its charter was repealed on the 4th of March, 1843.

The banks at Shawneetown and Edwardsville, became deposit banks, and received the public moneys arising from the sale of public lands in Illinois, and converted it to their use. The former accounted in whole, or in part; the latter never. A suit was afterward brought by the United States against the latter, and a judgment for fifty-four thousand dollars obtained. No part of it, however, has been collected.

The bank at Shawneetown was incorporated on the 28th of December, 1816, by the name and style of "the president, directors, and company of the bank of Illinois." Its capital at first was three hundred thousand dollars, one third of which was reserved to be subscribed by the State. It was chartered for twenty years, or until the first of January, 1837. It commenced business immediately, and, by the aid of Government deposits, acquired an extensive credit; issued and redeemed its bills for several years, and paid specie as late as August, 1821—a considerable time after the Kentucky banks had failed. It finally yielded to the force of circumstances, and settled or compounded with Government for its deposits, and remained dormant till the 12th of February, 1835; when an act was passed by the Legislature, extending its charter for twenty years after the first of January, 1837. The bank was required to pay into the State treasury, for State purposes, one half of one per cent. annually, on its capital stock, and in consideration therefor was exempted from further taxation.

On the 4th of March, 1837, another act was passed for increasing its capital stock one million four hundred thousand dollars; all of which was to be subscribed by the State, (the bank consenting thereto;) and in order to raise the necessary funds, State bonds were issued, and the faith of the State was pledged for their payment, with interest, in 1860.

The Constitution adopted on the 26th of August, 1818, declared that there shall be no other banks or moneyed institutions in Illinois, but those already provided by law, except a State bank and its branches. It became desirable, therefore, for the Legislature (as was then supposed,) to receive the Shawneetown bank into close communion, (when its charter was renewed,) to aid the gigantic system of internal improvements about to be commenced.

On the 22nd of March, 1819, a bank was incorporated by the name and style of the "president, directors, and company of the State bank of Illinois," to continue for twenty-five years, with a capital not exceeding four millions of dollars—a real mammoth, considering our wealth and population—one half of which was to be subscribed by individuals, and the other half by the State, when "the Legislature thereof should deem it proper."

No attempts having been made to set this mammoth institution a-going, its charter was repealed at the next session of the Legislature in 1821, and another bank chartered in lieu of it, with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars, to be owned by the State, and to be managed and superintended by the Legislature.

The act was entitled "an act establishing the State bank of Illinois." It was a singular specimen of legislation, and deserves, therefore, to be fully considered. The Legislature, like others elsewhere preceding it, was actuated apparently by the impression, that paper money could be made to supply every financial want.* During the American Revolution, when continental money for the first time was issued, to doubt its value or its final redemption, was exceedingly hazardous. It implied a want of patriotism; and many, smarting under the appellation of tories and speculators, had their stores forcibly broken open, and their goods sold at limited prices, by committees of their neighborhood.

When the army of the Revolution was destitute of food and raiment, and almost perishing from want, a patriotic old lady, it is said, exclaimed: "What a shame it is, that Congress should let the poor soldiers suffer, when they have power to make just as much money as they choose!" The paper money of Russia, issued by the emperor, and predicated on taxes; the assignats of France during the reign of terror, and the throes and convulsions of anarchy; the paper money of some of the American States, when colonies of England; the Mississippi scheme of John Law, and the South Sea bubble in England, all of which were "parts of one stupendous whole," ought to have taught our Legislature wisdom. The times, however, were perilous. Corn, in 1824, was sold at Cincinnati for ten cents a bushel; wheat, from twenty-five down to twelve-and-a-half cents. Flour, at Pittsburgh, was, at that time, a dollar per barrel. Other produce in the same ratio. A bushel and a half of wheat would buy a pound of coffee; a barrel of flour would buy a pound of tea; and twelve and a half barrels of flour, a yard of superfine cloth. The Legislature of Ohio had passed a law to prevent property from being sold on execution, unless it would bring a certain amount to be fixed by appraizers. Kentucky also adopted "the relief system;" and stay-laws and replevin acts followed in quick succession. Commonwealth banks, or State loan-offices, issued their thousands, and their millions; and the creditor had no alternative, but to receive it in payment of his debts, or to await the arrival of better times.

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* See John Law's opinion on this subject, page 162.

Governor Adair, in his annual message to the Legislature of Kentucky, said, that "the paramount law of necessity" had compelled the Legislature to adopt measures, against which much could be said; but added, that "a half million of agitated and endangered people had been thus tranquillized, without the infliction of legal justice or the example of violated morality."

In the history of nations, as well as of individuals, there are occasional moments of frenzy, in which every movement baffles all human calculations. The politician, the moralist, and the philosopher, are equally surprised. The court of appeals in Kentucky immediately declared the relief laws unconstitutional. The people at once divided into two great political parties upon the subject, and the contest was carried on with extraordinary violence. A new court of appeals was established, and the relief laws declared constitutional; and in a few years thereafter, when a sudden and unexpected change came over the scene, preparations were made to defend the records of the new court with powder and ball. In 1826, the friends of the old court obtained a majority in the Legislature, and the whole system was abandoned.

The relief system, it was then conceded, did not effect the object intended: did not produce an equitable adjustment of the affairs of debtor and creditor. In every age of the world, that relation has been one of deep solicitude. In a savage state, it is of but little consequence; because, where there is but little wealth, there is no theatre for its display. As soon, however, as man begins to accumulate, and form associations other than what mutual dependence and common danger require; wealth becomes important, and the desire for its accumulation, a prominent feature in our character. Hence, the relation between debtor and creditor; and hence, too, its importance.

It is, however, to be hoped, that so long as a sense of justice shall animate the councils of our nation—so long as our eagle shall maintain its ascendency in her sky, and the American flag wave in triumph on her shores, no temporary expedients will again be resorted to.

By the act last referred to, a bank was created, to continue for ten years, with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars; known and distinguished by the name and style of "the president and directors of the State bank of Illinois." Four branches were established: one in Madison county, at Edwardsville, one at Brownville, in Jackson county, one at Shawnee Town, in Gallatin county, and one at the seat of justice, in Edwards county; in addition to the above branches, there was the principal bank also. The president and directors were elected by the Senate and House of Representatives, on a joint ballot; six directors for the principal bank, and five for each of the branches. The cashiers were appointed by a majority of the directors. Its officers were authorized to procure plates, etc.; and two thousand dollars out of the public treasury were appropriated to defray the expenses. The plates, like those of the Mormon prophet, constituted all of its capital. Three hundred thousand dollars, in bills, were directed to be issued, and distributed in the several districts, in proportion to the population of each. These bills were to be loaned on notes, with mortgage security, and no individual was entitled to a loan for more than one thousand dollars. The notes issued by the bank, bore an interest of two per cent. per annum; and the person who effected the loan, paid six per cent. interest upon his note and mortgage. Its bills were receivable in payment of taxes, and all debts due to the State, to any county, and to the bank. The notes given for money, were loaned payable in one year, and on paying ten per cent. of the principal, the maker was entitled to a renewal of his note; and so on, from year to year, until the expiration of the charter, at which time the whole was to be paid. The president of the principal bank, was to have a standing accommodation of two thousand dollars, on paying two per cent. therefor, and giving adequate security. The president of each branch one thousand dollars, and each director seven hundred and fifty dollars. The cashiers were to receive a salary not exceeding eight hundred dollars each.

The twenty-third section of the act is in these words:

> "Be it further enacted, That all the lands, town lots, and other property belonging to the State, and all the funds, and all the revenue, which now is, or may hereafter become, payable to the State, shall be, and the same are hereby pledged for the redemption of the notes, and bills which may be issued by virtue of this act. And the people of the State of Illinois, by their representatives in the General Assembly, convened, do hereby pledge themselves, at, or before the expiration of the said ten years, recited in the first section, and before the final dissolution of this institution, to redeem all such notes and bills as may be presented to them, in gold or silver coins."

The twenty-seventh section of the act is in these words:

> "Be it further enacted, That no execution shall issue on any judgment, or replevy bond, now in force, or which shall be hereafter rendered, or entered into, until the 1st day of November next. And all executions which shall thereafter issue on judgments, now existing, or that shall be rendered on existing causes of action, or on causes of action which shall accrue before the 1st day of May next, or on contracts entered into before the 1st day of May next, may be replevied for three years from the date of the levy of the execution, unless the plaintiff, or the plaintiffs by him, her, or themselves, or agents, shall endorse on the back of the execution, 'That the notes, or bills, of the State Bank of Illinois, or of either of its branches, will be received in discharge of the execution.'"

By the thirty-fourth section, certain judgments were required to be entered, "payable in the notes, or bills, of the State bank of Illinois." And by the thirty-fifth section, the school-fund, and all specie, or land-office money, were required to be paid into the principal bank.

The whole resources of the State, its credit, its capital, and its honor, were thus concentrated in this single institution. It had hardly commenced business, before its bills fell to seventy cents on the dollar, and soon thereafter to fifty. They at length fell to twenty-five cents, when they ceased to circulate.

No specie, or none of consequence, was received at the principal bank, or any of its branches.* A currency composed entirely of irredeemable paper, flooded the country, and expelled the precious metals. The destruction of public and private credit, national torpor, individual ruin, disgraceful legislation, and the prostration of morals, followed of course. The above is a mere outline of the calamities that succeeded. Nothing was seen but a boundless expanse of desolation. Wealth impoverished, enterprise checked, the currency depreciated, and all that was indicative of public and private prosperty, plunged, apparently, into the vortex of ruin. The farmer had no incentive to industry or exertion. The efforts of the merchant were fruitless, and the energies of the State, to all appearance, were temporarily annihilated. The guilty authors, however, of the mischief, escaped with impunity, while the innocent, the unsuspecting, and uncorrupted, were plundered without necessity, and without mercy.

This was in a time of peace. It cannot, however, be pretended that the State bank was the cause of all the misfortunes that followed ; it was rather their effect. The difficulties had commenced previous to its incorporation. The remedy, it is true, was worse than the disease ; and instead of healing it excited the wound, postponed the cure, and prolonged the agony.

A special law was afterward passed, to pay the officers of government their salaries in depreciated paper, at its then market price. The members of the Legislature received, on one occasion, nine dollars per day for their services. This, of course, became a debt against the State for its whole amount, for the payment of which, its faith and its honor were irrevocably pledged ; and when Wiggins made a loan to the State of Illinois, of one hundred thousand dollars,—all of which has since been paid in good faith, and with interest—a considerable portion of the one hundred thousand dollars was received from him at par, which had been paid out at fifty cents per dollar. The case is assimilated to one who sells his own notes at fifty per cent. discount, and redeems them afterward at par ; or like the market-woman, who, having sold her wares considerably below their cost, and being asked how she made her profits, said, "it was by the amount of her sales." The State, or the individval, who acts thus, must, we apprehend, do a vast deal of business before he will be rich.

The failure of all the banks which had hitherto existed, and the losses which had been sustained, were remembered for some months, and some say, even for years. Emigration, however, began to increase, and property to rise in value. The cupidity of white men saw, and coveted, the rich lands on the Upper Mississippi. They had already been ceded to the United States, but the Indians were permitted to enjoy them, until they were required for use. A war with Black Hawk was, therefore, provoked. Its sequel has already been told.

Nothing, perhaps, diffuses civilization more rapidly than the march of armies, (civilized armies we mean, not barbarous hordes.) Roman civilization kept pace with the flight of her eagles. English civilization has done the same. And in our own country, the establishment of a military post, is a signal for its whole population to advance. (See note 1.)

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* At one of the branches, but two dollars in specie were received: both of which were preserved as curiosities.

When Black Hawk was making a triumphant tour through the Atlantic cities, in 1833, the sturdy emigrants at the West, unwilling that his broad acres should be converted into a waste, planted them with corn. Others followed in their rear; and when the savage war-whoop yielded to the bugle's-blast, hundreds and thousands of speculators preceded, and followed by an industrious population, resorted to northern Illinois, and the South Sea bubble, the Mississippi scheme, and the speculations in Maine, were reacted in our very midst.

An English historian, (see page 169,) once described Chicago, and other towns and villages in its neighborhood; to that description we have nothing to add. Although written of a century and upward since, it would seem as if some modern town had then "sat for her picture."

In 1835, the reign of speculation commenced, and as bank and speculation went hand in hand, like Adam and Eve, as they departed from Paradise, the charter of the Shawneetown bank was extended, as we have already remarked, for twenty years; and a new State bank, on the 12th of February, 1835, was incorporated, by the name of the "president directors, and company of the State bank of Illinois." Its capital at first consisted of one million five hundred thousand dollars, with the right to increase it another million; the State was to become a partner, and to have one hundred thousand dollars of its stock. On the 4th of March, 1837, an addition of two millions was made to its capital, all of which was subscribed by the State. The bank and the State were now firmly united, but whether the bank or the State profited, or suffered most by the alliance, it is difficult to determine. Their love for each other was like the love of Master Slender for Mistress Anne Page, in Shakspere, "not great in the beginning, and it pleased Heaven to decrease it upon better acquaintance, when they had more occasion to know one another." Its charter was to continue till the 1st of February, 1860; and the bank was required to pay a bonus to the State annually, of half of one per cent., in lieu of all taxes and impositions whatever. Previous to this time, on the 16th of January, 1836, a law was passed authorizing the bank to establish three new branches, in addition to the six originally contemplated. The time for redeeming its paper in specie, without forfeiting its charter, was extended also from ten to fifty days; and as a consideration therefor, the bank was to redeem the loan, commonly called "the Wiggins loan," made by authority of the State, on the 29th of January, 1831, together with the interest which might thereafter accrue on said loan.

By the act of 1837, the fund commissioners were authorized to subscribe the two millions of stock, and to issue two millions of dollars in bonds, for the purpose of raising money to pay for such investment. Difficulties soon began to thicken around the bank. Some of its loans were made to irresponsible persons, esteemed perfectly good when made, but found afterward to be otherwise. The speculating mania in the country having ceased, and many of its debtors becoming insolvent, the the bank of course participated in their reverses; and on the 21st of July, 1837, an act was passed to authorize the suspension of specie payments, on condition, however, that the bank should conform to and comply with certain terms therein enumerated. These terms were:

1st. The bank was restricted from making a dividend till it resumed specie payment.

2nd. It was prohibited from selling, disposing of, or paying out any of its specie, except for change, and in sums under five dollars.

3rd. It was to make monthly returns, etc., of its condition.

4th. It was forbidden to increase its circulation beyond the amount of its capital paid in.

5th. It was required to receive and pay out, any funds belonging to the State, free of charge.

6th. Citizens and merchants of the State, on paying ten per cent. on the principal of any notes, were entitled to have them renewed.

7th. The violation of any of the above provisions, exposed the bank to a forfeiture of its charter.

Under the operation of this law, the bank lingered along till the 24th of January, 1843, when, by a legislative act, it went into liquidation.

On the 27th of February, 1841, another act was passed to save the forfeiture of the charter of the bank of Illinois, at Shawneetown. Certain conditions, however, were imposed—and among others, that the bank should buy two hundred thousand dollars of State bonds at par; the avails of which, should be applied to the redemption of internal improvement bonds, hypothecated by the fund commissioners, and to the payment of interest on State indebtedness, other than to said bank. On the 3rd of March, 1843, the bank at Shawneetown went also into liquidation.*

The question has frequently been asked, whether the protection given by the State to the banks, was of service to the latter. The State had borrowed, and was indebted largely to each, for moneys advanced on the faith and credit of the State. The banks were delinquent, and could not, therefore, look danger in the face. They complied with unreasonable terms, probably on that account. The State and the bank were therefore, in all probability, "a mutual curse" to each other; and the protection which the former gave the latter, was like that which "vultures give to lambs," covering and devouring them.

On the 24th of January, 1843, an act was passed "to diminish the State debt, and put the State bank into liquidation." The title of the act is somewhat extraordinary. That, however, is of but little consequence if the object be just and reasonable. Some pills, we are told, require gilding to be palatable.

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* This forced loan of two hundred thousand dollars, which would of course require the issuing of two hundred thousand dollars in bills, or the abstraction of so much from its available means, was not calculated to sustain an institution on the verge of bankruptcy

On the 25th of February, 1843, an act was passed to put the bank of Illinois, (at Shawneetown,) into liquidation. Some of its provisions are also extraordinary.*

After providing for the appointment of three commissioners, the 4th section of the act requires "the said commissioners, or either of them, immediately after they shall have been qualified as aforesaid, to proceed to Shawneetown, and to any other place where the said bank has a branch, and shall then and there take possession of the banking-house of said bank and branches, and also of all the goods and chattels, title papers, credits, effects, cash, and bank bills, belonging to said bank, wheresoever the same may be found."

The 5th section of the act requires the sheriff, etc., to assist said commissioner or commissioners, and to call to his aid the power of the county, etc.; and if any officer or agent of the bank, or any other person or persons, shall wilfully resist or hinder, or in any wise obstruct, the said commissioner or commissioners, or any other person or persons, called to his or their aid, as aforesaid, in performing any of their duties, imposed upon them by the act; he, she, or they, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and on conviction thereof, they shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary, for a term not exceeding ten years."

The bank of Illinois, (at Shawneetown,) had been incorporated for several years; had done a large amount of business; had dealt extensively with the State; had performed all the duties which the Legislature had required of it; and many individuals had embarked "their little all" in its stock. The bank, however, had yielded to the force of circumstances, and, like others, had suspended specie payments. The Legislature thereupon, without a trial, without a judicial investigation, appointed commissioners, and directed them to proceed immediately to Shawneetown, to take possession of the banking-house and its effects, the notes, the money, and everything belonging to it; and in case its officers resisted said commissioners in doing so, the whole power of the county was to be summoned to their aid; and the officers of the bank, their agents, and every other person, even stockholders, whose means of living were all concentrated in its vaults, by this law were declared to be felons, and subjected to imprisonment in the penitentiary, "for a term not exceeding ten years."

The King of England, when the Star Chamber was in all its glory—the Autocrat of all the Russias—the turbaned Turk, from whose cimeter the truth of Mohammed's creed had flashed on prostrate nations—

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* This act, though passed the 25th of February, 1843, was not to be in force until the 3rd of March following; and was, therefore, regarded by many as a kind of "*ruse de guerre*," to bring the bank to terms. Another act being afterward passed, it became inoperative. That circumstance, however, ought not to withdraw our attention from some of its provisions.

would have paused, ere they sanctioned an act like this. Fortunately, however, for the honor and credit of the State, before any action was had in relation to the several matters above referred to, the law was suspended in its operation, and another act passed upon the subject, which has since gone quietly into operation.

The 4th article in the amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated," and the 7th article in the Constitution of this State, declaring "that the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and possessions, from unreasonable searches and seizures," and the 8th article in said Constitution, which declares that "no freeman shall be disseized of his freehold, or in any manner deprived of his property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land," was thus preserved from violation.

On the 4th of March, 1843, an act was passed "to repeal the charter of the bank of Cairo." We merely state the fact, because we find it of record, without commenting on the legislative right to repeal charters, that being, at present, out of our province. The bank, however, was at the time useless, and its annihilation, in some way or other, was consequently demanded.

On the 25th of February, 1843, an act was passed "to reduce the public debt one million of dollars, and to put the bank of Illinois into liquidation." The title to this act is liable to the same objection as the other. That, however, is of but little importance. Other principles and other considerations are involved; and however reluctant we are to enter into a discussion of those principles, a regard to historic truth renders it imperative. Witnesses in courts of justice, are required to tell not only "the truth" but "the whole truth;" and sins "of omission," are sometimes equally heinous with those "of commission."

The 7th section of the act "to diminish the State debt, and put the State bank into liquidation," is in these words:

> "Section 7. The State bank of Illinois shall, within three days after the passage of this act, signify its acceptance of the provisions of this act, by writing, signed by the president and cashier, under the seal of the bank, and to be filed in the office of the secretary of state. And the said bank shall, within five days after the passage of this act, deliver to the governor acting in behalf of the State, an amount of state bonds, scrip, and other evidences of debt, without interest, equal on their face to the sum of two millions fifty thousand dollars, reported by the bank to be on hand on the first of December, 1842; in which event the governor is hereby authorized on the part of the State, to assign to the bank, two millions fifty thousand dollars of bank stock, owned by the State in said bank; and all the interest of the State in the assets of the bank, real, personal, and mixed, except so much of the assets as the State may be entitled to, as the holder of fifty thousand dollars of the stock of said bank; in which event also, the directors in said bank, except the commissioner aforesaid, shall be withdrawn."

The first section of the act "to reduce the public debt one million of dollars, and to put the bank of Illinois into liquidation," is in these words:

"Section 1. The governor shall be authorized to negotiate a sale of the stock held by the State in the bank of Illinois, to said bank upon the following terms: That is to say, that the bank shall surrender to the governor, for the use of the State, as an equivalent for said stock, an amount of the liabilities of the State, equal on their face to the sum of one million of dollars; one half of said amount to be surrendered as aforesaid, within five days after the passage of this act, and the residue with six per cent. interest thereon, from the date of sale within twelve months after the passage hereof."

The 17th section of the act last aforesaid, is in the words following:

Section 17. If the bank shall accept of the foregoing provisions of this act, and shall go into liquidation as aforesaid, then, and in that case, the provisions of an act entitled 'an act to put the bank of Illinois into liquidation,' shall be suspended for, and during the term of, five years from and after the fourth day of March, 1843, and no longer—and for the purpose of enabling the bank to signify such acceptance, and to go into liquidation as aforesaid, the operations of the provisions of this act, the title of which is above recited, shall be, and the same are hereby suspended for the period of thirty days from, and after the passage hereof."

When the State bank was incorporated, the private stockholders, especially the small ones, paid in cash the whole amount of their stock. When the State became a partner, instead of paying cash for her stock, she gave her bonds for three millions one hundred thousand dollars, and authorized their sale to raise the necessary funds. When the State became a stockholder in the bank of Illinois at Shawneetown, she gave her bonds in lieu of money. The bank of Illinois sold a portion of these bonds when the credit of the State was current, and received their full value. This furnished, of course, a part of her capital. Whether the State bank of Illinois did the like, we are unadvised. The bonds of the State being in New-York and in London, and "as plenty as blackberries" in both places; and being the sport of brokers, of bankers, and of bankrupts, it is difficult to ascertain, whether the bonds given up in 1843 to be cancelled, were the same that were issued in 1837. The acts before referred to, require "an amount of State bonds, scrip, or other evidences of debt." If the bonds issued in 1837, were sold at par, as they might have been, and as several millions in fact were; and others purchased at thirty, forty, or fifty cents upon the dollar—when the credit of the State had fallen so low—a speculation either was, or might have been made, of one or two millions of dollars, by the bank or its officers, by individuals or speculators. Whether such was, or was not the fact, we neither assert nor deny, having no evidence to predicate a charge of that nature upon, or to repel it.

In 1843, when the State bank and the bank of Illinois went into liquidation, their bills were worth in market about fifty per cent. They had, at that time, a large amount of State bonds, and State indebtedness on hand. They had a large amount of debts, good, bad, and indifferent, due them—several thousand acres of land, which they had received in satisfaction of judgments, obtained in favor of the banks against individuals.

The State bank had also a banking-house at Springfield, erected at an expense of some fifty thousand dollars, after the bank had suspended payment.

It is not singular, therefore, that public indignation should have been excited against the banks ; nor is it strange, that such indignation should have reached our legislative halls.*

Some doubts having recently been expressed, whether the cancelling of three millions and fifty thousand dollars of State bonds, and the transfer of an equal amount of bank stock by legislative acts, was doing justice to the billholders, or to the stockholders who had paid cash in full for their stock, while the State, like other speculating stockholders in eastern cities, had given her bonds or stock notes only ; it becomes as imperative upon us as upon a grand-juror, to speak "without fear, favor, affection, or hope of reward," upon the subject.

That the cancelling of so much of our public debt was desirable, all admit. That it was expedient, if it could be done without a sacrifice of principle, is admitted also. Expediency, however, is a dangerous word, especially in legislative bodies. Its banners, as Burke once said of the French revolutionists, are too frequently "stolen from the altar of God ; and its allies congregated from the abyss of hell."

The same question was once agitated in a public assembly at Athens, and a decision was thereupon had, against the doctrine of expediency. Although the proceedings of an Athenian assembly, we admit, are not of high authority, "its fierce democracy" having been, as we are informed, ruled and governed at times by demagogues, lessons may be learned from its history replete with instruction.

Aristides, who, during his whole life, was exceedingly poor—notwithstanding he held some of the highest offices in the State, and was the friend and companion of Alexander and Pausanias, of Miltiades and Themistocles ; by a series of virtuous actions, had acquired the name of "the Just." Themistocles, whose reputation for integrity was not equally apparent, (although Napoleon cites him for a model,) having once said in a public assembly at Athens, "that he had thought of an expedient which would be salutary to the State, but its success would depend upon its being kept a secret," was commanded to submit it to Aristides, and to abide his decision.

Aristides, having heard Themistocles's proposal, returned to the assembly and said, that "nothing could be more advantageous than the project of Themistocles, and at the same time, nothing could be more unjust."

Themistocles was thereupon ordered to abandon his scheme. It is needless, perhaps, to inform our readers, that the project of Themistocles was to burn the fleet, "not the bonds"† of the confederates, (allies and friends of the republic,) to secure the ascendency of Athens. (See note 2.)

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* Notwithstanding the apparent severity which characterizes the several acts above mentioned, it is more than probable that the billholders, and the stockholders, are gainers by their operation. That the speculators are, there can be no doubt.

† The State bonds were afterward burned on the capitol square, in Springfield.

'T is needless, perhaps, to say more in relation to our bonds. They have been destoyed by the joint action of the bank and the Legislature, and our debt has thus been reduced three millions and fifty thousand dollars.*

Had those bonds been the notes of individuals, given for stock in 1837, and lain dormant in the bank till it became insolvent: and had they been given up by the bank to be cancelled on the assignment of so much stock, in an institution acknowledged to be bankrupt, Judge Lynch† would have erected his throne on Capitol Square, in Springfield; a thousand jurors, without a summons, would have appeared at his bar; a sentence of condemnation would have been pronounced against the stockholders, and the officers thus offending; and in less time than was consumed in destroying the Bastile, the banking-house at Springfield, erected at so much expense, would have been levelled with the dust—not one stone would have been left upon another.

The act, however, was a legislative act. The people were interested in the reduction of the debt, and truth and justice were drowned by "mock hosannas to the Son of David."

Men, in their corporate capacity, do that of which, as individuals, they would be ashamed. Lord Coke in speaking of corporations, said, "they had no souls, and, therefore, could not be excommunicated." There is, however, a bar to which legislators are amenable—the bar of public opinion: and, although public opinion may sometimes be wrong, "its sober, second thought" is generally right. The Legislature of Georgia once burned their records, and the Legislature of Illinois may, perhaps, yet profit by their example.

The above remarks are not intended as an apology for the banks. Our experience in banking has been unfortunate. A want of capital in some instances, and a want of integrity in others, (not but that many excellent men—men of principle and character, have been thus engaged,) have subjected this community to more than they can bear. The bubble has burst, and left nothing but "ruins and demagogues."

Banks, in many cases, are a public convenience. Bills are preferable frequently to specie. The millions, however, which have been lost by fraud, and by counterfeiting, will long be remembered. Those losses have seldom happened to the wary. The broker, the speculator, and the man who deals in his thousands, are seldom "their victims." The hard-laboring man, the unwary, the credulous, and those living remote from towns and cities, are generally the sufferers. The duty of the Legislature to protect the latter is imperative.

Whatever, therefore, may be the action of our Legislature hereafter in relation to the State bank, or to banking generally ; the protection of those whose circumstances require its aid, will, it is hoped, now and for ever, be the objects of its watchful care.

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* Fifty thousand dollars of stock is still held by the State.

† Judge Lynch's courts have been described too often to require a definition here, or a description of the "*modus operandi*" in these courts.

NOTE I.

John Quincy Adams, alluding in Congress, a few years since, to the miserable condition of our western garrisons, moved an inquiry into the expediency of withdrawing the troops from thence, "within *the settlements*," in order that they might be safe from the attacks of the Indians. The expedient was exceedingly well calculated to protect the troops, but was looked upon by many as being rather unmilitary.

NOTE II.

The Athenians had a peculiar way of rewarding their great men. When a person became obnoxious, for good or ill, (for envy sometimes, we are told, raised up enemies in Athens as well as elsewhere,) he was subjected to the Ostrascism. This was conducted in the following manner:

Every citizen took a shell, and wrote the name of the person he wished to have banished upon it. He then carried it to the public market-place, where it was deposited. The shells thus deposited were then counted by the magistrates, and if six thousand shells had the name of any one person upon them, he was sentenced to ten years banishment. Aristides, having excited considerable envy, and among other things, the hostility of Themistocles, was subjected to this test. The latter having observed, that "he looked upon it as the principal virtue of a general, to know and foresee the designs of the enemy." Aristides replied, "That, indeed, is a necessary qualification ; but there is another very excellent one, and really becoming a general, and that is, to have clean hands."

When the question in relation to the banishment of Aristides was pending, and the people were inscribing names on their shells, an illiterate burgher came up to Aristides, without knowing him, as to some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write "Aristides" upon it. The good man, surprised at the request, asked him if Aristides had ever injured him ? "No," said he, "I do not know him ; but it vexes me to hear him everywhere called the Just." Aristides, without replying, took his shell, wrote his own name upon it, gave it back to the man, and wandered in exile.

Instead of doing on his departure as Achilles did, implore his mother to influence Jupiter against his countrymen, and wishing them to feel the impotence of their chieftain, and to weep over the effects of his injustice ; Aristides lifted up his hands toward heaven, and calling the gods to witness, prayed that the people of Athens might never see the day which should force them to remember Aristides. About three years afterward, when Xerxes, at the head of an army of one million one hundred thousand men, was advancing toward Greece, Aristides was suddenly recalled. Passing in the night-time through the enemy's fleet, he reached the tent of Themistocles, and expressed a desire to speak with him in private ; tendered to him, as a leader and general, his services as a follower ; fought and distinguished himself in the battle that ensued ; and although the spoils of Marathon, "where Persian silver and gold were scattered about," awaited his command, he died poor, and as Plutarch observes, "did not leave enough to defray the expenses of his funeral."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Religion in Illinois—Constitution of the State in relation thereto—Emigration hither—Its effect on society—Clergy members of Legislative bodies—Methodists in Illinois—Camp Meetings—Baptists, and other denominations—Literature—Fenelon—Jesuit College at Kaskaskia—Common Schools—School Funds—Jackson College—Jubilee College—Medical College, at Chicago—Academies—Slavery forbidden in Illinois—Legislation thereon—Origin of Slavery in Virginia—Elsewhere—Case of Lovejoy at Alton—Effects of Slavery—Its abolition.

Religion and learning, in every age, and almost every clime, have hitherto advanced with equal, though frequently, uncertain strides. Connected intimately, as they are, with human freedom, and with an enlightened system of legislation and jurisprudence, they are sometimes accelerated, and sometimes retarded, in their march. Each, therefore, deserves separate attention.

Religion, in Illinois, is left precisely where our Saviour wished it might be—unshackled by legislation—in the care, and under the protection of its author, a wise and holy God.

The 3rd section in the 8th article of our Constitution, declares, that "All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the right of conscience; and that no preference shall be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship; and that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust, under the State."

The policy of religious establishments has always been questionable; and the idea of producing uniformity in religious opinions by legislative acts, has long been exploded. Christianity, while our Saviour was here on earth, and during the age of the Apostles, was rapidly diffused, even to "earth's remotest realms." It soon pervaded the Roman empire—assumed the purple, and lost its purity. Neither armies nor thrones are its appropriate theatre. Even David, "the man after God's own heart," was a great offender. Solomon, the wisest of princes, (surrounded by earthly glory,) forgot his Maker; and one of the ablest of the Roman pontiffs, who in early life, (when a priest of humble pretensions,) "had hopes of Heaven, on reaching the papal throne, had none at all."

There is something in Christianity adapted to every station, and to every condition in life; but more especially to the humble, the afflicted, and the oppressed:

"Art thou scorned, dost thou repine,
That a lowly birth was thine;
Boldly, friend, look up and know
None may higher lineage show;
Holy nature is thy mother,
God thy father, Christ thy brother."

Were sickness and sorrow to be done away, religion would at once be despoiled of half her charms; duty would be forgotten, or but slightly remembered, and truth and obedience be shipwrecked on their passage to eternity. Sickness and sorrow, therefore, are as necessary in the moral, as industry in the natural world. Were the earth to produce its fruits spontaneously, and further efforts on our part no longer required, man, civilized as he is, would relapse into barbarism, and the globe we inherit, now so beautiful, into a wild and solitary waste. God, however, in his Providence, has enjoined on man to toil; labor, therefore, so much deplored, is a blessing only in disguise.

The journal of one of the first settlers of Plymouth, or of James Town, detailing his progress from day to day, in building, inclosing, improving, and advancing, from the rude shelter that first protected his uncovered family against the elements, to comfort, convenience, and finally to elegance, would at the present time be sought for with avidity. The human mind traces with delight the majestic river to its source—and the power, the improvement, and the splendor of states and empires, to the germ from whence they sprung. The cottages of Romulus and Remus would, at the present time, be regarded with interest among broken columns, and the ruins of ancient magnificence.

To gratify a curiosity so laudable and so natural, in relation even to our own State, scarce anything remains; and even that is fast diminishing from vision and memory. To the greater part of our western readers, (and the State of Illinois, it will be recollected, is but of yesterday,) a faithful picture of some of the habitations of its early pioneers, the result of their first efforts in agriculture, and the festivities which solaced their early privations, would present a view of things already past, and nearly forgotten.

There is scarcely a nation in Europe which has not furnished us with emigrants. Even Norway's frozen cliffs, and Italy's land of song:

"Here exiles meet from every clime,
And speak in friendship every distant tongue."

Philosophers from beyond the seas, princes and nobles, men of letters and learning, have resorted thither—some to study our natural history, some to spy out the nakedness of our land—some to contemplate a people rising in the freshness of nature, from the ruins of a once submerged world; but far the greater part, to seek and secure for themselves and their children the comforts of present existence, with its expectations and its joys.

On coming hither, their implements of husbandry, their cooking utensils, (of the simplest kind,) an axe, a rifle, a few mechanic tools, and some horses, cattle, and hogs, constituted their principal, almost their only wealth. They brought, however, with them stout hearts and willing hands; their first abodes were in camps and stations; their next, in the primitive log-cabin, erected in all the simplicity of early mechanism, almost without tools—with the axe and the auger, to which the drawing-knife, the broad-axe, and the cross-cut saw, were sometimes added. The wooden fire-place and the wooden chimney, protected from the action of fire by a lining of clay; the floor of hewed logs; the door made of the latter, split asunder, and smoothed with the drawing-knife, united together with wooden pins, hung upon wooden hinges, and fastened with a wooden latch; without nails, glass, or metal of any kind—once so common, are beginning already to be matters of wonder.

The occupants of such dwellings, however, enjoyed substantial comforts. Amid privations, they lived in plenty; their cattle, hogs, and poultry, supplied them with meat—the forest with game; the earth yielded her increase; bread, milk, and honey abounded in every dwelling, and fish from every stream. They lived, therefore, in profusion; the hungry traveller and the indigent neighbor, participating their bounty. Exposed to a common danger, and to incessant toil, they were united to their fellow-men by the closest ties; accustomed to arm in each other's defence, and to aid in each other's labor; to assist in nursing the sick, and performing the last mournful service to the dead; the best and the holiest affections of the heart were kept in play, and the calls of friendship and the claims of benevolence were promptly discharged, without inquiry into the means or the ability of their recipient.

Dressed frequently in the skins of beasts—with no other shoes than those made of leather tanned in their solitudes, resembling in their whole contour so many Robinson Crusoes in picture—they carried frequently within them, beneath the rudeness of their primitive habitations, the carelessness of their agriculture, the apparent roughness of their manners, the unsightly coarseness of their implements and furniture, the unambitious homeliness of their goods and chattels, (with the exception of their axes, their horses, and their rifles,) hearts expanded by benevolence.

In such a community, those charities and religious principles and feelings, which are nursed among people of one race, born, baptized, reared and intermarried together, whose lot of human vicissitudes has been cast in the same mould, do not, except occasionally, put forth the same excellent and abundant fruit. Still, in a society thus constituted, and especially in our western cities—shifting continually by the accession of strangers, from whom the claims of friendship, hallowed by long acquaintance, cemented by ancient ties, and destined, to all appearance, for duration, are necessarily excluded—there is something that charms; the appetite for novelty is fostered; and though it leads frequently to apparent fickleness, (an evil of great magnitude everywhere,) it bids the stranger welcome—a generous hospitality succeeds, and settlements of recent origin thus frequently acquire, and deservedly so, a reputation for social virtues, which in older communities are unfelt or unseen.

The growth of religion, and its prevalence in the end, is everywhere certain; and in a community like this, made up, as it were, of strangers from every land, and of every creed, 't is natural to suppose that numerous sects will always be found.

In the Constitution of several of the American States, ministers of the gospel are excluded from office. The prohibition, however, is confined to States where religion has at some time or other struggled for mastery. No exclusion is tolerated here. Religion seeks no legislative aid—not even its recognition by Government. 'T is here a settled maxim, that religion is an exclusive matter between man and his God, with which courts and legislatures have nothing to do. Hence, the estimation in which it is held; hence, too, the respect paid to its teachers, many of whom have repeatedly honored our legislative halls.

The Methodists, at present, are by far the most numerous. The zeal, the humility, the perseverance, and sometimes the ability of their teachers, have seldom been equalled. Even the Jesuits, have at times been eclipsed; and the modern Catholics, in many instances, completely outdone. Obedient to the commands of their Lord and Master, these humble followers of the cross have ascended the highest hills, and descended into the lowest valleys—have forded its sluices, and crossed its rivers and prairies, to seek the objects of a Saviour's love, amid the darksome fens. Although—

> "The sound of the church-going bell,
> These rocks and these valleys ne'er heard;"

as many, and perhaps as faithful preachers of the gospel, during the last thirty years, have traversed the Mississippi valley, and administered religious consolation to its inhabitants, as during that time have taught in the Atlantic States.

In Chicago, (for instance,) containing a little more than eight thousand people, we have two churches for Presbyterians; two for Episcopalians; two for Baptists; two for Methodists; two for Catholics; one for Unitarians; one for Universalists; one for German Lutherans; and one Bethel church, for sailors. A society, also, of Swedenborgians has been organized; and another of "Latter Day Saints," or Mormons. Many of these churches are supplied with talented preachers, and their congregations are numerous and attentive.

A large proportion of the religious instruction now received by the people of this State, is still given by those who itinerate, most of whom, (reports to the contrary notwithstanding,) are men of zeal and sanctity. Having little to expect of a pecuniary nature, and less from the prescribed reverence which appertains to a stated ministry, everything with them depends on the cultivation of popular talents. Zeal for religion, accompanied, sometimes, "with a spice of earthly ambition," and the latent pride and emulation of our nature, which unconsciously influence, more or less, even the disinterested and the sincere; and the desire of distinction among their brethren, and sometimes, even "the world's people," not unfrequently make such the most eloquent of men. The dark forest through which they travel; the time given for thought and reflection, "as they amble slowly along on horseback;" the primitive and romantic turn of thought and expression thus acquired, favor their object exceedingly; and if to this be superadded the character of their audience, living remote, as they usually do, from each other; musing on the loneliness of their condition, in the forest and on the prairie, where society itself is a novelty, and the arrival of a stranger the cause of some considerable excitement; it would be strange indeed if the preacher, possessing a particle of native eloquence, did not give utterance to thoughts that "breathe, and words that burn."

A Methodist camp-meeting in the evening, is one of the most admirable theatres for eloquence our country anywhere presents; and is scarcely inferior to the once famed popular assemblies of Greece and Rome.

No one can imagine the interest they excite. The people assemble in imposing numbers, from a vast region around, to hear some popular preacher, whose fame has preceded him. Notice having previously been given, persons of every age and every condition resort thither, frequently by thousands. The ambitious and the wealthy, aspirants for fame and candidates for office; the aged, the middle aged, and the young; some from curiosity, some from a desire to display their equipage, their persons, or their charms, and a vast multitude from the best and purest of motives.*

A religious city, in a few hours, springs up as if by magic, on the confines of some dark forest, and in the vicinity of some running stream. A line of tents is immediately pitched. Lamps are suspended from the trees, and the whole constitutes a vast temple, worthy of the Being to be worshipped there.

A hymn is first given out, in which the assembled multitude joins, and the forest becomes vocal with praise. Prayer and exhortations, by several preachers; religious exercises, in which the orator talks of God, eternity, and a judgment to come; of his own experience, his toils, and his travels; his persecutions, his welcome reception, and consequent joys, till every eye overflows with moisture, and every heart dissolves in tenderness. The moral effect of camp-meetings has often been questioned; no rational doubt, however, can exist upon the subject. A palpable change in the manners, the conversation, and the habits of those participant and attending, has often been produced. The gambling and the drinking shops have been deserted; the morals of a whole neighborhood been purified; "and those who came to mock," not unfrequently, "have remained to pray;" others have caught the infectious feeling, and become like little children, uttering exclamations of penitence. The moral world has thus frequently been shaken; and the seeds of moral virtue been sown broadcast throughout a country, where a stated ministry would have been powerless.*

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* Flint's Mississippi valley.

In perseverance and zeal, the Baptists are scarcely behind their brethren of the Methodist denomination; and by their efforts, the profane have often been reclaimed, the drunkards reproved, and the wanderers gathered together like chickens, under the wing of the Great Shepherd of their Salvation.

The Catholics, also, are numerous and zealous, and being firmly united in spirit and interest, form a phalanx of great compactness, producing extraordinary effects.

The Presbyterians are numerous, and increasing; and also the Episcopalians.

Religion, therefore, without legislative protection, or even notice, under the patronage of its Divine Author, and by the efforts of its numerous friends and advocates, has hitherto progressed in the State of Illinois, with, perhaps, as much rapidity as in any of her sister States; and under the like patronage, and by the continuance of similar efforts, will, it is hoped, yet progress, until the Redeemer's name shall be known, and its influence felt on every prairie.

Of learning, we have as yet but little to boast. The Jesuits once had a college at Kaskaskia, and it is said, though on doubtful authority, that the celebrated Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray, the author of Telemachus, the friend of Louis XIV., and the tutor of his son, while a monk of the order of St. Sulspice, taught therein.† Whether he did so or not, is immaterial. The Jesuit missionaries in this country were learned men. They were educated, however, in Europe, and we have no evidence that the college at Kaskaskia produced any such. It has long been in ruins. During the occupation of this State by the English, nothing was done to promote the cause of learning. The American Revolution which followed, and the anarchy, and Indian wars that succeeded, retarded, of course, its progress, until 1833; when, at the close of the Black Hawk war, our prosperity may in truth and justice be said to have commenced. The progress of Illinois since has been onward.

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* Flint.

† Judge Martin, of New-Orleans, a French gentleman of learning, and a justice of the supreme court of Louisiana, in his history of that State, says: "That Fenelon was at Fort Frontinac, (Kingston,) and had some difficulty with Count Frontinac, then Governor of Canada, in consequence whereof, he was imprisoned. He returned afterward to France; rose to great distinction; became Archbishop of Cambray, and the confidant of Louis XIV.

In 1825, a law was passed making provision for the incorporation of common schools. In its preamble, the great principles of legislative authority are established, and so beautifully expressed, that we cannot resist the temptation of inserting it at length. It is in these words:

> "To enjoy our rights and liberties, we must understand them. Their security and protection ought to be among the first objects of a free people. And it is a well established fact, that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was not both virtuous and enlightened. And believing that the advancement of literature always has been, and ever will be, the means of developing more fully, the rights of man; that the mind of every citizen of every Republic, is the common property of society, and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness; it is considered the peculiar duty of a free government like ours, to encourage and extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole. Therefore, be it enacted," etc.

A subsequent Legislature, by repealing a portion of the act passed in 1825, and making other modifications therein, rendered it almost nugatory; and we regret exceedingly, that an efficient system in relation to common schools, has never been adopted. Divers acts have been passed upon the subject, but as yet, education here is still in its infancy. The time, however, is near at hand, when other views will prevail, and a system commensurate with our resources, will be adopted and sustained by the popular voice.

Common schools will then succeed, education will then revive, and constitute an important link in the chain of our prosperity.

No State in the Union, no country on the globe, has a more ample fund than Illinois. By the ordinance of July 13, 1787, three per cent. upon all lands sold within the State, from and after the first day of January, 1817, were appropriated for the encouragement of learning.

On the 1st of January, 1842, the common school fund received from that source was . . .	$346,326 21
A portion of the surplus revenue of the United States, (deposited with the State,) was added to this fund by an act of the Legislature; and amounted, on the day last aforesaid, to	335,592 32
	$681,918 53
The college fund, on the same day amounted to .	69,249 20
And the seminary fund, to	56,917 66
Making altogether,	$808,085 39

This money has been borrowed by the State, and laid out in defraying its current expenses; and some special appropriations made by the Legislature. Its interest is now regularly paid, and distributed among the several counties according to law.

The United States still own about seventeen millions of acres in Illinois, which is selling rapidly. Of course, a considerable addition to the above fund will be made hereafter.

Two townships were also given to the State, on its admission into the Union, containing forty-six thousand and eighty acres, for the promotion of learning. A portion of the latter has been sold; a part, however, still remains, and is of considerable value.

In addition to this, one thirty-sixth part of the whole State (being section No. 16 in each township,) was granted for the use of common schools. The avails of this section constitute a fund for the special benefit of those living within the surveyed township.

The commissioners of public lands, in a report to Congress, made in April, 1832, estimated the sixteenth sections in the State of Illinois, at nine hundred and seventy-seven thousand for hundred and fifty-seven acres. Some of these lands are of great value, and all of them would be in time, if the people were wise, and would consent, for a few years, to forego the right to dispose of, or rather, to sacrifice them at inadequate prices.

The school section adjacent to the original town of Chicago, after excepting a considerable portion thereof, was sold in 1836, for thirty thousand dollars and upward; and is worth, at the present day, more than five times that amount. A few acres in the city of New-York, given, long ago, to Trinity Church, then estimated at but little value, are now supposed to be worth thirty-five millions of dollars. If the school lands in Illinois could be protected from spoliation, and preserved for the uses intended without dilapidation, they would, in a few years, be worth several millions, and tend more to its aggrandizement than a thousand victories. They would provide an ample fund for the conquest of human ignorance, and carry joy and gladness to millions yet unborn.

It affords us great pleasure here to remark, that, in many townships, the school lands are preserved with great care, and that common schools have been established there on a respectable footing. In the city of Chicago, nine public schools are sustained, at an annual expense of more than three thousand dollars. A college has been established at Jacksonville, in the county of Morgan in this State, destined, we have no doubt, to be very respectable. Its situation is on a delightful eminence, about one mile west of the town, and overlooks a country of well-cultivated farms. The principal edifice is a hundred and four feet in length, forty in width, and four stories high, exclusive of the basement. In the latter, are accommodations for an extensive boarding-house, kitchen, etc.

To the principal building there are two wings, for the accommodation of the faculty. In addition to the above, there is a separate building, sixty-five feet by thirty-eight, and two stories high, exclusive of the basement, for a chapel, lecture, and recitation rooms, and a library. The latter is respectable and increasing. In connection with the college, there is a farm of three hundred acres, well stocked, and under good improvement, together with some workshops. Here the students who are inclined to do so, can, by manual labor—devoting a portion of each day only to that purpose—earn sufficient to defray their current expenses.

A college has also been established under the patronage of Bishop Chase, near Peoria, called Jubilee College. Its prospects are flattering. (See note 1.)

A medical college has recently been established in the city of Chicago, and during the last winter, (1843–4,) a course of lectures was delivered by each of its professors. From the character and talents of the faculty, much was anticipated; and it is with great pleasure we remark, that these expectations have been realized. It bids fair, in a short time, to be one of the most respectable institutions in our country.

Other literary institutions, such as academies, high-schools, and female seminaries, abound in every part of the State. Mount Morris academy, Belvidere female seminary, and a literary institution at Alton, are of their number, and all of them respectable. The statutes of Illinois are full of incorporated colleges, academies, and other seminaries of learning. Something more, however, than mere acts of incorporation, is requisite to give them currency and fill them with pupils.

Inasmuch, however, as counterfeit coin is evidence of the existence of real, and hypocrisy evidence that pure religion exists, so acts of incorporation, though trifling and unimportant, and sometimes even ridiculous, indicate a willingness to be learned, or a desire to be thought so.

Fortunately for Illinois, neither its Constitution nor its laws tolerate slavery. The subject of slavery having within a few years excited great interest among us, and a signal tragedy growing out of it (the death of Bishop and Lovejoy at Alton,) having been acted in our midst; the origin, progress, and effects of this evil, so far at least as Illinois is concerned; and the State of Virginia, of which we at one time constituted a part; will not, it is hoped, be thought obtrusive.

The ordinance of 1787, to which we have had occasion so often to refer, in the 6th article thereof, provides that:

> "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, (northwest of the Ohio, including Illinois,) other than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided, that any person escaping into the same, from whence labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

The 6th article of the Constitution of this State is in these words:

> Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; nor shall any male arrived at the age of twenty-one years, nor female person arrived at the age of eighteen years, be held to serve any person as a servant, under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a *bona fide* consideration received or to be

received for their service ; nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto, hereafter made and executed out of this State, or, if made in this State, where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in cases of apprenticeship."

Whether the Legislature of Illinois have, in every instance, carried into effect the benign intentions of the framers of our Constitution, or of the ordinance above referred to, is perhaps doubtful. Having interdicted slavery, they thought proper to exclude slaves from the State altogether, and free negroes so far as it was in their power. For that purpose, a variety of statutes were passed, some of which are apparently oppressive, and some of which, it is said, are unconstitutional.

The first law upon the subject was passed in 1819, which enacts, that no black or mulatto person, shall be permitted to reside in this State, unless he shall first produce a certificate of his freedom, etc.

By the second section of the act respecting negroes, passed January 17th, 1829, it is enacted that every black or mulatto person, having no such certificate, shall be deemed a runaway slave, and liable to be arrested and committed to jail, etc.; and by the third section of the same act, that no negro or mulatto person shall be joined in marriage, etc. with any white person, male or female.

By the third section of the act concerning practice, passed February 2nd, 1827, it is enacted that, "A negro, mulatto, or Indian, shall not be a witness in any court, or in any case, against a white person—and that any person, having one-fourth part negro blood, shall be adjudged a mulatto."

The second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, having declared that, "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," it has been, and now is, held by many, that a free black, coming from the State of New-York, (for instance,) where he is a citizen, cannot by any act of the Legislature of this State, be deprived of any privilege or immunity he enjoyed there—that the right to reside in this State without molestation—the right to give testimony in a court of justice, and several other rights accompanying his person, are of such a nature and character, that he cannot be deprived of them by any legislative enactment, without violating the Constitution of the United States. As it is not our province to discuss constitutional questions, however important, we shall leave the subject, at present, (suggesting, however, a revision of our laws upon this subject, in some particulars,) for those who have more time and leisure to pursue it, and call the attention of our readers to the origin, progress, effects, and final abolition of slavery among us.

Virginia, the asylum of freedom, in violation of her wishes, and in opposition to her will, became, at an early day, the abode of hereditary bondsmen. The mercantile avarice of the Dutch, and the mercenary policy of the English, disregarding the interests and wishes of the colony, (publicly and privately expressed,) have entailed the cruel—the unjust—

the wasteful—and the unhappy system of slavery, upon some portion of the United States, from that time hitherto; and probably for many years to come. Slavery, therefore, in this country, is the offspring of avarice, and the legacy of England.

The hunter had no sooner acquired a fixed residence, than slavery began. It pervaded every nation of antiquity, and has since been extended to every part of the globe.

The Egyptian hieroglyphics exhibit man in bondage. Her pyramids rose from the surrounding plain, at the bidding of masters, and by the labor of slaves. The founder of the Jewish nation, the good old Abraham, was not only a slave-holder, but a purchaser of slaves.

The plains of Mamre, and the fields of Goshen, were enriched by their sweat, and cultivated by their toil. When the Hebrews burst the bonds of their own thraldom, and fled before Pharaoh's embattled hosts, they carried slavery with them into the desert. The light of Sinai, which scattered the corrupt and corrupting illusions of idolatry, neither lit the bondsman's march to freedom, nor did its thunders sound his requiem. Slavery from thence was carried to the promised land, and planted on the banks of

——"Siloam's fount,
Fast by the oracle of God."

Property, therefore, in man, has existed ever since the patriarchs. God has not only permitted its existence, but has legislated for its abolition in some cases, and its perpetuity in others. The precepts of the Old and the New Testament, are addressed as well to the master as to the slave; and the relation between them is not sought to be disturbed, but on the contrary is recognized on several occasions.

The rights of the master, or "property in man," are acknowledged and protected by the Divine law. The tenth commandment forbids us to covet our neighbor's man-servant, his maid-servant, or anything that is his." Our readers need not be told, that by the word man-servant, and maid-servant, was meant a slave, or a bondsman, and not a servant for hire.

God himself, it would seem then, has recognized "property in man." Our Saviour did the same; and so did his immediate followers. Paul in his letter to Philemon, sent by Onesimus, a runaway slave, (who becoming pious, had sought a reconciliation with his master,) desires the latter to receive him kindly. In relation to this subject, we may, perhaps, be treading on forbidden ground, especially "in this bank-note age," when avarice—political ambition—and matters "entirely ultra" are paramount to all things else. Our remarks, therefore, on slavery, are not intended for this week, this month, or this year; but for that period which will sooner or later come, when truth can be spoken without censure—when argument can be listened to without reproach—and the dictates of both shall be heard and obeyed.

The countries bordering on Palestine were familiar with slavery. Tyre, the most famous city of Phenicia, was a "market for men;" and the plains and forests of the unknown north—even Scythia and Scandinavia, acknowledged the task-master.

"When Greece was young," slavery existed there, and "Achilles's wrath," the cause of "woes unnumbered," grew out of a paltry quarrel about a slave. In the "heroic age," men, and even "heroes," like the modern corsairs of Barbary, made excursions into the neighboring villages "to steal men." The foundation of the whole Grecian commerce, was, at first, predicated on slavery. Her maritime towns were converted into markets "for men," and the inmates of every cottage on the sea-board, where Greek pirates were suffered to roam, were exposed to the danger of being kidnapped. Slavery was, therefore, incorporated into, and became an element of, Grecian freedom; and not only an element, but "the aliment" on which her celebrated patriots lived. Slavery built up her marine—cultivated her soil—extended her commerce—and at last, converted the whole republic into a mass of ruins.

The history of Rome, and the story of her oppressions, is nearly the same. Bondage pervaded the city and all its provinces—the power of the father to sell his children—of the creditor to sell his debtor—and of the warrior to sell his captive, filled her markets with men for sale, of every complexion and from every clime. Slaves at once became numerous. The severities practiced upon them by their masters, and countenanced by the Roman law, hastened afterward her decline. In her infancy and purity, the Roman eagle, borne by her gallant sons from the Tagus to the Ganges, hardly paused. The spoils, however, of conquered nations, soon corrupted the public mind. Arms became a burden to the citizen, and disreputable to the man of fortune—and slaves and hirelings succeeded to their possession. Her eagles soon drooped their pinions, unable longer to sustain their flight. Her Senate became corrupt; and Jugurtha, Prince of Numidia, on leaving the city where he had been detained as a captive, and from whence he had obtained deliverance by bribing her venal Senators, exclaimed: "Farewell, thou mercenary commonwealth! You will perish, the day you find a purchaser." A purchaser was soon found. The imperial diadem was sold to the highest bidder, (the pretorian guards acting as its auctioneers,) and her ancient renown and disciplined valor, unable longer to defend her capitol, she

"Heard the Gothic tempest's blast,
The march of hosts as Alarick passed."

During the middle ages, the pirate and the kidnapper continued their trade. The Saxons carried slavery to England with their arms, and the price of a man was equal to four oxen. Foreign slaves were imported in defiance of severe penalties; and the Saxons sold their own kindred for slaves upon the Continent. In the twelfth century slaves were exported from England to Ireland. The Germans and the Russians bought men in market, and sent them to Constantinople to be sold. The French supplied their Saracen customers with slaves, and the Jews became their agents, both in the purchase and the sale. Christian slaves were sold at Rome to the followers of Mohammed, and the Venetians purchased alike both infidels and Christians. The slave-trade, it is true, was censured in Venice by the church, and prohibited by its laws, but was never checked, till it was declared that "no slave should enter a Venetian ship;" and to tread "the deck of an Argosy" was a passport to freedom.

The Christian religion seemed for awhile to check its progress; and the Roman pontiff became the guardian of the oppressed. "Nature," said Pope Alexander the Third, "having made no slaves, all men have a right to liberty." The captive Christian among the Saracens, had no alternative but apostacy or servitude; and the captive infidel was treated with the like intolerance in Christendom. The price of a war-horse, during the crusades, was three slaves; and although the laws of Mohammed gave freedom to converts, "the Christian dog" felt their vengeance. John Smith, the father of Virginia, once tasted the bitterness of slavery among the Turks, slew his Moslem tyrant, and escaped thus from bondage.

During the seven centuries of warfare between the Christian and the Moor, slavery was the captive's reciprocal doom, and France and Italy were filled with Saracen slaves. On the expulsion of the Moors from Grenada, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, Africa became a nest for pirates, and every Christian taken at sea the booty of the corsair. All of the Africans were, at the same time, regarded in Christendom as Moors, and the Europeans felt no remorse in consigning them all, indiscriminately, to slavery.

When America emerged from the sea, Europe had almost ceased to traffic in Christian slaves, and had made some progress in the emancipation of her serfs. Bigotry, however, soon compounded with avarice, at the expense of humanity; and the infidel, excluded from its pale, remained the subject of traffic as before. The Moorish merchants entered the parched desert, and dragged from thence the Ethiopian race to their seaports, and exchanged them for gold. Long, therefore, ere Columbus added a New World to the Old, the negro slave-trade was reduced to a system.

A desire for gain, the love of conquest, or the hatred of infidels—and, perhaps, a combination of them all—in 1441, conducted a Portuguese fleet to the coast of Africa. They sailed as far south as Cape Blanco, and returned from thence with a cargo of Moors. On their arrival at Lisbon, the prisoners were treated, not as laborers or slaves, but as strangers, from whom information could be obtained.

Antony Gonzalez, who commanded the expedition, being ordered to restore them to their homes again, visited the coasts of Africa, and received for their ransom, "black-a-moors with curled hair." This was in 1443, and these were the first negro slaves imported into modern Europe. The commerce becoming lucrative, Spain followed the example set her by Portugal, and negro slaves abounded in Seville, "while Columbus was yet unknown."

The principles of bigots, and the designs of pirates, and even heroes, in those days of maritime adventure, were singularly blended; and the wealth of newly discovered lands held by infidels, being looked upon as rightful plunder, the Indians of Hispaniola were transported to Cadiz, and sold into captivity—the Indians of North America were kidnapped in every port where "Europe's chivalry" dared to enter—and the harmless fragments of the tribe of Annawon, even the wife and children of its proud king, Philip of Pokanoket, were sent by the Puritans to the West Indies, and sold in market. The human mind became corrupted; even the good Las Casas advised the sending of negroes to Hispaniola, in order to prevent its native population from sinking beneath the weight of Spanish oppressors. A royal edict legalized the act, pretending, inasmuch as the negroes had been instructed in the Christian faith, "they would assist in converting the infidels;" thus punishing faith in Christianity with perpetual bondage. The followers of Mohammed gave freedom to the convert; while the followers of Jesus rivetted his chains more firmly than ever. Ximenes, the talented prime-minister of Ferdinand and Isabella, the grand-inquisitor of Spain, the austere but ambitious Franciscan; saw the danger, which time has since revealed, and forbade the transportation of negroes to Hispaniola; believing, as he did, that its favored climate would increase their numbers, and lead, in the course of time, to a successful rebellion. His predictions have since been verified; and Hayti, the first to receive the slave, became the first to announce his freedom. Sugar began finally to be cultivated, and the mines were also to be wrought. Ferdinand, therefore, sent thither fifty slaves himself; others followed his example, until Ovando, its governor, entreated that no more should be transported thither. The benevolent Las Casas, having seen the natives of Hispaniola vanish, like dew, before their oppressors; and the Africans thriving and becoming robust, beneath its sun; in the spirit of ardent charity, and "the purest missionary zeal," returned to Spain, and plead the cause of "the feeble Indians," at the court of its monarch, and desired that negroes might be employed to perform their toils. Charles V., then a youth, surrounded by rapacious courtiers, thereupon granted licences to his Flemish subjects to transport negroes to the Spanish colonies, and allowed four to each emigrant; (the number required was estimated at four thousand;) and when he afterward sailed for Tunis, to chastise its pirates, and to reclaim the European slaves from bondage, he openly permitted the sins of the Moors to be visited on the negroes.

Sir John Hawkins, in 1562, having fraudulently transported a cargo of Africans to Hispaniola, and brought from thence a cargo of sugar and pearls, which afforded an enormous profit; the adventure attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth, and she was induced, not only to protect her friend in the contraband trade, but to share also in his profits—"becoming thus a smuggler and slave-merchant." The self-approving frankness with which Hawkins tells his story, and the atrocity of his exploits, and the splendor thrown around his name by his mistress, "the good Queen Bess," are astonishing. "We set fire," says Hawkins, "to a city, of which the huts were covered with dry palm-leaves, and out of eight thousand inhabitants, succeeded in seizing two hundred and fifty."

Slavery, in those days, was not confined exclusively to negroes. The Scots taken prisoners on the field of Dunbar, were sent to New-England and sold at auction. The royal prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester, and the leaders in the insurrection of Penruddie, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Henry Vane and others, were shipped to America and sold. And when a thousand of the insurgents of Monmouth were sentenced to transportation, men of influence at court, men of rank and fortune, "scrambled for the convicted insurgents, as a merchantable commodity."

In 1620, a Dutch man-of-war entered James river, in Virginia, and landed twenty negroes for sale. The African for the first time then trod its soil. It was a sad epoch in the history of our Republic. Their increase for many years was inconsiderable; and seventy years thereafter they were not as numerous in Virginia as in several of the free States at the commencement of the revolutionary war. The Ethiopian and the Saxon races then, for the first time, met beneath a temperate zone. The negroes were at first regarded with disgust, and their union with the whites forbidden, under ignominious penalties. As late as 1661, New-York had imported as many Africans as Virginia. Stuyvesant, its governor, was instructed by his employers to use every exertion to promote their sale. The Puritans, in New-England, participated also in the traffic; and the fact, that New-York and New-England are not now slave-holding States, is imputable more to their climate than to their humanity.

The political world was, at that time, without form and void; and the spirit of God could hardly be said to "move on the face of its waters." "Ambition, avarice, distress, disappointment, and all the complicated vices that tend to render the mind of man uneasy, filled all places and all hearts in the English nation." Dreams of imaginary wealth floated on every breeze, and slave-ships became the instruments of English cupidity. The African coast for thirty degrees of latitude, was explored, from Cape Blanco to Loango, and from the great desert of Sahara to the kingdom of Angola, even unto the land of the Caffres. Nor did the Senegal or the Gambia, the Senegambia or the country of Congo, or the Upper or Lower Guinea, escape their visitations.

The statute book of England, during the reign of William and Mary, declares "the slave-trade highly beneficial to the kingdom and the colonies." In 1708, a committee of the House of Commons reported, "that the trade is important, and ought to be free." In 1711, a similar report was made, that "the plantations ought to be supplied with negroes at reasonable rates;" and recommended an increase of the trade. In June, 1712, the good Queen Anne, in her speech to Parliament, boasts of her success in securing to Englishmen a new market for slaves, in Spanish America. In 1729, George II. recommended a provision at the national expense, for the African forts, which recommendation was followed; and in 1749, the statute of 23 George II., chapter 31, declares "the slave-trade very advantageous to Great Britain." And in a letter from a British senator, in 1750, to one of his colleagues, it is stated: "The British Senate have this fortnight been pondering methods, to make more effectual that horrid traffic of selling negroes. It has appeared to us, that six and forty thousand of these wretches are sold every year to our plantations alone." And Lord Holt, and Pollexfern, and eight other English judges, gave it as their opinion, "that negroes were merchandise."

The colonies, in the meantime, struggled against their importation, but England was inexorable; and before America legislated for herself, its interdict was impossible. From 1680 until 1776, a period somewhat less than a century, it is estimated that the number of slaves imported by the English into Spanish, French, and English colonies, including the West Indies, was nearly three millions; and that the gross returns to English merchants for the whole traffic, was not far from four hundred millions of dollars.

The enormous profit growing out of the trade, silenced all inquiry into its legality and justice. The tale of Oronoko, the story of Inkle and Yarico, and the wrongs of "Afric's sable children," were drowned by the din of gold; and the horrors of slavery and the infamy of the trade, were no more regarded than man's feeble voice in the midst of a tornado.

Other causes produced also their effect. A British merchant, in 1745, says: "The African slave-trade is the great pillar and support of the British plantation trade in America. Negro labor," says he, "will keep our British colonies in due subserviency to the interests of the mother country; for while our plantations depend only on planting by negroes, our colonies never can prove injurious to British manufactures, never become independent of England." During the last year of English domination here, in 1775, an English secretary, the Earl of Dartmouth, wrote to a colonial agent in these memorable words: "We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

Slavery, therefore, has been ingrafted upon our institutions against our will. Princes and prelates, kings, lords, and commons, the Christian and the infidel, the merchant and the mariner, and men of rank, of wealth, and fame, have participated alike in its enormities.

That slavery is injurious, both to the master and the slave, is not and cannot be questioned. In order to be convinced of this, we have only to compare the prosperity, the resources, and the prospects, (both present and future,) of the slave States and the free. The latter include about two-fifths, and the former three-fifths of the Union. The former (the slave States,) possess more natural resources than the latter—the fertility of the soil, and the nature and character of its productions, surpass those of the north. Sugar and cotton, to say nothing of minor articles, are more profitable, and afford more certain and more abundant returns for labor and capital expended in their production, than anything which can be produced at the north. The slave, however, by whose labor they are produced, has neither intelligence, enterprise, industry, economy, skill, or machinery, to aid him, nor wages to stimulate his efforts. He is like a wreck on the waves, driven before the winds, without a mast, without sails, and even without a rudder to direct his course.

Where slavery prevails labor is disreputable, and no country can flourish without industry. The Emperor of China, on a certain day in every year, in the presence of his mandarins and other great officers of state, performs some actual toil—generally ploughs a furrow. Hence, labor, throughout the empire, is held in esteem.

Labor is the source of wealth, the patron of hope, the friend of learning, and the parent of virtue. The most salubrious climate, and the most fertile soil, without labor, are of but little use. Egypt is as fertile now as in the days of her Pharaohs; the soil on the Euphrates' bank still yields, with proper culture, its hundred and its thousand fold. Labor, however, to be useful must be protected, and to be encouraged, the laborer must be esteemed.

In a country abounding with slaves, not one in five of its whole population, including men, women, and children, earns his bread. The aggregate amount of productive wealth must, therefore, be small. Where four persons are to be sustained in idleness by the toil of a fifth, and that fifth is driven to his daily task, how is it possible for a nation to prosper?

Let us, then, rejoice that slavery cannot exist within our borders. Paul distinctly affirms, that all things alone are lawful, yet all things are not expedient. The inspired writers, in every instance, speaking of moral rights, looked to "circumstances and consequences;" and no example can anywhere be found, in the whole sacred volume, where sin is defined, "independent of circumstances," or duty enjoined "without regard to consequences."

That slavery is an evil, we not only admit but assert, and predicate that assertion upon conclusive evidence. Many slaveholders themselves both feel and deplore it as such, and would fain be delivered from it, if they could, without incurring themselves, and involving others in a worse evil. They may, perhaps, err in judgment, in relation to the difficulties in their way, and if they do they are in error; but whether they are morally wrong in retaining their slaves, until they can see a way to emancipate them with safety, can only be solved by a knowledge of "circumstances;" and as those circumstances are both present and future, they can be judged of only by the "Great Searcher of hearts."

Misguided benevolence has, of late, excited much popular feeling on this, the most inflammable of all subjects; and more noise has been made in its discussion, than by any event since the discovery of gunpowder. A writer of talent, in speaking upon this subject, says, "that the analogy is perfect in relation to the explosion of both these noisy engines, since gunpowder and ultra abolitionism effect mischief by those airy concussions denominated wind; and seldom yield any other product upon analysis, though both contain so large a portion of fire and brimstone."

Were the discussion confined to facts and arguments, to prove slavery an evil and emancipation a good; it would occasion no civil discord, it would create no political strife, it would alienate no friends or brethren from each other, it would produce no geographical divisions between the north and the south, nor would it threaten the peace and harmony of the nation. Calm and dispassionate reasoning never did and never can disturb the public tranquillity, or endanger the public peace. Dr. Franklin, Dr. Rush, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington, condemned slavery, and toiled for its gradual emancipation. They were abolitionists of the old school, of which every man in this community ought to become a member. They, however, did not believe that every American citizen who held a human being in involuntary bondage, was a thief—a robber—a pirate—a man-stealer—a contemner of justice and mercy—"a trembling, pitiful, pale-faced usurper, whom the soul spurns with unspeakable disgust." They did not impeach the motives, impugn the veracity, or endeavor to load with infamy, the name of every slaveholder in our land. They were friends of the colored race, and still believed, as others did before, and as many have done since, that a slaveholder may be eminent both for his piety and patriotism.

Sin is frequently the offspring of error. Paul sought forgiveness because he did "it ignorantly." And our Saviour, on the cross, extenuates the criminality of his murderers, because they "know not what they do."

Though martyrdom is the strongest proof of a man's sincerity, it is no proof at all that he is right: many have given this proof who were "sincerely wrong." Mobs are not the surest expositors of the law, nor are they always the best agents in "the diffusion of light," though some tenements set on fire by their agency, like the Alexandrian library, may diffuse more light when burning, than they had ever done before; it is not a light that will last—it is accompanied too often "by deeds of darkness."

The tragedy at Alton, in our State, and the alleged "martyrdom" of Lovejoy, a few years since, has occupied, in connection with the subject we have been discussing, a considerable space in the public mind, and demands, therefore, a place in our annals.

Lovejoy was once the editor of a political paper published in St. Louis; he was a man of talents, a Congregational minister and an abolitionist.

It has frequently been observed, that every subject acquires a fictitious importance in the minds of those who contemplate it exclusively. The

Creator has so constituted man, that a too constant and entire attention to any one topic, to the partial or entire exclusion of every other, so interferes with and impairs the corporeal organs, which are the instruments of thought, that reason is dethroned, and a disease, denominated monomania, the melancholy result. That Lovejoy was thus visited, is not, we believe, pretended; an approximation toward it is all that is alleged.

Missouri, of which St. Louis is the principal town, it is unnecessary, perhaps, for us to remark, is a slave State. Lovejoy, while a resident there, gave offence to many of its citizens, and was driven forcibly from its borders on account of his abolitionism. In order to triumph over the citizens of Missouri, he issued his paper across the river, at Alton, in Illinois. Illinois being a free State, he supposed that he could there do and say what he pleased, with impunity. He was, however, unable to find favor at Alton, until he assured its citizens, that he was about to publish a strictly religious paper, and not an abolition paper as theretofore. It will not from hence be inferred, that the inhabitants of Alton were "pro-slavery men," or "enemies of free discussion," or "opposed to the liberty of speech or the press," although such allegations were afterward unjustly cast upon them. Living in the vicinity of St. Louis, from whence Lovejoy had recently been driven, and having friends and relatives there, and being connected in business, and having social relations with many of its inhabitants, they had no desire to have those relations interrupted by the interference of a stranger. Receiving, however, from Lovejoy the most positive assurances, that his paper would be a strictly religious paper, they welcomed him as a friend, and rallied around his press. He soon, however, violated his pledge, and issued a paper more violent than before. Whether prompted to this act by his own judgment, or by a party at home or abroad, it is needless to inquire. The pledge was violated, the hostility of the citizens of St. Louis was renewed, and his press was destroyed. Indignant at the outrage they deplored, and dreading its repetition, the inhabitants of Alton remonstrated with Lovejoy, and entreated him to change the course of his paper, as he had promised them, and all would yet be well. Lovejoy at once told them that his views were changed, and he was resolved to go on. An appeal to the party abroad was made; a new press and materials were furnished; the publication was recommenced, and the second press was likewise destroyed. While the citizens of Alton reprobated the mob, they desired of Lovejoy protection against its mischiefs. They would have protected him from violence, and sustained him in his business, if they could have done so without danger. While they acknowledged he had rights, they felt as if they and their families likewise had rights, equally dear, which he was putting in jeopardy. They wished him, therefore, to exercise his own rights, in a way which would not endanger theirs. He at first listened; others, however, and among them misguided zealots abroad, urged and demanded a different course. The code of morals which "disregards circumstances," and prompts to a recklessness of consequences, when those who advised are unexposed, prevailed. Lovejoy yielded to their importunities, and adopted a course which resulted in his death.

Arms and ammunition, at his instance, were collected. His friends were gathered around him; and he, a "professed minister of the gospel," a member of the "Peace Society," advocating a moral cause, "by moral suasion," disclaiming all carnal weapons—proclaiming "that prayer and the diffusion of light," were his only means of offence and defence; and professing to address "arguments and facts to the consciences of men," pledged himself, at every hazard, to publish a paper "at the point of the bayonet."

A Catholic bishop, some centuries ago, (bishops in that age, it will be recollected, often commanded armies and wielded carnal weapons,) wounded and taken prisoner by the French, when fighting the battles of the pope, was demanded of the king without ransom, by the sovereign pontiff, as a "son of the church." The king of France was, at that time, a powerful and gallant prince, and the armor of the bishop was unfortunately stained with blood. Instead, therefore, of sending the prisoner free of ransom home, he sent a messenger to Rome with the blood-stained armor of the bishop, and a letter to his holiness, in which he briefly stated: "This have we found—know thou if it be thy son's coat or no." The gallant bearing of the king, and the number and discipline of his armies, having secured his messenger a courteous reception, this "son of the church," like other prisoners taken in battle and unransomed, was suffered to remain in custody as before, without further remonstrance. "Put up thy sword into its sheath," said our Saviour to Peter; "those who take the sword shall perish by the sword."

Had Lovejoy been peaceably occupying his dwelling-house, or his printing-office, and had he there been assailed, and his property and his life been threatened by a lawless mob; and had he defended himself by any amount of force which might have been necessary, and had one of the rioters been slain, a jury of his country would have rendered a verdict of justifiable homicide; and the American people would have sanctioned and approved the judgment. Such, however, was not the fact.

On the 5th of September, 1837, the press, which had long been expected, reached St. Louis. It was a day big with expectation. An arrangement had been made, to leave it in the night five miles below Alton, and to convey it thither by land; heavy rains, however, prevented them from doing so. It was next proposed to land it at three o'clock on Tuesday morning, September 7th, at the warehouse of Godfrey, Gilman & Co., in Alton. Some forty or fifty persons had met on Monday evening, and formed themselves into a volunteer company to defend it. The boat not arriving, as expected, a part of them, about ten o'clock on Monday evening, retired; about thirty, however, remained; these were armed with guns and rifles, loaded with buckshot and balls. At about three o'clock, the boat containing the long-expected press arrived

An alarm was immediately given, and horns were blown throughout the city. On account, however, of the lateness of the hour, but few responded to the call; and the press was safely stored in the garret of a substantial stone warehouse without molestation. On Tuesday, no excitement of consequence was apparent; the volunteers, however, abovementioned, met in the evening, and at nine o'clock retired with the exception of about twelve, of whom Lovejoy was one. Two or three came in afterward—making the whole force in the warehouse fourteen or fifteen, all of whom were armed.

About ten o'clock some thirty individuals, a part of them with stones, and a part with guns and pistols, approached the warehouse and knocked at the door. Mr. Gilman, from the third story, asked them what they wanted. Mr. Carr, their leader, replied, "the press." Mr. Gilman refused to give it up, and Mr. Carr persisted in demanding it. The assailing party thereupon commenced throwing stones into the building, and broke several of its windows. They afterward fired two or three guns into the warehouse, without doing any material injury. Guns were then fired from within among the crowd in the street, and several of the assailing party were wounded; and one of their number, a Mr. Bishop, mortally; the assailing party then retired, conveying away their wounded. They afterward returned with an additional force, and attempted to burn the building. It being of stone, a ladder was raised in order to apply the fire to its roof. The person who ascended was fired upon by those in the store—of whom Lovejoy was one—the bells in the meantime had been rung, and a large concourse of citizens assembled, and stood inactive spectators of the scene. Several of the assailing party, having concealed themselves behind some wood, as Lovejoy stood without the door, and was in the act of firing upon the man ascending the ladder, he was himself fired upon. Four or five balls took effect—he thereupon went to the counting-room, where he fell and expired. The party within soon afterward surrendered; the victors rushed into the warehouse, the press was thrown out of its windows, and broken in pieces. No other property was destroyed, except a few guns, and no other indignity offered to the deceased. Such was the origin and result of the "Alton tragedy," disgraceful in the extreme to all concerned.

The press was introduced clandestinely into a warehouse, for the alleged purpose of being stored; the warehouse was taken possession of by armed men, and for the avowed purpose of establishing a newspaper by force. Lovejoy was, therefore, an assailant of the public peace; a challenge of defiance had gone forth, calculated to invite and provoke violence—especially after such repeated proofs had been given that there were in that community corrupt and wicked men, of a desperate character, by whom he had already suffered. It appears, also, that after the rioters had assembled, and the press had been demanded, some of the party within fired into the crowd, and one of their number, (Mr. Bishop,) was killed. This, too, was done in the presence of Lovejoy; and probably by Lovejoy himself. The rioters then rallied with arms, and resolved to avenge their companion. One of their number ascended a ladder, evidently to set fire to the warehouse. Lovejoy came out of the house, and was in the act of shooting at the man ascending the ladder, when he was himself shot down. This last murder was the consequence of the first; and both were deserving of the severest reprehension. Had not the inside party armed themselves, no arms, probably, would have been used; had not Bishop been killed, no one would, probably, have been killed. The cause of this rash and desperate measure, was the resolute purpose to compel the people of Alton to submit to Lovejoy's wishes, and to permit him to do as he pleased, on their responsibility, and at their risk. That the mob was in the wrong, is undeniable. They were acting above law, and without law; for the alleged purpose of correcting an evil, for the remedy of which no law had been provided. The party who armed against the mob, were doing precisely the same thing; they were attempting to carry their point by violence, which they were unable to effect by law; and the consequence that followed, was the joint production of both.

Bishop was in bad company; he was one of the rioters; he went into the affray for an unlawful purpose; he knew the desperation of the conflict, and that the lives of all engaged were put in jeopardy; he was concerned in an attempt to promote, by brute force, what could not be visited by the laws of the land. He excluded himself, therefore, from the protection of the law, by uniting with a band of rioters in the commission of an unlawful act; and however we may condemn the man who shot him down, Bishop perished under circumstances that excluded him from the sympathies of those who honor and respect the government of laws, and the constitution under which we live.

An attempt was afterward made to canonize Lovejoy, as a Christian martyr; while Bishop, supposed to have been shot by Lovejoy a few minutes before he fell, had no place assigned him in the public sympathy. Lovejoy was compared to the martyr, Stephen, and his death was said to be vicarious. "Like that of Jesus Christ, he suffered for us," said his eulogists—"he died in our stead; when he fell, we fell; when he died, we died." His eulogists, however, seem not to reflect, that he died thirsting for the blood of his enemies—while Stephen prayed, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge."

Indictments were afterward found against the inside rioters, and they were tried and acquitted. Similar indictments were also found against the outside rioters, and they were tried and acquitted also.

On reviewing the whole subject, it will be seen that Lovejoy, in writing and printing his sentiments, only exercised his civil and moral rights, and had he perished by violence while persisting in the exercise of these rights, without resisting force by force, and rendering evil for evil, he would, indeed, have been a martyr—one whose blood would have cried from the ground against his murderers. Nor would the cry have been unheeded; for the moral power of this whole nation would have been concentrated for their arrest, trial, and punishment. Had he died without murderous weapons in his hands—without being stained himself with the blood of a fellow-being; he might, as has already been observed, been a martyr, instead of a victim of his own infatuation.

We have already remarked, that slavery is an evil; that it is injurious to the master and to the slave; and have endeavored to illustrate this position by examples. To illustrate it still farther, compare the States of New-York and Virginia during the revolutionary war; the latter was of much more importance than the former. Its wealth, its population, and its resources, were decisively superior. Their relative situation has since been changed. Compare any of the northern with any of the southern States in the Union, and the result is nearly the same. Massachusetts, in natural resources is inferior to South Carolina. Industry, however, and the character of its population, have rendered Massachusetts, at present, her superior.* Had the African never seen the latter, Charleston, in South Carolina, at this moment would have been equal to Boston—a hundred thousand industrious people would, in all probability, ere this have made it their home. Cincinnati, in Ohio, contains more than sixty thousand inhabitants, and has grown up to its present size since the recollection of many now living. Chicago is equal to Richmond, in Virginia; the former has advanced in ten years more than the latter in two centuries. And there are persons now living, who will see more people in Chicago, than in any city in any slave-holding State in the Union, except St. Louis and New-Orleans; both of which are to derive their future consequence, from the labor and efforts of freemen, rather than of slaves.

Of the enormity of the slave-trade, we have foreborne to speak. It is unnecessary. Of the cruelties practiced, in many instances, upon the slaves, we have foreborne also to speak for the same cause. That there are petty tyrants and despots in America, and elsewhere, who hold their fellow-men in bondage because they love slavery, and its wages, and who would fain perpetuate it to the latest generation, is not denied. These would not liberate their slaves, if every door was open for them to do so; and that there are those among them who would withhold education and the gospel from the helpless victims of their tyranny, even if there were no restraints imposed, either by law or necessity, is perhaps equally certain. Still, the greater part of the slaves at the south, we have no doubt, are treated with kindness and humanity, and their situation altogether preferable to that of free negroes at the north. It is for the interest of the master to treat them kindly; and however corrupt and degraded our nature may be, mankind have not fallen so low, as to inflict unnecessary cruelties without end or aim.

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* In Massachusetts, more than one-half of its whole population, men, women and children, are producers; that is, each of them earns something more than his own support. In South Carolina, probably not a fifth.

The difficulty in emancipating so many slaves at once, is far greater than many at first suppose. And although advice from the north may be exceedingly useful, we have no doubt, that in order to be effectual, it must be given in a different manner.

Junius says, he never wrote but one letter to the king, and that met with such cool reception he never should repeat it.*

That slavery will, at some time or other, be abolished in this country, we believe. But how, or when, as John Quincy Adams once said, exceeds our comprehension. The abolitionists have shed no light as yet upon the subject. Slaves, however, as well as their masters and all the rest of us, are in the hands of a merciful God. We leave them there. We have perfect confidence in his equity, his wisdom, and his judgment; and believe that the Lord of the whole earth will do right.

Whether the efforts of ultra-abolitionists will increase, or mitigate the horrors of slavery, can be known only to God. Were we, however, at the north, to pluck the beam out of our own eyes, we should undoubtedly see more clearly, and know better how to pluck the mote out of our neighbor's. The experiment, at all events, is worthy of a trial.

Notwithstanding the exertions of many ultra reformers—and that we have had many such of late, all admit—the world is now, and we fear it will remain for many years, much as it was when Charles James Fox, the celebrated English orator and statesman, in his melancholy mood, said:

"'T is a very good world that we live in,
To lend, or to spend, or to give in—
But to beg, or to borrow, or get a man's own—
'T is the very worst world that ever was known."

We intended, at first, to have spoken of the legislation of this State more at length, and of its judiciary, and to have suggested our views upon each. We find, however, the subject is too vast and too complicated, for our means and opportunities. Should this, our first effort, meet with approbation, and a second edition be called for, we will endeavor to do justice to them both.

For the present, we must pass them over, and call the attention of our eaders to the last, and the most important of all political subjects, which at present interest the patriot and the statesman—to wit: debt, taxation, and finance.

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* The printer of Junius's letter, it will be recollected, was convicted, fined, and imprisoned for a libel.

NOTE I.

Since writing the above, a little pamphlet has been put into the hands of the author, entitled "A Review of Jubilee College," from which the following facts are taken. We give them publicity with great pleasure, not only as an act of justice to "the good old man," who has carried the above institution "in his arms" for several years, but in hopes that our commendation, humble as it is, may do him some service in this great and important undertaking.

Bishop Chase does not appear, at this time, before the public as a "*novus hospes*," (a new guest.) His name has long been familiar to the American people, as the founder of Kenyon college, in Ohio.

Immediately after his appointment to the episcopate of Illinois, he began to solicit aid, in order to establish a college in Peoria county. This object he has since pursued "with a steadfastness of purpose, which has commanded the admiration and confidence of all."

Previous to 1839, he commenced a small building for the aforesaid purpose. The want of means, however, prevented its further progress. He thereupon resolved to make one further effort, and with an energy of purpose, scarcely inferior to that of Commodore Perry when he left the Lawrence, in order to bring the residue of his fleet into action, he embarked once more in pursuit of funds.

It is impossible to do justice to "the good old man," without adopting his own words.

"By this time," (the fall of 1839,) says he, "I had exhausted all my private funds in travelling, and found myself unable to go on in public improvements; the year was far spent, the winter approaching, and no prospect of finishing the chapel, or of making further advances in the spring.

"To a family who had pledged their all, in leaving Michigan, and coming to Illinois, to build another college, and therefore had sacrificed more than half, the gloomy prospect before them was most distressing. No earthly hope remained; and if despair did not take complete possession of their hearts, it was because of the renewed splendor of that bright star of promise which hitherto had never forsaken them—Jehovah Jireh—God will provide.

"To accomplish this, neither age nor infirmity seemed to stand in the way. My family agreed to this measure, though in tears, that I should leave them again, and undertake, alone, a journey in a very inclement season of the year; a journey suited only to health and vigor."

The "good old man," having thus resolved, started in the latter part of November.

"The Illinois river was closed with ice, and the only way was to go by land to Alton. On my journey thither," continues the bishop, "I stopped at Springfield, where I unexpectedly received, through the Reverend Mr. Dresser, a present from a lady in Pittsburgh, Virginia, of fifty dollars for my own private use. At this crisis, this seemed indeed a God-send, for it enabled me to send home from Alton and St. Louis, some necessaries for my family."

Having reached Natchez, which is about one thousand miles from St. Louis, he was landed, in a dark night, on a muddy shore; his baggage was taken by some strange porter, followed by himself—climbing a steep hill, some two hundred feet in height, sometimes falling in the muddy, slippery path. Here he was joyfully met by several persons he had educated some five-and-thirty years before, in New-Orleans, and commenced "the good work." From thence he proceeded to New-Orleans. "Here," continues the bishop, "some of the pupils he once taught in that city, when it contained little more than twelve thousand inhabitants, had proved ornaments to society, and their grand-children were brought upon his knees for a blessing."

From thence he proceeded in a vessel, too low to allow him to stand upright in the cabin, and too much encumbered to walk on deck, to Charleston, South Carolina. He arrived there in ten days, and was received with great kindness. He afterward visited Savannah and Augusta, in Georgia, which were "conspicuous in beneficence;" and several gentlemen planters, who "conferred their rich bounties in aid of Jubilee college." He visited, also, Wilmington, in North Carolina, Norfolk and Petersburgh, in Virginia, and a little town in the latter State which we omit, where "God opened the hearts of many to believe, and remember, what their elders seemed to forget, 'that it was more blessed to give than to receive.'" He preached also before "the chief men of the nation, at Washington;" and, although neglected by them, "God opened the minds of men in Washington and Bladensburgh, to do him true and laudable service." We have neither time nor space to trace the wanderings of "the good old bishop," through Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, and New-England, nor is it necessary; "as the Angel of the Lord records their story," to use the bishop's own language, "in the book of eternal remembrance." Besides, it would be like giving an account at full length of the voyages of St. Paul, or of Eneas, or the details, in full, of Tecumseh's mission to the Creeks and the Seminoles. We cannot, however, in justice to all parties concerned, omit the "splendid donation of an organ for Jubilee college," by Mr. Erben, of the city of New-York; "so gratifying to all who shall hereafter worship at Jubilee chapel." Returning from the east through Detroit and Chicago, rich in money and lands, the good old bishop had another difficulty to contend with. The institution he was about to erect was to be "founded in Christianity, and to be enfeoffed in the church." The Legislature of Illinois, in the several charters of Illinois college, Alton college, Jonesborough college, M'Donough college, and others, had shown themselves not only guiltless of protecting any religious institutions, as such, but (except in the case of the Mormons,) had shown themselves innocent even of toleration. The fourth section of the act to incorporate M'Donough college, having provided, "that nothing therein contained should authorize the establishment of a theological department in said college."

The bishop, therefore, instead of applying to the Legislature for a charter, executed a deed of trust, in which, "By these presents, he dedicated all the funds, and the avails of the funds, collected by him; all the lands, and the avails of the lands purchased by him, or given to him in trust; all the apparatus, and communion plate; all the maps, and charts, and books, in anywise, or by anybody, intrusted to him, for the sole use and behoof of the said college for ever."

Three thousand nine hundred and ten acres of land have been thus donated to, or purchased by the bishop, and are now held under the aforesaid deed of trust. They are of considerable value at the present time, and their value is rapidly increasing. Five hundred acres are well fenced, and one hundred and fifty are under cultivation. Upon these premises he has erected, with the donations already received, (amounting altogether to thirty-seven thousand five hundred and thirty dollars,) a chapel, and school-house, of stone, seventy by thirty feet, entirely completed. A college-hall, of wood, forty-eight by thirty-two feet, two stories high. Jubilee chapel, the main building of which is three stories high, and built of brick. Its wings are of wood, forty by thirty feet, (this is now occupied as a young ladies' seminary,) a small professor's house, thirty by eighteen feet; a small brick dwelling for students in divinity; a ware-house, twenty-eight by sixteen feet, two stories high; a saw-mill, which cost originally sixteen hundred dollars, on which eight hundred have since been expended; one barn of thirty-six by twenty-four feet, and another of twenty-four by twenty feet. There are also upon the farm four horses, eight cows, and six hundred and fifty sheep—the labor and profits of which enure to the sole benefit of the college.

The college site is unsurpassed, both for beauty and salubrity, agreeably diversified, and well supplied with the purest of water. There are also inexhaustible beds of bituminous coal, about one-fourth of a mile distant, from which the college is supplied with fuel. Such was, and such now is, Jubilee college. We can truly say, in the language of the New-York Review, (number sixteen.) "One wise and good old man, at least, we have among us, of whom future times will talk, when the land endowments of Jubilee college, now looked down upon with scorn, will be looked up to with respect and admiration."

CHAPTER XXV.

State Debt thirteen millions of dollars—Public debts of modern invention—Their origin—Our debt and others contrasted—Our revenue and expenditure—The latter always exceeding the former—Auditor's report—Acres of land taxable—Appraized value of the State—Repudiation—Governor Ford's opinion thereon—Resolution of the Legislature—Population and resources of the State—McAlister and Stebbins's demand—Impossible at present to pay the interest due upon our debts—Future resources of Illinois—Debt of Great Britain—Its interest reduced—Completion of the Canal will extinguish five millions of her Debt—The sale of Public property a considerable portion of the balance—The residue will be paid, and the character of the State redeemed.

Debt, taxation, and finance, are at all times subjects of importance, and in our present condition, peculiarly so.

When the sun shines mildly upon us, and gentle zephyrs breathe around, the difficulty in keeping an onward course is seldom felt; but when bleak clouds involve the sky in darkness, when the tempests rage, and the lightnings gleam, and the thunders roll, and the waves break over us; the skill of the pilot, the efforts of all the crew, and sometimes even of the passengers, are required to conduct the vessel in safety to its destined port.

> "When smooth, old Ocean, and each storm's asleep,
> Then ignorance may plough the watery deep;
> But when the demon of the tempest raves,
> Skill must conduct the vessel through the waves."

We have already shown that our canal debt is about	$5,000,000
Our internal improvement debt, about - - -	6,000,000
We owe, also, for the State House, - - -	121,000
We are indebted to the school, college, and seminary funds, for moneys borrowed to pay our current expenses, - - - - - - - - -	808,085. 37
We are indebted to the United States for moneys deposited with us, under the distribution law of Congress,	477,919 14
And we are also indebted to Messrs. McAllister & Stebbins, of New-York, for moneys advanced by them, to pay interest on our State bonds, - - -	261,500
Making altogether, - - - - - - - -	$12,668,504 53

From this sum, deduct the money deposited by the United States, presuming it never will be called for, - - - - - - - - -	477,919 39
Leaving about, - - - - - - - -	$12,190,585 14
Some of this debt has been on interest for a considerable time, and the interest is now due and unpaid, making our State debt, at the present time, about, -	$13,000,000

Whether a little more or a little less, is immaterial for our present purpose. We pretend not to mathematical accuracy. This sum of thirteen millions of dollars, is over and above the three millions, fifty thousand dollars, due for bank stock, extinguished by legislation, as already mentioned, which may, perhaps, like Cæsar's ghost, "yet meet us at Phillippi."*

Notwithstanding, however, its amount, if we are wise, it will vanish before the sunbeams of intelligence and patriotism, like the dew of a summer's morning—"like flax at the touch of fire." But in order that it may do so, other times, and other men, as the martyred Emmet said upon the gallows, "must do justice to our character."

However painful the subject; however dangerous the inquiry, even to him who makes it, truth demands, and justice requires investigation. Be it then our task.

"He's a bad surgeon who for pity spares,
The part infected till the gangrene spreads,
And all the body perishes."

Aristides was banished, because the illiterate burghers of Athens were vexed at hearing him called "the just." On the Persians' approach, however, his sentence unexpectedly ended, and Marathon, Salamis and Platea, witnessed his glory.

The house being once on fire, the time, or the cause of its commencement, is no longer material. To extinguish the flames, and protect, by thus doing, "ourselves and our little ones," is the perfection of wisdom. Let us then direct our energies thither.

"When the mariner has been tossed for many days in foul weather, on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude, and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his course. Let us imitate this prudence, and before we float any farther, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may, at least, be able to conjecture where we are."*

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* We have no idea that the three millions and fifty thousand dollars, will ever be litigated. We wish merely to be understood, that the manner in which it was extinguished is calculated to injure our character; and as the character of a nation is a part always of its wealth, the facts previously stated must tend, in some measure, to impair them both.

Before, however, we take even this preliminary step, let us inquire whether a public debt is desirable, as by some is pretended.

Whatever may become of this State or her debt, we have this to console us, it has not been contracted, like some of the great debts in Europe, to carry fire and sword into the harmless cottage, and extirpate its peaceful occupants.

Public debts are of modern invention. Men formerly went to war as amateurs; and among savage nations now, they go to war without pay, merely for plunder, glory, or revenge. Kings and conquerors, however, at an early day, found it necessary to subsidize their troops with money. Hence, annual contributions were resorted to, and the maintenance of these mercenary cut-throats was thus thrown upon the productive classes, and every species of exaction and violence put in requisition to extort money from every quarter. (See note 1.)

Europe for several centuries, groaned under these continued depletions of blood and wealth. The diffusion, however, of knowledge began finally to inspire mankind with some correct notions of human rights, and some feeble conceptions of the duty of human Governments.

Murmurs became audible; and rulers at once perceived, that annual contributions to carry on long continued and bloody wars, must terminate in resistance or rebellion; that their schemes of ambition must be defeated; and that carnage and bloodshed must cease, unless some new expedient could be devised to sustain this work of devastation. A public debt was thus brought to its aid; and the land and labor of unborn millions were pledged to pay its interest.

A tax upon the future, thus commenced—and as the future is endless, no assignable limits could be affixed to their career. The paper-mills furnished the means, and the everlasting bonds issued from thence, with the speed and fatality of the whirlwind. Wars were not only multipled and protracted, but rendered more expensive by the facilities thus furnished for carrying them on; until debt upon debt, and taxes upon taxes, like Ossa heaped upon Pelion, so accumulated, that many Governments in Europe have actually been involved in, and others are now threatened with ruin.

Nine-tenths of all the bloodshed and desolation which, for the last two centuries, have devastated Europe, and in which America has been compelled, on three memorable occasions, to participate, would have been avoided, or rendered impossible, but for this system of borrowing.

Great Britain has outstripped her neighbors in the splendor of her career; her public debt (see note 2.) has subsidized millions of human murderers, and produced more butchery than would cover the whole Island with human bones, and float her vast navy in blood. To portray the sacked cities, the smoking ruins, the mangled limbs, and dying groans; the pestilence, the famine, the widowed desolation, and orphans' cries, which this debt has occasioned, would set the force of numbers at defiance, and mock the descriptive energy of language.

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* Webster's speech in the United States Senate.

The fires of the smouldering ruins are extinct, the mangled limbs have ceased to quiver, the death-groans are mute; even the bones of most of the dead have crumbled to dust, the bereaved widow and orphan rest quietly in their graves; the agonies of the past are over, and no more torture the ear, or wring the heart. Multipled, however, and stupendous as they have been, they were temporary, and sink into utter insignificance, when compared with the perpetual, and crushing load of living exaction and wretchedness, which that debt is designed to confer on the unborn millions of future times.*

In imitation of England's example we have done the like, though not for the same cause. We have hypothecated the earnings of other times, to satiate the vulture rapacity of the present. We have eat the bread of unborn children. We have taken their means of support and education from them. We have thrown gratuitous poison into their future cup, and bound their limbs in fetters of iron; and while we have been singing peans of glory to the great apostle of liberty, (Thomas Jefferson,) who warned us against a public debt, we have trampled on all his precepts, and with meretricious impudence, too shameless to seek disguise, become its hardened advocates. We have endeavored to exercise a projectile power, which is designed to cast more enormous and shadowy loads into the future than were wielded by Milton's belligerent angels, to crush the coming harvest, to bury the toil, to blast the hopes, and to "shut the gates of mercy on mankind."†

The "beginning, however, of the end," as Talleyrand once said, is approaching; the knell of public credit has been sounded in our ears, and the deluded multitude who spurned their reasoning powers, and disregarded cause and effect, who once rioted in fictitious wealth, are beginning, like Dives, to awake in torment; the schemes of demagogues are beginning to be unfolded, and lessons of practical honesty to be taught.

If the present generation will not bear a portion of the load which they have created, how can it be expected that succeeding ones will bear the whole? that they will bow their necks to the yoke, and become the willing victims of that stupendous profligacy of which we are living examples?

If debt, like original sin, be inherent in our nature, Heaven, we hope, will interpose in mercy for our redemption.

As God, however, works by means, some efforts on our part must needs be required. Let us then, in the spirit of candor, each for himself, inquire whether the means put into our hands have hitherto been judiciously employed; and if not, had we not better set about it in earnest? Is it not time, and is it not for our immediate interest, to put them in requisition?

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* Colonel Young's lecture on civilization, delivered at Saratoga Springs, New-York, 1841.

† Colonel Young.

——————"Our doubts are traitors,
And make us lose the good we oft might win,
By fearing to attempt."

On the 12th of December, 1838, the auditor of public accounts (Levi Davis,) reported to the Legislature, among other things, as follows:

"The total amount of revenue from taxes on lands, under the present system, amounts to about forty-six thousand dollars, and from the banks for bonds and dividends on stock to about twenty-one thousand five hundred dollars,* making, in all, sixty-seven thousand five hundred dollars. These are the only sources of revenue which the State possesses, except the school fund, which ought not to be regarded as a legitimate source of revenue; there is no probability that, under existing laws, the revenue of the State will increase. In the years 1835, 1836, large quantities of land were entered, both by residents and non-residents, for purposes of speculation; and should these lands remain in the hands of the original purchasers at the time they became taxable, the State revenue would, undoubtedly, increase, (were there no causes operating to diminish the amount now received.) It is, however, a fact, that the lands of non-residents are almost daily passing into the hands of residents, and the decrease of revenue from this cause will counterbalance any accession which it might receive from the cases above mentioned. (See note 3.) It may, therefore, safely be assumed, that the revenue of the State, under the existing laws, will not increase. On the 1st day of January next, the sum of forty-three thousand five hundred and seventy-one dollars and fifty-three cents, must be paid out of the State treasury, for the interest on the school, college, and seminary fund; and the expenses of the Legislature for the present session, may be assumed (including all incidental expenses,) at eighty thousand dollars; these two expenditures alone, form the sum of one hundred and twenty-three thousand five hundred and seventy-one dollars and fifty-two cents, a sum nearly twice as large as the whole revenue of the State."†

On the 26th of February, 1839, another act was passed, "concerning the public revenue," by which all lands, etc., claimed by individuals, except lands belonging to literary institutions, etc., were declared subject to taxation; and certain articles of personal property, etc., "according to the true value thereof." Assessors were appointed in each county, and sworn according to law. The revenue, under the operations of this statute, increased considerably, but was still inadequate to our wants—was insufficient to meet our current expenses. By this law, a tax of twenty cents on each hundred dollars valuation was levied, for State purposes. The minimum value of lands was afterward fixed at three dollars per acre, which tended to increase it still more.

In 1839, the ordinary receipts were, - - - -	$91,760
" the ordinary expenses, - - - - - -	180,621
In 1840, the ordinary receipts were, - - - -	106,220
" the ordinary expenses, - - - - - -	177,114
In 1841, the ordinary receipts were, - - - -	103,065
" the ordinary expenses, - - - - - -	179,807

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* This source of revenue has since ceased, by the failure of the banks.

† During this same year, when our ordinary expenses exceeded our ordinary revenue by one-half, we added several millions to our debt for the canal and internal improvements.

On the 27th of February, 1841, a law was passed for levying and collecting ten cents on each hundred dollars of valuation, (in addition to the twenty cents before mentioned,) for State purposes; "which additional revenue was set apart exclusively for the payment of interest on the public debt," and called "the interest fund."

In order to meet the interest, which became due on the first of January, 1841, the fund commissioner had been authorized to hypothecate any amount of internal improvement bonds, not exceeding three hundred thousand dollars. The act of February 27th, 1841, authorized the governor to issue such an amount of State bonds, as might be necessary to raise funds for the payment of interest on the State debt, that there was no other means of paying; and also, to redeem all State bonds thus hypothecated; and the fund commissioner was authorized to sell said bonds for the best price they would command, and apply the avails thereof for that purpose—and a sufficiency of the fund to be raised by the tax of ten cents on the hundred dollars valuation, was irrevocably pledged for the payment of the interest on said interest bonds, thus to be issued and sold, as aforesaid.

On the 17th of June, 1841, the fund commissioner borrowed of Messrs. McAllister & Stebbins, of the city of New-York, two hundred and sixty-one thousand five hundred dollars, to pay the interest on our internal improvement debt; and pledged in security therefor, eight hundred and four thousand dollars in interest bonds, seventy-one thousand dollars in internal improvement bonds, and thirty-eight thousand two hundred and fifty dollars in State scrip. While these bonds were held by Messrs. McAllister & Stebbins, the ten cents on each hundred dollars valuation, amounting to forty-two thousand three hundred and fifty dollars, were collected and paid over to the fund commissioner; but its application, as the law contemplated, for certain reasons yet unexplained, was unfortunately omitted; and on the 4th of March, 1843, a law was passed, for the purpose of making a settlement with McAllister & Stebbins, by which the bonds and scrip above mentioned were to be given up, and two hundred and sixty-one thousand five hundred dollars in auditor's warrants, (payable twenty thousand dollars, with interest in 1844, and fifty thousand dollars annually thereafter, out of the treasury, after defraying the ordinary and current expenses of the State,) were to be issued therefor. (See note 4.)

The act for collecting the ten cents on the hundred dollars valuation, was, at the same time, unfortunately repealed. A few days, however, previous to this, (on the 20th of February, 1842,) the tax for the year 1842 was reduced from thirty cents to fifteen cents on the hundred dollars valuation, and the tax for 1843 fixed at twenty cents on the hundred dollars. The extra tax of ten cents having been wholly repealed, the tax of twenty cents, of course, is the only one at present collected for State purposes. The law of 1839, authorizes the county commissioner's court to levy a tax of fifty cents on each hundred dollars valuation, for county purposes. This, in some counties, is all of it levied, in others not. In most of the new counties, where a large portion of the land is not yet taxable, (the five years since its entry not having yet elapsed,) the whole amount is usually collected.*

The taxes in Illinois at present, exclusive of road taxes, are, of course, seventy cents on each hundred dollars valuation, or seven mills on the dollar. The minimum value of a quarter section (160 acres) being four hundred and eighty dollars, the county and State taxes on each quarter section, are three dollars and thirty-six cents only. If the tax remains unpaid after being levied, the property is of course sold at auction, and the owner or claimant, is entitled by law to redeem of the purchaser the premises sold, at any time within two years after the sale, on paying twice the amount for which it was sold, and the subsequent tax.

The whole area of Illinois, as we have already stated, is thirty-five millions nine hundred and forty-one thousand nine hundred and two acres; of this, about one-half has been sold and otherwise disposed of; all of this half, however, is not yet taxable, five years being requisite to make it so.

In 1835, the number of taxable acres was	6,400,000
1836,	6,650,000
1837,	6,950,000
1838,	7,250,000
1839,	7,610,000
1840,	7,964,000
1841,	10,060,000
1842,	13,250,000
1843,	14,271,000
1844,	15,000,000
1845, there will be taxable,	16,132,876

From 1835 to 1845, the number of taxable acres, it seems, increased from 6,400,000 to 16,132,876 acres.

Of this, a considerable portion exceeds, in assessed value, three dollars per acre. The real and personal property in Cook county, in 1839, was assessed at - - - - - - - - - $1,816,390

In 1842, at - - - - - - - - - 2,325,420

The real and personal property in Chicago alone, in 1843, was assessed at $1,530,240; its assessed value for the present year (1844) will exceed $2,000,000; and the whole assessed value of the State will, in all probability, exceed $60,000,000.

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* This tax is high, and in a few years can be reduced one-half, and the credit of each county sustained, with proper economy in the administration of its affairs.

The auditor of public accounts, on the 5th of December, 1842, reported to the Legislature, as follows:

> "Toward the close of the last session of the Legislature, when the State bank refused to redeem the auditor's warrants, the members of the General Assembly, after having been in session about three months, were unpaid and without means; the judges and other officers were in a similar condition; and the credit of the State, at the same time, had sunk so low, that the public documents could not be obtained from the post-office, until the officers themselves became personally responsible for the postage. In this extremity, the State bank was able to dictate its own terms to the Legislature, and extort from that body whatever concessions it chose to demand."

Such a picture of humiliation and degradation is scarcely presented in any official document, ancient or modern. An independent State, a prominent member of the American Republic, containing more than five hundred thousand people, in a time of profound peace, by the mere folly of its Legislature, is reduced so low, that "there is none to do her reverence."

In order to supply this deficiency in the public revenue, we have, from time to time, borrowed of the school fund the sum of $808,085 39, which has been paid out for the current expenses. (See note 5.)

It would seem, then, that our revenue has never been adequate to our daily wants. Auditor's warrants have always been at a discount; and still our credit, without a revenue, especially abroad, until recently, has been good; better than ought to have been expected; and much better than ought to have been desired. Facilities for borrowing money are sometimes injurious; for

> "Borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry,
> And loan oft loses both itself and friend."

Like others, however, to whom similar temptations have been presented, we failed, or rather, neglected to resist. We borrowed, others loaned, and both improvidently.

It now remains for us to inquire how we shall procure the means, and how redeem our public faith, so often "irrevocably pledged."

The idea of repudiation, except in *practice*, nowhere prevails. In theory we are clear

> ——————"As the icicle,
> That curdled from the frost of purest snow,
> And hangs on Dian's temple."

Governor Ford, in his inaugural address to the Legislature, of December 8th, 1842, says:

> "I am happy to have it in my power to announce to the Legislature, and through them to the world, that there is no disposition, so far as I know, in any department of the Government, or with the people of this State, to avoid the payment of this debt. Although the elections, in August last, were conducted with much warmth on the part of the can-

didates and people, not more than one or two individuals were found willing to offer their services upon the principle of repudiation; and those individuals were unsuccessful in their elections; thus demonstrating, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that neither public nor individual honor and honesty are extinct, but that as strong an attachment to the principles of justice, and as sound a state of moral feeling exists here, as is to be found elsewhere."

The Legislature, on the 21st of February, 1843, (the very next day after they passed a law for diminishing the revenue,) passed the following resolutions:

Whereas, the State of Illinois, in common with many of her sister States of this Union, is now laboring under financial embarrassment; and, whereas, under our former policy, public works were commenced and prosecuted, and vast, and extraordinary schemes of internal improvement adopted, utterly disproportioned to our resources, and means; and whereas, these measures had their origin in the delusions incident to one of those periodcal excitements which, in Europe, as well as in this country, have led States and individuals into inordinate speculations, uniformly terminating in bankruptcy and ruin; and whereas, under the influence of this delusion, former Legislatures have contracted debts in times of great apparent prosperity, which we are now, in a period of depression and financial adversity, utterly unable to liquidate; and, whereas, doubts are said to exist in the minds of our public creditors, as to the intention of the people of this State, respecting the legal and moral obligations of fulfilling these contracts, and paying these debts; and, whereas, it is as essential to the well-being of nations, as it is of individuals, to maintain an unblemished reputation, and sustain their dignity and honor, and that every individual in the nation is interested in sustaining, and preserving that honor, not only from disgrace, but even from suspicion; and, whereas, this Legislature has been recently elected by the people, is imbued with their opinions and feelings, and is fully cognizant of their intentions respecting this subject, they deem it due to themselves, to the people they represent, to the public creditors, and to their hitherto unsullied fame, in the eyes of the world, to promulgate the following resolutions, embodying the sentiments of the people of the State of Illinois.

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring herein, That we fully recognize the legal and moral obligations of discharging, with punctuality, every debt contracted by any authorized agent, or agents of this State, for a good and valuable consideration; and, that the revenues and resources of the State shall be appropriated for that purpose, as soon as they can be made available, without impoverishing and oppressing the people.

Resolved, That our failure hitherto, to meet our obligations, has not arisen from any intention on the part of the Legislature, or any respectable portion of the people, to repudiate, or evade these obligations; and that we utterly detest and abhor the repudiation of just debts by States, or individuals, as immoral, dishonorable, and destructive of public and private character.

Resolved, That such failure is wholly attributable to causes involving the commercial nations of Europe, as well as this country, over which we had but limited control; that seduced by an inflated currency, and the consequent apparent prosperity, we contracted these debts, vainly hoping that a corresponding state of prosperity would enable us to develop our rich resources, and make them available to meet our obligations; that a rapid and almost unprecedented contraction and depreciation of the currency, caused a corresponding depreciation in the value of property, crippled our resources, dried up the sources of revenue, and produced universal embarrassment and pressure, which can only be removed by the operations of active and patient industry.

Resolved, That the inflation of the currency had its origin and aliment in the overaction of the credit system, both in England and this country; that each nation contributed to swell the tide of excitement and speculation, which a few years ago rolled over both nations, and to which each in its turn became a victim; that its consequences were manifested in England, by embarrassment and distress, and multitudes of failures and bankruptcies in 1839, and that the manifestations of such effects, from the operation of similar causes in so rich and powerful a country, should be a sufficient apology for the inability of a people, circumstanced as we are, to meet our obligations, without a suspicion of base or dishonorable motives.

Resolved, That we do not regard a failure on the part of individuals or nations, to pay their debts, as base and dishonorable, when such failure proceeds from inability, and inevitable circumstances—that history furnishes examples of other nations, now high on the roll of fame, where circumstances not more imperious than ours, such as the South Sea speculation in England, and the Mississippi bubble in France, compelled a sacrifice of public and private obligations, without impairing the character and honor of those nations.

Resolved, That the actual debt of Illinois, for which no means are appropriated, is not insurmountable, when compared with our great natural resources—that our population in a few years, according to the rates of augmentation, will amount to one million of people, and that our wealth and resources will be increased in a greater ratio—that the surplus productions of our rich soil, even with our present population, would be amply sufficient to enable us to meet all our liabilities, could they be converted into money at reasonable prices; and that we must only await with patience that period, which cannot be remote, when a sufficient amount of sound currency will be in circulation, to secure to our agricultural population a fair price for their productions, and enable them to pay all necessary taxes, to meet the wants of the Government at home, and discharge with integrity all our obligations to our creditors abroad.

PASSED, 21st Feb., 1843.

The above resolutions are drawn up with great ability; speak of the delusion of former Legislatures with great freedom, and repel, with becoming spirit, the idea of repudiation, which the Legislature "detests and abhors," as "immoral, dishonorable, and destructive of public and private character."

This resolution was discussed for several days, at the expense of six or seven hundred dollars per day. Had the moneys thus expended been applied toward the payment of interest on our public debt; had the revenue law of a prior session remained as it was, and one-half of one per cent. (the amount is immaterial,) been collected and applied in a similar manner; it would have done more toward establishing our credit, than all the resolutions in the world. It would have done us infinitely more good at home and abroad, (to use the language of a learned divine, "down east," on a different subject,) "than to have hung the bell of our integrity on one of the planets, and rung it to all eternity."

Let us then forget the past, except so far as it teaches by example, and anticipate the future. Let us quit the garden where nothing but thorns and briers meet our view, and seek another, *to wit*—the future, where nature blooms in all her loveliness; where hope for ever beams, as if from on high, and nothing scarce remains but to enter and pluck its fruits.

> "O, Italy! thou land of song, where oft the bard
> Hath sung thy beauties, matchless deemed,
> Thou hast a rival in this western land."

The State of Illinois contains fifty-six thousand one hundred and fifty-eight square miles, and is, therefore, one of the largest States in the Union—larger than many of the European Kingdoms. Twelve such States as Connecticut could be carved out of it, and a fraction left. The Mississippi waters its whole western frontier. It has the Ohio river on the south, the Wabash on the southeast. The Wabash is also connected with Lake Erie by a canal. The Fox, the Rock, and the Illinois rivers pass through its interior. Wheat, rye, oats, corn, barley, buckwheat and potatoes, and other productions of the north, grow everywhere abundantly. Rice, cotten, hemp, and tobacco have been successfully cultivated. The mulberry and the vine thrive exceedingly well. Horses, neat-cattle, sheep and swine, have nowhere else their equals. Its lead, coal, and stone, are inexhaustible ; and its population, rejecting odd numbers, was, in

1810,	12,000
1820,	57,000
1830,	157,000
1840,	476,000

Were it as densely settled as Massachusetts, it would now contain five millions of people ; and with proper cultivation, will sustain, in ease and comfort, thirteen millions of inhabitants. (See note 6.)

Between 1830 and 1840, our wealth and population were more than trebled. Under a wise system of legislation, a large increase in both, for the next thirty years, may with confidence be anticipated. Estimating the whole real and personal property of the State, (its assessed value,)

for the present year, (1844,) at	$60,000,000
And our ordinary expenses, (one session of the Legislature, in two years,) at	100,000
A tax of twenty cents upon the hundred, produces a revenue of	120,000

a little more than sufficient to pay our ordinary expenses ; enough, perhaps, to do so, and pay the existing promises made at the last session of our Legislature to McAllister & Stebbins. This amount, however, will increase ; additional lands become taxable yearly ; and large accessions are daily made to our personal property. An addition, therefore, of five millions of dollars annually to its assessed value, cannot be unreasonable. It will, in all probability, exceed that amount considerably. The tax now collected for county purposes, as we have already remarked, is fifty cents on the hundred dollars. Suppose that one-tenth part of that amount was transferred from the county to the State, and the process repeated for five years to come ; the State tax would then be forty-five cents on the hundred dollars valuation, and the county tax, twenty-five—the aggregate being the same as at present. The revenue of the State, in that event, without imposing a single shilling of additional burden, would be as follows :

1844,	assessed	value	$60,000,000,	at 20	cents	$120,000
1845,	“	“	65,000,000,	25	“	162,500
1846,	“	“	70,000,000,	30	“	210,000
1847,	“	“	75,000,000,	35	“	262,500
1848,	“	“	80,000,000,	40	“	320,000
1849,	“	“	85,000,000,	45	“	382,500
1850,	“	“	90,000,000,	45	“	405,000
1851,	“	“	95,000,000,	45	“	427,500
1852,	“	“	100,000,000,	45	“	450,000
1853,	“	“	105,000,000,	45	“	472,500
1854,	“	“	110,000,000,	45	“	495,000

Had the law of February 27, 1841, been unrepealed, the revenue of the State, in that event, without imposing any additional burdens, other than what were paid in that year, (1841,) would be as follows:

1844,	appraized	value	60,000,000,	at 30	cents.	$180,000
1845,	“	“	65,000,000,	35	“	227,500
1846,	“	“	70,000,000,	40	“	280,000
1847,	“	“	75,000,000,	45	“	337,500
1848,	“	“	80,000,000,	50	“	400,000
1849,	“	“	85,000,000,	55	“	467,500
1850,	“	“	90,000,000,	55	“	495,000
1851,	“	“	95,000,000,	55	“	522,500
1852,	“	“	100,000,000,	55	“	550,000
1853,	“	“	105,000,000,	55	“	577,500
1854,	“	“	110,000,000,	55	“	605,000

An estimate of the assessed value of real and personal property in Illinois, thirty years hence, would not be unreasonable at three hundred millions of dollars, less than one-half of the present assessed value of the State of New-York.

A tax of forty-five cents upon the hundred dollars, would produce one million three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and a tax, even of twice that amount, will consequently be more tolerable at that time, than the taxes now imposed. The question then occurs, what, in the meantime, is to become of our debt and its interest?

Assuming the former to be - - - - - -	$13,000,000
Its interest at six per cent., is - - - - - -	680,000
Our annual expenses are, (say) - - - - -	100,000
Making, - - - - - - - - - -	$780,000

The collection of this amount is at present impracticable. A tax for that purpose could not, and would not be endured. It is in vain even to talk of it.

The assessed value of Illinois is about one-tenth part of that of New-York.

Suppose the Legislature of that State were to pass a law for collecting seven millions eight hundred thousand dollars, in a single year, to pay interest on a public debt. Can it for a moment be supposed, that the people of that State, proud and patriotic as they are, would submit to the imposition? And if it was due, as ours is, to foreigners, (that is, non-residents,) what would be its effect?

Were the debt of Great Britain due to France, or to any other nation on the Continent, instead of her own subjects, the payment of one year's interest and its remission thither, would bankrupt half the nation. It would effect a revolution, the consequences of which would be seen and felt throughout the globe. England's fast anchored isle, "would swing from her moorings," and "the mistress of a thousand ships-of-war," become the greatest bankrupt on earth.

Were our intelligence and our integrity as apparent as our inability to pay, confidence would immediately be restored. The restoration of confidence would complete the Illinois and Michigan canal. The canal lands, its water power, and other resources, together with its tolls, we have no doubt, in a few years, would pay the interest, and extinguish the principal expended in its construction; thus rendering a debt of five millions of dollars, now lying like an incubus upon us, entirely harmless.

We have also about two hundred and seventy thousand acres of other lands, together with some other property, which, sold at a proper time, and in a proper manner, must, and will extinguish a considerable portion of the remaining debt. The balance will no longer be formidable. In order, however, to provide even for that, an effort will be necessary. Efforts seldom deter the honest or the industrious, never the brave. Let us then breast the shock. Let us meet the emergency like men resolved to conquer or to die.

A Roman Senate, in its proudest days, returned thanks to a citizen for not despairing of the Republic.

When Hannibal, at the head of a victorious army, was in sight of her capital, the ground on which his legions were encamped, was put up at auction within the city, and sold for more than its ordinary price.

When Philip of Pokanoket, a savage warrior, whose name carried terror in a by-gone age to every bosom in New-England, was deserted by all his tribe, he smote to the earth his favorite secretary, for proposing to surrender. Although—

———————"We have ventured,
Like little wanton boys, that swim on bladders,
These many summers in a sea of glory,
But far beyond our depth;"

the time for retracing our improvident steps has not passed by; we may yet, by proper exertion, reach either shore. The sound of the mechanic's hammer at five in the morning, or at ten in the evening, said Doctor Franklin, pacifies his creditor another year. But creditors, it is said, are inexorable. When, however, creditors have no means of enforcing their demands, we know it to be otherwise—it becomes in that event a debt of honor.

We do not, however, admit that creditors are always inexorable; they are often forbearing, frequently too much so for their own, and sometimes for the good of others. Integrity of purpose will create, and energy in action secure us friends. Political honesty everywhere charms. Its novelty gives it interest. Virtue and talents are always respected, sometimes even adored. The soldiers of Alexander, spared the house of Pindar. The Cossacks of the Don, as they entered the confines of France, and approached the humble dwelling of Kosciusko, presented arms, and dropped a tear of reverence, as they passed by. The soldiers of Napoleon, against whom the patriots of Spain had waged an exterminating war, even to the knife, when the little town of Toboso rose on their vision, near where the famous Dulcina Del Toboso, (Don Quixotte's conquering flame,) once, it is said, resided; called for the trumpet's merriest peals, and marching rapidly through its streets, bivouacked in its neighborhood, without extorting their customary tribute, while its modern dames gazed on the bristled warriors with impunity, from behind the lattice. Can Illinois, armed in honesty, anticipate ill, even from her creditors, when the soldiers of Napoleon, the Cossacks of the Autocrat, and the armed hordes of Macedon, were subdued by its presence?

Because some States in this Confederacy, have neglected to pay their interest when they had no means, and others, when they had; because some have repudiated, and others have threatened to do so; because some of the European nations have done the like; and England, on one occasion, by an act of Parliament, reduced the interest of her public debt, and is about to repeat the experiment, many look on repudiation as an evil of less magnitude than formerly.

The Legislature, however, of this State, have spoken upon that subject—have said, that "they detest and abhor it;" "that it is immoral, dishonorable, and destructive of public and private character." In all this we heartily concur. Repudiation is an evil, serious in its nature, and alarming in its consequences. It would reduce the value of lands, prevent emigration thither, and occasion a wide-spread moral desolation, above, around, and within us.

War may stride over a country, as it has done over ours, with the crushing step of a giant. Pestilence may steal over it like an invisible curse, reaching its victims silently and unseen, "unpeopling here a village, and there a city, until every dwelling becomes a sepulchre." "Famine may brood over it until the sky itself is brazen, and the mantle of green which now covers its prairies, become a parched desert—a wide waste of desolation." But these are mere physical evils. The wild flower will blossom in peace on the field of battle, and above the crushed skeleton—"the destroying angel will retire when his errand is done," and the nation again breathe freely; "and the famine cease when the cloud, prodigal of its hoarded treasure, shall descend in showers," and "the wilderness again blossom as the rose." But for moral desolation there is no surviving spring. Let the moral and republican principles under which our country has advanced thus far in its career, be once abandoned; our representatives bow in unconditional obsequiousness to individual dictation and private interests; let impudence, intrigue, and corruption, triumph over honesty and intellect; let the demagogue, enriched with the spoils of office, march forth in the plenitude of his power; and our liberties, our strength, and our glory, will depart for ever. Of these there is no resuscitation. The "abomination of desolation" will be fixed and perpetual; "and as the mighty fabric of our glory totters into ruins, the nations of the earth will mock at our overthrow—just like the powers of darkness, when the throned one of Babylon became even as themselves, and the glory of the Chaldees had gone down for ever."

We anticipate, however, no such calamity. Illinois will never repudiate. She has been improvident; she cannot pay the interest on what she owes, much less the principal. Still the time is at hand when she will do both. The debts of a nation, as well as of individuals, are sometimes compounded without compromising its honor. England, without paying a shilling, once reduced the interest of her debt, from four to three per cent. Further reductions are in contemplation. Her interest, and finally its principal, may perhaps yet be extinguished without the payment of either.

In 1749, when it was small, compared with its present amount, the whole nation became alarmed; the idea of a public debt being at that time a public blessing, had never been promulgated. Henry Pelham was, at that time, chancellor of the exchequer, and he was a man whom nothing could appal. His design of reducing the interest upon the public debt was, as he said, "the result of the love he bore his country, and an opinion that it was the duty of the servants of the crown to ease the burdens of the people." A bill was thereupon brought into the House, which afterward became a law, "for reducing the interest on the public debt." It was proposed to issue a new loan, and that the holders of the four-per-cent. stock should become its subscribers; and that a new stock should be created bearing an interest of three per cent. The greater part of the stockholders became subscribers to the new loan immediately. Those who did not become subscribers by the act, were to be paid off. The East India and two other companies, together with a few private stockholders, having altogether about nine millions sterling in the public stocks, for a while stood aloof. "Being misled," as Mr. Pelham observed, "by evil counsellors, more intent on distressing the Government, than solicitous to serve their friends; and some of them being foreigners, who had not time to take proper advice, and give the necessary instructions;" a longer period was given them to become subscribers, of which all finally availed themselves; and the interest on the whole public debt was thus reduced, in a manner (says an English historian,) that "excited the admiration and envy of all Christendom."

Some further reductions of interest are, undoubtedly, in reserve. Inasmuch, however, as the Government and stockholders are nearly synonymous, and the tax-payer and the interest-receiver are, in so many cases the same; the question, in England, is of less importance than in any other country in Europe. Should it become expedient to reduce it another per cent., and still another, it will excite neither wonder nor surprise. The promptness of the English government in paying its interest, has secured for it a credit which no other nation has; and the fidelity of Great Britain in the discharge of her pecuniary obligations, has enabled her to borrow at a lower rate of interest than responsible individuals, and thus to subsidize one half of the globe.

Punishment for parricide was unknown to the Roman law, because the offence, it was supposed, could not be committed. For the same reason, we forbear to discuss the question of repudiation, because it is a subject which we, in common with our Legislature, "detest and abhor."

It is said that we are now in that state; that we have made no effort to redeem our credit or character. Although true it is, we have made no such effort as the emergency required, we have done enough to save our reputation from that charge. The ten-cents tax on the hundred dollars, which was imposed by the law of 1841, for the express purpose of creating an interest fund, was cheerfully paid. The same ratio of taxation, (a mill on the dollar,) has recently produced wonders in the State of New-York. It is true, that the moneys thus collected were not applied, in Illinois, as the law anticipated; for that, however, the people are not to blame. A law has since been passed for the payment of McAllister & Stebbins, out of the public revenue. This law, though not as liberal, perhaps, as it ought to have been, protects, in part, the character of our State from the charge of repudiation. It is also true that a portion of the revenue law was improvidently repealed, at the last session of the Legislature. The people, however, at large, did not participate in that suicidal act. The canal, in fact, has nothing to fear, except from its *friends*, nor the State at large, except from its demagogues.

Were the *pretended friends* of the former, driven by whips and scorpions into the Gulf of Mexico; and the demagogues which pervade the latter, expelled from our borders, the State would do well enough. God, we trust, in his providence, has much for us in store. The Wabash and Erie canal, built at the expense of Indiana and Ohio, has added several millions to our wealth. The completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal, will add several more;—it will restore confidence, extinguish finally our State debt, enhance the price of produce, raise the value of lands, invite emigration thither, and unite the north and the south with an adamantine chain, which can never be broken.

NOTE I.

In 1255, Henry III., of England, demanded eight thousand marks of the Jews, and threatened to hang them if they refused compliance; said he "had not a farthing, that he must have money from any hand, from any quarter, and by any means." King John, his father, had previously demanded ten thousand marks of a Jew, in Bristol, and on his refusal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day, till he should comply. The Jew lost seven teeth, and then paid the sum required.

NOTE II.

The public debt of Great Britain was increased during the wars of William and Mary,	£15,730,439
During Queen Anne's wars, (Marlborough's time,)	37,750,661
During the war of 1739,	31,338,689
During the war of 1766, (the old French war,)	72,111,004
During the American war, in 1776, (our revolution,)	102,541,819
During the war with France, from 1793 to 1801, terminated by the peace of Amiens,	295,105,668
During the same war with France, which terminated by the treaty of Paris, in 1816, and including the war with the United States,	335,983,164
The amount of her public debt, on the 5th of January, 1832, was	782,667,234
Its annual interest,	28,341,463
Being a little more than	$125,000,000

This amount is now actually paid in cash, by the producing classes in the British Empire, for interest only.

NOTE III.

How the transfer of lands from non-residents to residents, should diminish the public revenue, is inexplicable. The ordinance of 1787, provides, that "in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents." The constitution of the State provides also, (article eighth, section twentieth,) that "the mode of levying a tax shall be by valuation, so that every person shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of the property he or she has in his or her possession."

Judge Douglass, at a circuit court held in La Salle county, very properly vacated an assessment of real estate, because the property of non-residents was assessed higher than the property of residents, of equal value.

NOTE IV.

Messrs. McAllister & Stebbins decline accepting the propositions made by the State, to pay the above amount, ($261,500,) and interest in auditor's warrants. Of course, the bonds and scrip, above mentioned, remain as before, in the hands of those to whom they were sold, or to whom they have since been assigned, the law being nugatory.

It is alleged by Messrs McAllister & Stebbins, that the bonds and scrip, aforesaid, were pledged to them, on the 17th June, 1841, in security for the payment of the said $261,500, in six months thereafter, with interest. That the same were then to be sold at auction, unless the $261,500 interest were previously paid. That no part of said sum being paid, the said bonds and scrip were sold according to agreement, and a portion only of the $261,500 realized thereon.

NOTE V.

"In 1837," says the auditor of public accounts, in his report of December 5th, 1842,* "the State received $477,919 14 of surplus revenue from the General government. One law directed that a part of this sum should be applied to pay off the debt due the school fund, which was at that time $335,592 32. Another law directed it to be added to the school fund; and a third, directed it to be paid to the banks, upon the stock taken by the State in those institutions. In the midst of these conflicting directions, the fund commissioner paid $335,600, to the banks, on account of stock; and the auditor added $335,592 32, not in money, but in credit, to the school fund. Upon this credit the State is still paying interest." On settling with the banks, a large amount was found due them for moneys advanced to the State, for current expenses. These debts were cancelled on such settlement, and of course the whole $808,055 39, have been expended in addition to the revenue of the State, and the $121,000 we owe for the State House.

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* The Auditor of public accounts at that time, was James Shields, Esq., an officer of great merit, at present a judge of the supreme court.

NOTE VI.

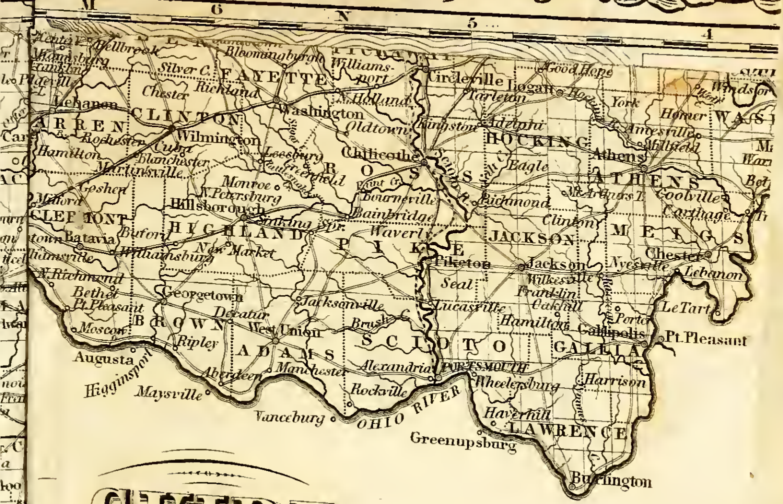
It appears from the United States census, taken in 1840, that there were raised in Illinois that year:

Wheat,	3,335,393 bushels.
Rye,	88,197
Oats,	4,988,008
Corn,	22,634,211
Barley,	82,251
Buckwheat,	57,884
Potatoes,	2,025,520
Rice,	460 lbs.
Cotton,	200,447
Hemp,	1,976 tons.
Tobacco,	564,326 lbs.
Cocoons,	1,150
Wine,	474 gallons.
Number of horses,	199,235
Neat Cattle,	626,274
Swine,	1,495,254
Sheep,	395,672
Wool,	650,007 lbs.
Lead,	8,755,000
Coal,	424,187 bushels.
Gold,	200 dollars.
Salt,	20,000 bushels.
Granite stone and marble,	74,288 dollars.
Sugar,	399,813 lbs.
Domestic manufactured goods,	993,567 dollars.

Many of the above articles have increased one-half since 1840.

"Charles Dickens, Esq., and lady," having visited Illinois in 1842, and having sailed up "the great father of waters," thanking Heaven all the way, that he (the Mississippi,) "had no young children like himself"—"an enormous ditch, sometimes two or three miles wide, running liquid mud six miles an hour;" having stopped at the Planter's House in St. Louis, "built like an English hospital, with long passages and bare walls;" and having visited one of our prairies, where he was fed on "wheat bread and chicken fixings" instead of "corn bread and common doings," and in "a linen blouse and a great straw hat, with a green ribbon and no gloves; his face and nose profusely ornamented with the stings of musquitoes;" having "met a full-sized dwelling-house coming downhill at a round trot, drawn by a score or more of oxen;" "without the exhilaration which a Scottish heath inspires, or the English downs awaken"—"where he saw nothing to remember with much pleasure—or to covet the looking on again in after life;" and where, too, he visited the "Monk's mound," near where "a body of fanatics, of the order of La Trappe, had once founded a desolate convent, when no settlers were within a thousand miles, and were all swept off by the pernicious climate; in which lamentable fatality, few rational people will suppose that society experienced a very severe deprivation;" our readers will not be surprised to learn, that an English gentleman of Mr. Dickens's taste, who had previously selected the Five Points in the city of New-York, as the principal objects of interest there, should have selected and described a scene in Illinois, just as he has done. They would, however, have been surprised to hear, that the people of Illinois, (like some of their eastern friends,) took offence at Mr. Dickens's description of their prairies.

The latter speak for themselves, and require no eulogy. Those acquainted with the best English parks, can alone appreciate their beauty.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LAWRENCE
Bloomingburgh
Williamsport
Circleville
Logan
Good Hope
Washington
Wilmington
Chillicothe
Athens
Hillsborough
Bainbridge
Waverly
Piketon
Jackson
Gallipolis
Pt. Pleasant
Georgetown
Ripley
West Union
Portsmouth
Augusta
Maysville
Vanceburg
Greenupsburg
Burlington
OHIO RIVER

GUIDE

THROUGH

IGAN, INDIANA, ILLINOIS,

URI, WISCONSIN & IOWA.

Showing the Township lines of the

ted States Surveys,

s. Villages. Post Hamlets. Canals. Rail and Stage Roads.

BY J. CALVIN SMITH.

NEW YORK.

ished by J.H. Colton. 86 Cedar St.

1844.

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Scale of Miles.

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had once founded a desolate convent, when no settlers were within a thousand miles, and were all swept off by the pernicious climate; in which lamentable fatality, few rational people will suppose that society experienced a very severe deprivation;" our readers will not be surprised to learn, that an English gentleman of Mr. Dickens's taste, who had previously selected the Five Points in the city of New-York, as the principal objects of interest there, should have selected and described a scene in Illinois, just as he has done. They would, however, have been surprised to hear, that the people of Illinois, (like some of their eastern friends,) took offence at Mr. Dickens's description of their prairies.

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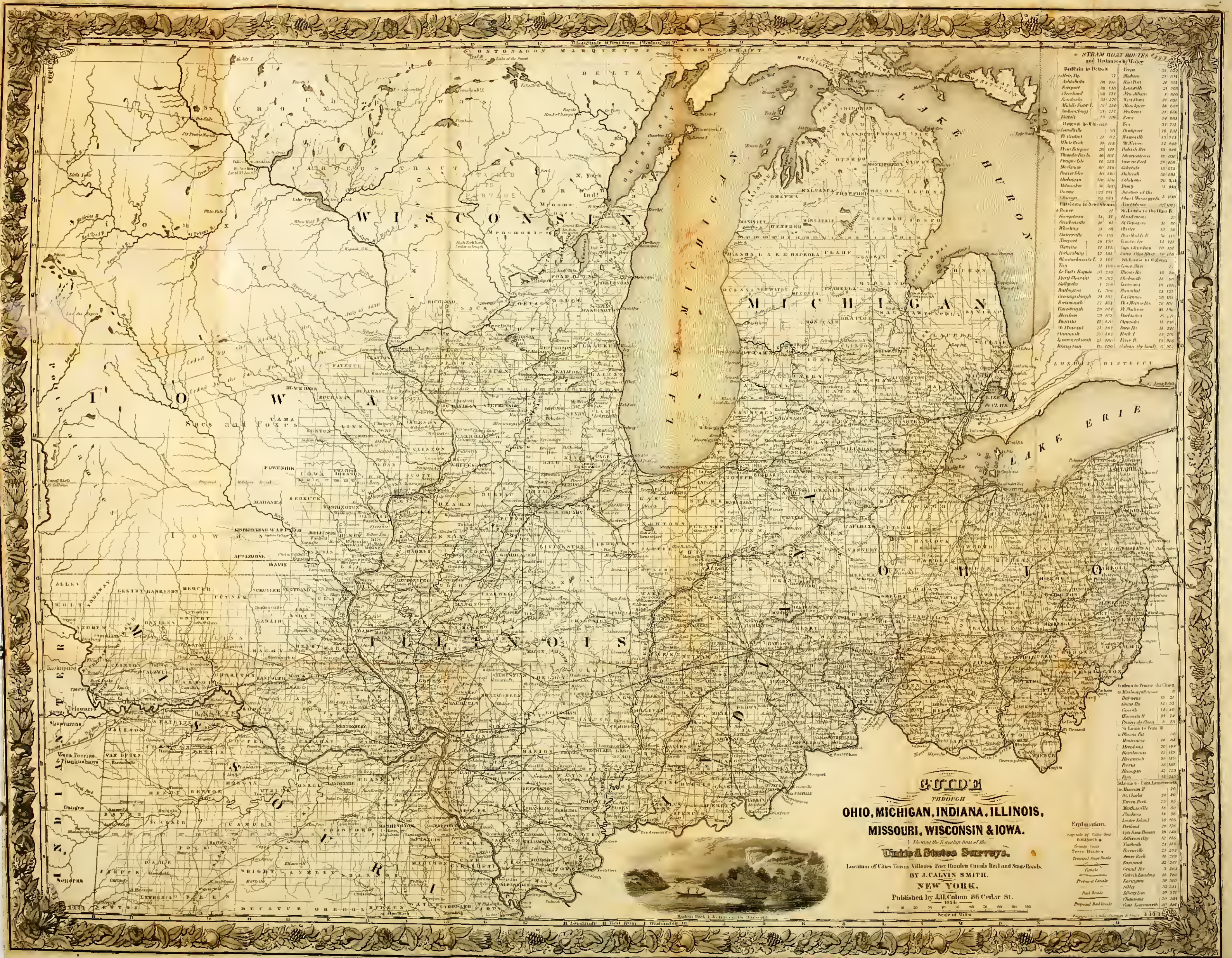
GUIDE
THROUGH
OHIO, MICHIGAN, INDIANA, ILLINOIS,
MISSOURI, WISCONSIN & IOWA.
Showing the Township lines of the
United States Surveys.
Location of Cities Towns Villages Post Hamlets Canals Rail and Stage Roads.
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Scale of Miles
STEAM BOAT ROUTES and Distances by Water
Explanation.
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
MISSOURI
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
INDIAN TER.
Sacs and Foxes
Longitude West from Washington

APPENDIX.

The interest exhibited by many individuals in this community, to know something more in relation to the "life and death" of "Joe Smith," the Mormon Prophet, has induced the author to subjoin the following remarks; premising, however, that the account here given of an event so recent, may not, in every particular, be correctly understood, and, therefore, correctly reported; especially, a thousand miles and upward from where it occurred.

Serious difficulties (for a long time previous to the late tragedy, the death of Smith, in Carthage, Hancock county, Illinois,) had existed among the Mormons, of the nature and extent of which we are ignorant. They caused, however, a new paper, (the Nauvoo Expositor,) to be established in the "Holy City," which in a short time became obnoxious to the ruling party. An order of the common council, (of which "the prophet," was president,) being made for "its abatement, as a nuisance," the order was executed, and the press of the Nauvoo Expositor, without any legal authority whatever, was improvidently destroyed. A warrant was, thereupon, issued against Smith and others for a riot.

Previous however to this, some difficulties had occurred at Nauvoo in the execution of process sent thither to be served, and the officers to whom that duty had been assigned were forcibly obstructed, under, and by virtue of the city ordinances before adverted to. (See page 398.) The people in that vicinity, thereupon (and perhaps justly,) became excited; and the question whether "the prophet" and his followers, should set the laws and authority of the State and Nation at defiance, became one of fearful import.

The militia of the adjacent counties having been assembled, some two or three thousand in number, and some armed bands from Missouri and Iowa, having congregated in the vicinity of Nauvoo; Governor Ford, apprised of their intention to commit violence upon the Mormons, and dreading its consequences, repaired in person to the scene of action; and with that promptness which has hitherto marked his official course, and reflected great credit on him, both as an officer and a citizen, allayed for a while the storm that was brewing.

On Monday, the 24th of June, 1844, Lieutenant General Joseph Smith, ("the prophet,") and General Hyrum Smith, his brother, having received assurances from Governor Ford of protection; in company with some of their friends, left Nauvoo for Carthage, in order to surrender themselves up as prisoners, upon a process which had previously been issued, and was then in the hands of a public officer to be executed. About four miles from Carthage, they were met by Captain Dunn and a company of cavalry, on their way to Nauvoo, with an order from Governor

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Ford for the State arms in possession of the Nauvoo legion. Lieutenant General Smith having indorsed upon the order his admission of its service, and given his directions for their delivery, returned with Captain Dunn to Nauvoo, for the arms thus ordered by Governor Ford to be surrendered. The arms having been given up in obedience to the aforesaid order, both parties again started for Carthage, whither they arrived a little before twelve o'clock, at night. On the morning of the 25th, an interview took place between the Smiths and Governor Ford. Assurances of protection by the latter were repeated, and the two Smiths were surrendered into the custody of an officer. Bail having afterward been given for their appearance at court, to answer the charge for "abating the Nauvoo Expositor," a mittimus was issued on the evening of the 25th, and the two Smiths were committed to jail on a charge of treason, "until delivered by due course of law." On the morning of the 26th, another interview was had between the governor and the accused, and both parties seemed to be satisfied. Instead of being confined in the cells, the two Smiths, at the instance of their friends, were put into the debtors'-room of the prison, and a guard assigned for its, as well as their security. During this time their friends, as usual, had access to them in jail, by permission of the governor. On the same day, (June 26,) they were taken before the magistrate who had committed them to prison, and further proceedings, on the complaint for treason, were postponed until the 29th. On the morning of the 27th, Governor Ford discharged a part of the troops under his command, and proceeded with a portion of the residue, a single company only, to Nauvoo; leaving the jail, the prisoners, and some two or three of their friends, guarded by seven or eight men, and a company of about sixty militia, the Carthage Grays, a few yards distant in reserve.

About six o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th, during the absence of Governor Ford, the guard stationed at the prison were overpowered by an armed mob in disguise; the jail was broken and entered, and the two Smiths, (Joseph and Hyrum,) without any pretence of right or authority whatever, were wantonly slain. Having effected their object, all of which was accomplished in a few minutes, they immediately dispersed. Governor Ford, with the company of militia above mentioned, having repaired to Nauvoo, and explained to the Mormons what "they might expect in case they provoked a war:" on his return from thence, in the afternoon, was accosted by a messenger from Carthage, about three miles from the city, and informed of the fatal occurrence which had transpired in his absence. He thereupon hastened to Carthage, and found its whole population alarmed—many had already fled with their families, and others were preparing to go. He thereupon directed General Deming, with a few troops, "to observe the progress of events; to defend property against small numbers, and to retreat if menaced by a superior force;" and proceeded himself to Quincy, about fifty miles distant, where he established his head-quarters, and on the 29th of June, issued the following order:

HEAD QUARTERS,
QUINCY, June 29, 1844.

It is ordered, that commandants of regiments in the counties of Adams, Marquette, Pike, Brown, Schuyler, Morgan, Scott, Cass, Fulton, and McDonough; and the regiments comprising General Stapp's brigade, call their respective regiments, together immediately upon the receipt of this order, and proceed, by voluntary enlistment, to enrol as many men as can be armed in their respective regiments. They will make arrangements for a campaign of twelve days; and will provide themselves with arms, ammunition, and provisions accordingly; and hold themselves in readiness immediately to march upon the receipt of further orders.

The independent companies of riflemen, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, in the above named counties, and in the county of Sangamon, will hold themselves in readiness in like manner.

THOMAS FORD,
Governor, and Commander-in-chief.

Soon after the murder of the two Smiths, Doctor Richards, a prominent Mormon, who had accompanied the accused to jail, transmitted to Nauvoo the following note, undersigned by Governor Ford.

Twelve o'clock at night, June 27,
CARTHAGE, Hamilton's tavern.

To MRS. EMMA SMITH, and
MAJOR-GENERAL DUNHAM, etc.

The governor has just arrived, and says that all things shall be inquired into, and all right measures taken. I say to all the citizens of Nauvoo: My brethren, be still, and know that God reigns—don't rush out of the city—don't rush to Carthage—stay at home, and be prepared for an attack from Missouri mobbers. The governor will render every assistance possible. He has sent out orders for troops. Joseph and Hyrum are dead—but not by the Carthage people. The guards were there, as I believe. We will prepare to remove the bodies as soon as possible. The people of the county are greatly excited; and fear that the Mormons will come out and take vengeance. I have pledged my word that the Mormons will stay at home, (as soon as they can be informed,) and no violence will be done on their part. Say to my brethren in Nauvoo, In the name of the Lord, be still—be patient—only let such friends as choose, come here to see the bodies. Mr. Taylor's wounds are dressed, and not serious—I am sound.

WILLARD RICHARDS,
JOHN TAYLOR,
SAMUEL H. SMITH.

Defend yourselves until protection can be furnished.
June 27, 1844.

THOMAS FORD,
Governor, and Commander-in-chief.

On the next day, June 28th, the Nauvoo legion was called out, at 10, A. M., and addressed by Judge Phelps, a Mormon, and Colonel Buckmaster, of Alton, one of the aids to Governor Ford. All excitement was at once allayed, and preparations were immediately commenced for receiving the remains of the deceased. At three o'clock in the afternoon, several thousands assembled, and the bodies of Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith, followed by Samuel H. Smith, a brother of the deceased, Dr. Richards, Mr. Hamilton of Carthage, and others, in a wagon, guarded by eight men, were escorted into the city, and "taken out" at the Nauvoo House. The people were then addressed by Dr. Richards and Judge Phelps, by Mr. Woods and Mr. Reed of Iowa, and by Colonel Markham. The bodies of the deceased were then buried with military honors.

"The prophet," it is said, has left a will or revelation appointing a successor; and, among other things, it is stated that his son, a lad of twelve years, is named therein as his successor. Of this, however, there is no certainty.

Public tranquillity is apparently restored—at least for the present—and preparations are making "to call home the absent apostles and members of the council of seventy," to appoint a successor. Labor upon the temple, yet unfinished, which for a few days was suspended, is now resumed, and peace and harmony, it is said, "prevails throughout Nauvoo.

Religious fanaticism, when directed by a master spirit, has, in every age, been a stepping-stone to power. Whether it will be so at this time remains to be seen. Mammon, *at present*. is the god of this world. If it can be shown that the interest of any considerable portion of its population wil be promoted by sending in their adhesion to the successor of "the prophet," "the Caliph of Nauvoo," there can be no doubt of a rapid increase in the number of Mormons. The circumstances under which "the prophet" has been slain are calculated to multiply his followers. No matter how ridiculous or dangerous the doctrine, converts are everywhere easily obtained. Mammon and Mormon are alike almost in sound, and their principles and their creeds are not, it is presumed. dissimilar.

Smith, by the violence of his passions, and the multitude of his debaucheries, had incurred the displeasure of several leading Mormons. Many, therefore, we have no doubt, rejoice in his fall; and so far as the progress of Mormonism is concerned, it is more than probable that the event will be regarded, by many of his followers, as a Providential dispensation. Smith, in his lifetime, courted persecution, but not "unto death." If his assassins intended by his murder to subvert Mormonism, they have greatly erred. No religion, however ridiculous, has yet been crushed by violence. Should the Mormons, under the guidance of prudent leaders, submit themselves to the laws and institutions of the State, which has foolishly and imprudently nurtured them in its bosom, their doctrines, however absurd, may yet obtain currency where neither friends nor foes have believed it possible.

In 1842, General Bennett, an influential Mormon, once Mayor of Nauvoo, published a book in which he exposed the iniquities of Smith. Making due allowance for his hostility to "the prophet," and conceding, as we are constrained to do, that it bears mark of authenticity, we subjoin from his work, without vouching for correctness, the following description of the Holy City—its temple—its "prophet, priest and king:"

DESCRIPTION OF NAUVOO.

Nauvoo, the Holy City of the Mormons, and present capital of their empire, is situated on the northwestern part of Illinois, on the east bank of the Mississippi, in latitude N. 40° 35′, and longitude W. 14°, 23′. It is bounded on the north, south, and west, by the river, which there forms a large curve, and is nearly two miles wide. Eastward of the city, is a beautiful undulating prairie. It is distant ten miles from Fort Madison, in Iowa, is fifty-five miles above Quincy, Illinois, and more than two hundred above St. Louis.

Before the Mormons gathered there, the place was named *Commerce*, and was but a small and obscure village of some twenty houses. So rapidly, however, have they accumulated, that they are now, within three years of their first settlement, upward of seven thousand inhabitants in the city, and three thousand more of the Saints, in its immediate vicinity.

The surface of the ground upon which Nauvoo is built, is very uneven, though there are no great elevations. A few feet below the soil is a vast bed of limestone, from which excellent building material can be quarried, to almost any extent. A number of tumuli, or ancient mounds, are found within the limits of the city, proving it to have been a place of some importance with the extinct inhabitants of this Continent.

The space comprised within the city limits, is about four miles in its greatest length, and three in its greatest breadth; but is very irregular in its outline, and does not cover so much ground as the above measurement would seem to indicate.

The city is regularly laid out—the streets crossing each other at right angles, and being generally of considerable length, and of convenient width. The majority of the houses are as yet merely whitewashed log-cabins; but latterly, quite a number of frame and brick houses have been erected.

The chief edifices of Nauvoo are the Temple, and a hotel, called the Nauvoo House, neither of which is yet finished. The latter is of brick, upon a stone foundation, and presents a front on two streets, of one hundred and twenty feet each, by forty feet deep, and is to be three stories high, exclusive of the basement; and, though intended chiefly for the reception and entertainment of strangers and travellers, contains, or rather, when completed is to contain a special suite of apartments, for the especial accommodation of the Prophet Joe Smith, and his heirs and descendants for ever.

The privilege of this accommodation he pretends was granted him by the Lord, in a special revelation, on account of his services to the church. It is most extraordinary that Americans, imbued with democratic sentiments and an utter aversion to hereditary privileges of any kind, could for a moment be blinded to the selfishness of the scoundrel, who thus coolly provided for himself and his latest posterity a palace and a maintenance. We may, however, safely predict that his Imperial Majesty will not continue long in the enjoyment of his palace, and that, if he escapes the fate of Haman, it will only be to wander, like Cain, a vagabond on the face of the earth.

The Mormon Temple is a splendid structure of stone, quarried within the bounds of the city. Its breadth is eighty feet, and its length one hundred and twenty, besides an outer court of thirty feet, making the length of the whole structure one hundred and fifty feet.*

In the basement of the Temple is the baptismal font, constructed in imitation of the famous brazen sea of Solomon. It is upborne by twelve oxen, handsomely carved, and overlaid with gold. Upon the surface of it, in panels, are represented various scenes, handsomely painted. This font is used for baptism of various kinds, viz: baptism for admission into the church, baptism for the healing of the sick, baptism for the remission of sins, and lastly, which is the most singular of all, baptism for the *dead*. By this latter rite, living persons, selected as the representatives of the deceased, are baptized for them, and thus the dead are released from the penalty of their sins! This baptism was performed, I recollect, for General Washington among others.

It is known that Joe had established a Sisterhood of Saints, for the vilest purposes. A Miss Brotherton makes an affidavit, that Joe wished to have her marry one of his confederated allies, by the name of Young, already a married man, and locked her up with Young, to talk over the proposition. The young lady, in spite of the holy appeal, had strong doubts of the correctness of marrying a man who had a wife already; but Young, to remove her scruples, introduced the prophet to back his suit, which the lady describes as follows:

"Well," said Young, "sister Martha would be willing, if she knew it was lawful and right, before God."

"Well, Martha," said Joseph, "it is lawful and right before God—I *know* it is. Look here, sis: do n't you believe in me?"

I did not answer.

"Well, Martha," said Joseph, "just go ahead, and do as Brigham wants you to—he is the best man in the world except me."

"Oh!" said Brigham, "then you are as good?"

"Yes," said Joseph.

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* A writer from St. Louis, in speaking of the Temple, says: The system upon which this temple has been building, is the exaction of labor every tenth day from every man who cannot purchase his exemption from the task with money. It will be, if ever finished, a very imposing-looking edifice. It stands in a high and commanding position, a prominent object, riveting the stranger's eye at once, and upon near inspection, the style of architecture is found to be more than commonly attractive from its singularity. It is like nothing else, and, unless we be allowed to designate it as the Mormonic order, it certainly has no name at all. The stone is of excellent quality, quarried in the neighborhood, and very good mechanics have been at work upon it.

The massive caps of the columns are already carved from huge blocks, showing a gigantic round human face, like the broad full moon. The columns are made to rest upon crescent moons, sculptured on the face of the stone, resting with the horns down, with a profile of eyes, nose, and mouth, upon the inner curve. What idea this is meant to convey, we could not learn, though the impression is irresistible that the church is built up upon *moonshine*.

"Well," said Young, "we believe Joseph to be a prophet. I have known him near eight years, and have always found him the same."

"Yes," said Joseph; "and I know that this is lawful and right before God, and if there is any sin in it, I will answer for it before God. And I have the keys of the kingdom, and whatever I bind on earth, is bound in heaven; and whatever I loose on earth, is loosed in heaven. And if you will accept of Brigham, you shall be blessed—God shall bless you, and my blessing shall rest upon you; and if you will be led by him you will do well—for I know he will take care of you—and if he don't do his duty to you, come to me and I will make him. And if you do not like it in a month or two, come to me, and I will make you free again; and if he turns you off, I will take you on."

In relation to the Mormon creed we have nothing to say. We leave that to the consciences of its votaries. That many worthy citizens have been duped by the arch deceiver—whose untimely end, in common with others, we deplore—no doubt remains. Still we are not conscious that his followers, his friends, or his country, have much to regret on account of his death.

We had intended to say something in relation to the late Mississippi flood. Our information, however, is yet too limited to do it justice. The damages are estimated at from twelve to fifteen millions of dollars, and by some as high as twenty. We fear the latter falls short of the reality.

The State of Illinois borders on the Mississippi river for about three hundred and fifty miles. Its population, of course must participate, to a considerable extent, in the above calamity. However much an event of this nature is always to be deplored, its effects at the present time are exceedingly alarming. It may, and in all probability will—among other things, at least for a while—depress our credit lower than ever. It may also furnish an excuse—if an excuse be necessary—for not levying a tax to replenish an exhausted treasury; the imposing of additional burdens upon a people ruined by "an act of God," to pay interest on a debt contracted for the benefit only of a few, being at all times, and especially now, too preposterous to be endured. We hope, however, that our forebodings are merely imaginary, and that "all will yet be well."

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