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# The Agreement of the People.

[JANUARY 15, 1648-9.]

*An Agreement of the people of England, and the places there-with incorporated, for a secure and present peace, upon grounds of common right, freedom and safety.*

Having, by our late labours and hazards, made it appear to the world at how high a rate we value our just freedom, and God having so far owned our cause as to deliver the enemies thereof into our hands, we do now hold ourselves bound, in mutual duty to each other, to take the best care we can for the future, to avoid both the danger of returning into a slavish condition and the chargeable remedy of another war: for as it cannot be imagined that so many of our countrymen would have opposed us in this quarrel if they had understood their own good, so may we hopefully promise to ourselves, that when our common rights and liberties shall be cleared, their endeavours will be disappointed that seek to make themselves our masters. Since therefore our former oppressions and not-yet-ended troubles, have been occasioned either by want of frequent national meetings in council, or by the undue or unequal constitution thereof, or by rendering those meetings ineffectual, we are fully agreed and resolved, God willing, to provide, that hereafter our Representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for times nor be unequally constituted, nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended. In order whereunto we declare and agree,

First, that, to prevent the many inconveniences apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in supreme authority, this present Parliament end and dissolve upon, or before, the last day of April, 1649.

Secondly, that the people of England (being at this day very unequally distributed by counties, cities, and boroughs, for the election of their Representatives) be indifferently pro-

portioned; and, to this end, that the Representative of the whole nation shall consist of 400 persons, or not above; and in each county, and the places thereto subjoined, there shall be chosen, to make up the said Representative at all times, the several numbers here mentioned, viz. :

- KENT, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder particularly named, 10; *Canterbury*, with the Suburbs adjoining and Liberties thereof, 2; *Rochester*, with the Parishes of Chatham and Stroud, 1; *The Cinque Ports* in Kent and Sussex, viz. Dover, Romney, Hythe, Sandwich, Hastings, with the Towns of Rye and Winchelsea, 3.
- SUSSEX, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Chichester, 8; *Chichester*, with the Suburbs and Liberties thereof, 1.
- SOUTHAMPTON COUNTY, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named, 8; *Winchester*, with the Suburbs and Liberties thereof, 1; *Southampton Town* and the County thereof, 1.
- DORSETSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Dorchester, 7; *Dorchester*, 1.
- DEVONSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder particularly named, 12; *Exeter*, 2; *Plymouth*, 2; *Barnstaple*, 1.
- CORNWALL, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, 8.
- SOMERSETSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named, 8; *Bristol*, 3; *Taunton-Dean*, 1.
- WILTSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Salisbury, 7; *Salisbury*, 1.
- BERKSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Reading, 5; *Reading*, 1.
- SURREY, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Southwark, 5; *Southwark*, 2.
- MIDDLESEX, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named, 4; *London*, 8; *Westminster* and the Duchy, 2.
- HERTFORDSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, 6.
- BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, 6.
- OXFORDSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named, 4; *Oxford City*, 2; *Oxford University*, 2.
- GLOUCESTERSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Gloucester, 7; *Gloucester*, 2.
- HEREFORDSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Hereford, 4; *Hereford*, 1.
- WORCESTERSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Worcester, 4; *Worcester*, 2.
- WARWICKSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Coventry, 5; *Coventry*, 2.
- NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Northampton, 5; *Northampton*, 1.
- BEDFORDSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, 4.
- CAMBRIDGESHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder particularly named, 4; *Cambridge University*, 2; *Cambridge Town*, 2.
- ESSEX, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Colchester, 11; *Colchester*, 2.
- SUFFOLK, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereafter named, 10; *Ipswich*, 2; *St. Edmund's Bury*, 1.

- NORFOLK, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named, 9; *Norwich*, 3; *Lynn*, 1; *Yarmouth*, 1.
- LINCOLNSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except the City of Lincoln and the Town of Boston, 11; *Lincoln*, 1; *Boston*, 1.
- RUTLANDSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, 1.
- HUNTINGDONSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, 3.
- LEICESTERSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Leicester, 5; *Leicester*, 1.
- NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Nottingham, 4; *Nottingham*, 1.
- DERBYSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Derby, 5; *Derby*, 1.
- STAFFORDSHIRE, with the City of Lichfield, the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, 6.
- SHROPSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Shrewsbury, 6; *Shrewsbury*, 1.
- CESHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Chester, 5; *Chester*, 2.
- LANCASHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Manchester, 6; *Manchester and the Parish*, 1.
- YORKSHIRE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereafter named, 15; *York City and the County thereof*, 3; *Kingston upon Hull and the County thereof*, 1; *Leeds Town and Parish*, 1.
- DURHAM COUNTY PALATINE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except Durham and Gateside, 3; *Durham City*, 1.
- NORTHUMBERLAND, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named, 3; *Newcastle upon Tyne and the County thereof, with Gateside*, 2; *Berwick*, 1.
- CUMBERLAND, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, 3.
- WESTMORELAND, with the Boroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, 2.

### WALES.

ANGLESEA, with the Parishes therein . . . . .	2
BRECKNOCK, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	3
CARDIGAN, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	3
CARMARTHEN, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	3
CARNARVON, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	2
DENBIGH, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	2
FLINT, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	1
MONMOUTH, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	4
GLAMORGAN, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	4
MERIONETH, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	2
MONTGOMERY, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	3
RADNOR, with the Boroughs and Parishes therein . . . . .	2
PEMBROKE, with the Boroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein . . . . .	4

Provided, that the first or second Representative may, if they see cause, assign the remainder of the 400 representers, not hereby assigned, or so many of them as they shall see cause for, unto such counties as shall appear in this present distribution to have less than their due proportion. Provided also, that where any city or borough, to which one representer or more is assigned, shall be found in a due proportion, not

competent alone to elect a representer, or the number of representers assigned thereto, it is left to future Representatives to assign such a number of parishes or villages near adjoining to such city or borough, to be joined therewith in the elections, or may make the same proportionable.

Thirdly. That the people do, of course, choose themselves a Representative once in two years, and shall meet for that purpose upon the first Thursday in every second May, by eleven in the morning; and the Representatives so chosen to meet upon the second Thursday in the June following, at the usual place in Westminster, or such other place as, by the foregoing Representative, or the Council of State in the interval, shall be, from time to time, appointed and published to the people, at the least twenty days before the time of election: and to continue their sessions there, or elsewhere, until the second Thursday in December following, unless they shall adjourn or dissolve themselves sooner; but not to continue longer. The election of the first Representative to be on the first Thursday in May, 1649; and that, and all future elections, to be according to the rules prescribed for the same purpose in this Agreement, viz.

1. That the electors in every division shall be natives or denizens of England; not persons receiving alms, but such as are assessed ordinarily towards the relief of the poor; no servants to, and receiving wages from, any particular person; and in all elections, except for the Universities, they shall be men of twenty-one years of age, or upwards, and housekeepers, dwelling within the division for which the election is: provided, that (until the end of seven years next ensuing the time herein limited for the end of this present Parliament) no person shall be admitted to, or have any hand or voice in, such elections, who hath adhered unto or assisted the King against the Parliament in any of the late wars or insurrections; or who shall make or join in, or abet, any forcible opposition against this Agreement.
2. That such persons, and such only, may be elected to be of the Representative, who, by the rule aforesaid, are to have voice in elections in one place or other. Provided, that of those none shall be eligible for the first or second Representative, who have not voluntarily assisted the Parliament against the King, either in person before the 14th of June, 1645, or else in money, plate, horse, or arms, lent upon the Propositions, before the end of May, 1643; or who have joined in, or abetted, the treasonable engagement in London, in

1647; or who declared or engaged themselves for a cessation of arms with the Scots that invaded this nation the last summer; or for compliance with the actors in any insurrections of the same summer; or with the Prince of Wales, or his accomplices, in the revolted fleet. Provided also, that such persons as, by the rules in the preceding Article, are not capable of electing until the end of seven years, shall not be capable to be elected until the end of fourteen years next ensuing. And we desire and recommend it to all men, that, in all times, the persons to be chosen for this great trust may be men of courage, fearing God and hating covetousness; and that our Representatives would make the best provisions for that end. 3. That whoever, by the rules in the two preceding Articles, are incapable of electing, or to be elected, shall presume to vote in, or be present at, such election for the first or second Representative; or, being elected, shall presume to sit or vote in either of the said Representatives, shall incur the pain of confiscation of the moiety of his estate, to the use of the public, in case he have any visible estate to the value of £50, and if he has not such an estate, then shall incur the pain of imprisonment for three months. And if any person shall forcibly oppose, molest or hinder the people, capable of electing as aforesaid, in their quiet and free election of representers, for the first Representative, then each person so offending shall incur the penalty of confiscation of his whole estate, both real and personal; and, if he has not an estate to the value of £50, shall suffer imprisonment during one whole year without bail or mainprize. Provided, that the offender in each such case be convicted within three months next after the committing of his offence, and the first Representative is to make further provision for the avoiding of these evils in future elections. 4. That to the end all officers of state may be certainly accountable, and no faction made to maintain corrupt interests, no member of a Council of State, nor any officer of any salary-forces in army or garrison, nor any treasurer or receiver of public money, shall, while such, be elected to be of a Representative: and in case any such election shall be, the same to be void. And in case any lawyer shall be chosen into any Representative or Council of State, then he shall be incapable of practice as a lawyer during that trust. 5. For the more convenient election of Representatives, each county, wherein more than three representers are to be chosen, with the town

corporate and cities, if there be any, lying within the compass thereof, to which no representers are herein assigned, shall be divided by a due proportion into so many, and such parts, as each part may elect two, and no part above three representers. For the setting forth of which divisions, and the ascertaining of other circumstances hereafter expressed, so as to make the elections less subject to confusion or mistake, in order to the next Representative, Thomas Lord Grey of Groby, Sir John Danvers, Sir Henry Holcroft, knights; Moses Wall, gentleman; Samuel Moyer, John Langley, Wm. Hawkins, Abraham Babington, Daniel Taylor, Mark Hilsley, Rd. Price, and Col. John White, citizens of London, or any five or more of them, are intrusted to nominate and appoint, under their hands and seals, three or more fit persons in each county, and in each city and borough, to which one representer or more is assigned, to be as Commissioners for the ends aforesaid, in the respective counties, cities and boroughs; and, by like writing under their hands and seals, shall certify into the Parliament Records, before the 11th of February next, the names of the Commissioners so appointed for the respective counties, cities and boroughs, which Commissioners, or any three or more of them, for the respective counties, cities and boroughs, shall before the end of February next, by writing under their hands and seals, appoint two fit and faithful persons, or more, in each hundred, lathe or wapentake, within the respective counties, and in each ward within the City of London, to take care for the orderly taking of all voluntary subscriptions to this Agreement, by fit persons to be employed for that purpose in every parish; who are to return the subscription so taken to the persons that employed them, keeping a transcript thereof to themselves; and those persons, keeping like transcripts, to return the original subscriptions to the respective Commissioners by whom they were appointed, at, or before, the 14th day of April next, to be registered and kept in the chief court within the respective cities and boroughs. And the said Commissioners, or any three or more of them, for the several counties, cities and boroughs, respectively, shall, where more than three representers are to be chosen, divide such counties, as also the City of London, into so many, and such parts as are aforementioned, and shall set forth the bounds of such divisions; and shall, in every county, city and borough, where any representers are to be chosen, and in every such division as aforesaid within the City of London,



and within the several counties so divided, respectively, appoint one place certain wherein the people shall meet for the choice of the representers; and some one fit person, or more, inhabiting within each borough, city, county or division, respectively, to be present at the time and place of election, in the nature of Sheriffs, to regulate the elections; and by poll, or otherwise, clearly to distinguish and judge thereof, and to make return of the person or persons elected, as is hereafter expressed; and shall likewise, in writing under their hands and seals, make certificates of the several divisions, with the bounds thereof, by them set forth, and of the certain places of meeting, and persons, in the nature of Sheriff, appointed in them respectively as aforesaid; and cause such certificates to be returned into the Parliament Records before the end of April next; and before that time shall also cause the same to be published in every parish within the counties, cities and boroughs respectively; and shall in every such parish likewise nominate and appoint, by warrant under their hands and seals, one trusty person, or more, inhabiting therein, to make a true list of all the persons within their respective parishes, who, according to the rules aforesaid, are to have voice in the elections; and expressing who amongst them are, by the same rules, capable of being elected; and such list, with the said warrant, to bring in and return, at the time and place of election, unto the person appointed in the nature of Sheriff, as aforesaid, for that borough, city, county or division respectively; which person so appointed as Sheriff, being present at the time and place of election; or, in case of his absence, by the space of one hour after the time limited for the peoples' meeting, then any person present that is eligible, as aforesaid, whom the people then and there assembled shall choose for that end, shall receive and keep the said lists and admit the persons therein contained, or so many of them as are present, unto a free vote in the said election; and, having first caused this Agreement to be publicly read in the audience of the people, shall proceed unto, and regulate and keep peace and order in the elections; and, by poll or otherwise, openly distinguish and judge of the same; and thereof, by certificate or writing under the hands and seals of himself, and six or more of the electors, nominating the person or persons duly elected, shall make a true return into the Parliament Records within twenty-one days after the election, under pain for default thereof, or, for making any false return, to forfeit

£100 to the public use ; and also cause indentures to be made, and unchangeably sealed and delivered, between himself and six or more of the said electors, on the one part, and the persons, or each person, elected severally, on the other part, expressing their election of him as a representer of them according to this Agreement, and his acceptance of that trust, and his promise accordingly to perform the same with faithfulness, to the best of his understanding and ability, for the glory of God and good of the people. This course is to hold for the first Representative, which is to provide for the ascertaining of these circumstances in order to future Representatives.

Fourthly. That 150 members at least be always present in each sitting of the Representative, at the passing of any law or doing of any act whereby the people are to be bound ; saving, that the number of sixty may make a House for debates or resolutions that are preparatory thereunto.

Fifthly. That the Representative shall, within twenty days after their first meeting, appoint a Council of State for the managing of public affairs, until the tenth day after the meeting of the next Representative, unless that next Representative think fit to put an end to that trust sooner. And the same Council to act and proceed therein, according to such instructions and limitations as the Representative shall give, and not otherwise.

Sixthly. That in each interval between biennial Representatives, the Council of State, in case of imminent danger or extreme necessity, may summon a Representative to be forthwith chosen, and to meet ; so as the Session thereof continue not above eighty days ; and so as it dissolve at least fifty days before the appointed time for the next biennial Representative ; and upon the fiftieth day so preceding it shall dissolve of course, if not otherwise dissolved sooner.

Seventhly. That no member of any Representative be made either receiver, treasurer, or other officer, during that employment, saving to be a member of the Council of State.

Eighthly. That the Representatives have, and shall be understood to have, the supreme trust in order to the preservation and government of the whole ; and that their power extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons, to the erecting and abolishing of Courts of Justice and public offices, and to the enacting, altering, repealing and declaring of laws, and the highest and final judgment, concerning all natural or civil things, but not concerning things spiritual or evangelical. Provided that, even in things natural and

civil, these six particulars next following are, and shall be, understood to be excepted and reserved from our Representatives, viz. 1. We do not empower them to impress or constrain any person to serve in foreign war, either by sea or land, nor for any military service within the kingdom; save that they may take order for the forming, training, and exercising of the people in a military way, to be in readiness for resisting of foreign invasions, suppressing of sudden insurrections, or for assisting in execution of the laws; and may take order for the employing and conducting of them for those ends; provided, that, even in such cases, none be compellable to go out of the county he lives in, if he procure another to serve in his room.

2. That, after the time herein limited for the commencement of the first Representative, none of the people may be at any time questioned for anything said or done in relation to the late wars or public differences, otherwise than in execution or pursuance of the determinations of the present House of Commons, against such as have adhered to the King, or his interest, against the people; and saving that accomptants for public moneys received, shall remain accountable for the same.

3. That no securities given, or to be given, by the public faith of the nation, nor any engagements of the public faith for satisfaction of debts and damages, shall be made void or invalid by the next or any future Representatives; except to such creditors as have, or shall have, justly forfeited the same: and saving, that the next Representative may confirm or make null, in part or in whole, all gifts of lands, moneys, offices, or otherwise, made by the present Parliament to any member or attendant of either House.

4. That, in any laws hereafter to be made, no person, by virtue of any tenure, grant, charter, patent, degree or birth, shall be privileged from subjection thereto, or from being bound thereby, as well as others.

5. That the Representative may not give judgment upon any man's person or estate, where no law hath before provided; some only in calling to account and punishing public officers for abusing or failing in their trust.

6. That no Representative may in any wise render up, or give, or take away, any of the foundations of common right, liberty, and safety contained in this Agreement, nor level men's estates, destroy property, or make all things common; and that, in all matters of such fundamental concernment, there shall be a liberty to particular members of the said Representatives to enter their dissents from the major vote.

Ninthly. Concerning religion, we agree as followeth:—

1. It is intended that the Christian Religion be held forth and recommended as the public profession in this nation, which we desire may, by the grace of God, be reformed to the greatest purity in doctrine, worship and discipline, according to the Word of God; the instructing the people thereunto in a public way, so it be not compulsive; as also the maintaining of able teachers for that end, and for the confutation or discovering of heresy, error, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine, is allowed to be provided for by our Representatives; the maintenance of which teachers may be out of a public treasury, and, we desire, not by tithes: provided, that Popery or Prelacy be not held forth as the public way or profession in this nation. 2. That, to the public profession so held forth, none be compelled by penalties or otherwise; but only may be endeavoured to be won by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation. 3. That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, however differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publicly held forth, as aforesaid, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of their faith and exercise of religion, according to their consciences, in any place except such as shall be set apart for the public worship; where we provide not for them, unless they have leave, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or to actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts. Nevertheless, it is not intended to be hereby provided, that this liberty shall necessarily extend to Popery or Prelacy. 4. That all laws, ordinances, statutes, and clauses in any law, statute, or ordinance to the contrary of the liberty herein provided for, in the two particulars next preceding concerning religion, be, and are hereby, repealed and made void.

Tenthly. It is agreed, that whosoever shall, by force of arms, resist the orders of the next or any future Representative (except in case where such Representative shall evidently render up, or give, or take away the foundations of common right, liberty, and safety, contained in this Agreement), he shall forthwith, after his or their such resistance, lose the benefit and protection of the laws, and shall be punishable with death, as an enemy and traitor to the nation. Of the things expressed in this Agreement: the certain ending of this Parliament, as in the first Article; the equal or proportionable distribution of the number of the representers to be elected, as in the second; the certainty of the people's meeting to elect for Representa-

tives biennial, and their freedom in elections; with the certainty of meeting, sitting and ending of Representatives so elected, which are provided for in the third Article; as also the qualifications of persons to elect or be elected, as in the first and second particulars under the third Article; also the certainty of a number for passing a law or preparatory debates, provided for in the fourth Article; the matter of the fifth Article, concerning the Council of State, and of the sixth, concerning the calling, sitting and ending of Representatives extraordinary; also the power of Representatives to be, as in the eighth Article, and limited, as in the six reserves next following the same: likewise the second and third Particulars under the ninth Article concerning religion, and the whole matter of the tenth Article; all these we do account and declare to be fundamental to our common right, liberty, and safety: and therefore do both agree thereunto, and resolve to maintain the same, as God shall enable us. The rest of the matters in this Agreement we account to be useful and good for the public; and the particular circumstances of numbers, times, and places, expressed in the several Articles, we account not fundamental; but we find them necessary to be here determined, for the making the Agreement certain and practicable, and do hold these most convenient that are here set down; and therefore do positively agree thereunto. By the appointment of his Excellency the Lord-General and his General Council of Officers.

JOHN RUSHWORTH, Sec.

The Agreement of the People was originally drawn up in October, 1647. It is here printed with the subsequent modifications, as presented to the House of Commons on January 20. The petition which accompanied it (Old Parl. Hist. xviii. 516) was dated January 15, and that may therefore be taken as the date when the Agreement received the final approbation of the Council of the Officers. This document is of the highest importance in the study of the development of the idea of a written constitution in England. See, in connection, the Instrument of Government, Vane's "Healing Question," the Charter of Massachusetts Bay, and the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut—all published in this series of Old South Leaflets. See also article on "The Genesis of a Written Constitution," by William C. Morey, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, April, 1891. Gardiner's remarks upon the Agreement of the People are as follows:

"On January 15, 1649, whilst the King's fate was still in suspense, the Council of the Army set forth a document known as the Agreement of the People. It was a sketch of a written Constitution for a Republican Government based on the Heads of the Proposals [see this paper in Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents*, page 232], omitting everything that had reference to the King. The Heads of the Proposals had contemplated the retention of the Royal authority in some shape or another, and had been

content to look for security to Acts of Parliament, because, though every Act was capable of being repealed, it could not be repealed without the consent both of the King and the Houses, and the Houses might be trusted to refuse their consent to the repeal of any Act which checked the despotism of the King; whilst the King could be trusted to refuse his consent to the repeal of any Act which checked the despotism of the Houses. With the disappearance of Royalty the situation was altered. The despotism of Parliament was the chief danger to be feared, and there was no possibility of averting this by Acts of the Parliament itself. Naturally, therefore, arose the idea of a written Constitution, which the Parliament itself would be incompetent to violate. According to the proposed scheme, the existing Parliament was to be dissolved on April 30, 1649. After this there was to be a biennial Parliament without a House of Lords, a redistribution of seats, and a rating franchise. For seven years all who had adhered to the King were to be deprived of their votes, and during the first and second Parliaments only those who had by contributions or by personal service assisted the Parliament, or who had refrained from abetting certain combinations against Parliament, were to be capable of being elected, whilst those who had actually supported the King in the war were to be excluded for fourteen years. Further, no official was to be elected. There was to be a Council for "managing public affairs." Further, six particulars were set down with which Parliament could not meddle, all laws made on those subjects having no binding force.

As to religion, there was to be a public profession of the Christian religion "reformed to the greatest purity of doctrine," and the clergy were to be maintained "out of a public treasury," but "not by tithes." This public religion was not to be "Popery or Prelacy." No one was to be compelled to conformity, but all religions which did not create disturbances were to be tolerated. It was not, however, to be understood "that this liberty shall necessarily extend to Popery or Prelacy," a clause, the meaning of which is not clear, but which was probably intended to leave the question open to Parliament to decide. The Article on Religion was, like the six reserved particulars, to be out of the power of Parliament to modify or repeal.

The idea of reserving certain points from Parliamentary action was one which was subsequently adopted in the American Constitution, with this important difference, that the American Constitution left a way open by which any possible change could be effected by consulting the nation; whilst the Agreement of the People provided no way in which any change in the reserved powers could be made at all. In short, the founders of the American Constitution understood that it was useless to attempt to bind a nation in perpetuity, whilst the English Council of the Army either did not understand it, or distrusted the nation too far to make provision for what they knew must come in time. . . .

That the execution of the King made the difficulties in the way of the establishment of a Republic greater than they had been, it is impossible to deny; but the main difficulties would have existed even if the King had been deposed instead of executed. There are two foundations upon which government must rest if it is to be secure, the traditional continuity which is derived from the force of habit, and the national support which is derived from the force of will. The Agreement of the People swept the first aside, and only trusted the latter to a very limited extent."



# The Instrument of Government.

DECEMBER 16, 1653.

THE government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

I. That the supreme legislative authority of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, shall be and reside in one person, and the people assembled in Parliament; the style of which person shall be the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

II. That the exercise of the chief magistracy and the administration of the government over the said countries and dominions, and the people thereof, shall be in the Lord Protector, assisted with a council, the number whereof shall not exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen.

III. That all writs, processes, commissions, patents, grants, and other things, which now run in the name and style of the keepers of the liberty of England by authority of Parliament, shall run in the name and style of the Lord Protector, from whom, for the future, shall be derived all magistracy and honours in these three nations; and have the power of pardons (except in case of murders and treason) and benefit of all forfeitures for the public use; and shall govern the said countries and dominions in all things by the advice of the council, and according to these presents and the laws.

IV. That the Lord Protector, the Parliament sitting, shall dispose and order the militia and forces, both by sea and land, for the peace and good of the three nations, by consent of Parliament; and that the Lord Protector, with the advice and consent of the major part of the council, shall dispose and order the militia for the ends aforesaid in the intervals of Parliament.

V. That the Lord Protector, by the advice aforesaid, shall direct in all things concerning the keeping and holding of a

good correspondency with foreign kings, princes, and states; and also, with the consent of the major part of the council, have the power of war and peace.

VI. That the laws shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent in Parliament, save only as is expressed in the thirtieth article.

VII. That there shall be a Parliament summoned to meet at Westminster upon the third day of September, 1654, and that successively a Parliament shall be summoned once in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the present Parliament.

VIII. That neither the Parliament to be next summoned, nor any successive Parliaments, shall, during the time of five months, to be accounted from the day of their first meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent.

IX. That as well the next as all other successive Parliaments, shall be summoned and elected in manner hereafter expressed; that is to say, the persons to be chosen within England, Wales, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the number of four hundred. The persons to be chosen within Scotland, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the number of thirty; and the persons to be chosen to sit in Parliament for Ireland shall be, and not exceed, the number of thirty.

X. That the persons to be elected to sit in Parliament from time to time, for the several counties of England, Wales, the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and all places within the same respectively, shall be according to the proportions and numbers hereafter expressed: that is to say,

Bedfordshire, 5; Bedford Town, 1; Berkshire, 5; Abingdon, 1; Reading, 1; Buckinghamshire, 5; Buckingham Town, 1; Aylesbury, 1; Wycomb, 1; Cambridgeshire, 4; Cambridge Town, 1; Cambridge University, 1; Isle of Ely, 2; Cheshire, 4; Chester, 1; Cornwall, 8; Launceston, 1; Truro, 1; Penryn, 1; East Looe and West Looe, 1; Cumberland, 2; Carlisle, 1; Derbyshire, 4; Derby Town, 1; Devonshire, 11; Exeter, 2; Plymouth, 2; Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness, 1; Totnes, 1; Barnstable, 1; Tiverton, 1; Honiton, 1; Dorsetshire, 6; Dorchester, 1; Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis, 1; Lyme-Regis, 1; Poole, 1; Durham, 2; City of Durham, 1; Essex, 13; Malden, 1; Colchester, 2; Gloucestershire, 5; Gloucester, 2; Tewkesbury, 1; Cirencester, 1; Herefordshire, 4; Hereford, 1; Leominster, 1; Hertfordshire, 5; St. Alban's, 1; Hertford, 1; Huntingdonshire, 3; Huntingdon, 1; Kent, 11; Canterbury, 2; Rochester, 1; Maidstone, 1; Dover, 1; Sandwich, 1; Queenborough, 1; Lancashire, 4; Preston, 1;



Lancaster, 1; Liverpool, 1; Manchester, 1; Leicestershire, 4; Leicester, 2; Lincolnshire, 10; Lincoln, 2; Boston, 1; Grantham, 1; Stamford, 1; Great Grimsby, 1; Middlesex, 4; London, 6; Westminster, 2; Monmouthshire, 3; Norfolk, 10; Norwich, 2; Lynn-Regis, 2; Great Yarmouth, 2; Northamptonshire, 6; Peterborough, 1; Northampton, 1; Nottinghamshire, 4; Nottingham, 2; Northumberland, 3; Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1; Berwick, 1; Oxfordshire, 5; Oxford City, 1; Oxford University, 1; Woodstock, 1; Rutlandshire, 2; Shropshire, 4; Shrewsbury, 2; Bridgnorth, 1; Ludlow, 1; Staffordshire, 3; Lichfield, 1; Stafford, 1; Newcastle-under-Lyne, 1; Somersetshire, 11; Bristol, 2; Taunton, 2; Bath, 1; Wells, 1; Bridgwater, 1; Southamptonshire, 8; Winchester, 1; Southampton, 1; Portsmouth, 1; Isle of Wight, 2; Andover, 1; Suffolk, 10; Ipswich, 2; Bury St. Edmunds, 2; Dunwich, 1; Sudbury, 1; Surrey, 6; Southwark, 2; Guildford, 1; Reigate, 1; Sussex, 9; Chichester, 1; Lewes, 1; East Grinstead, 1; Arundel, 1; Rye, 1; Westmoreland, 2; Warwickshire, 4; Coventry, 2; Warwick, 1; Wiltshire, 10; New Sarum, 2; Marlborough, 1; Devizes, 1; Worcestershire, 5; Worcester, 2.

YORKSHIRE. — West Riding, 6; East Riding, 4; North Riding, 4; City of York, 2; Kingston-upon-Hull, 1; Beverley, 1; Scarborough, 1; Richmond, 1; Leeds, 1; Halifax, 1.

WALES. — Anglesey, 2; Brecknockshire, 2; Cardiganshire, 2; Carmarthenshire, 2; Carnarvonshire, 2; Denbighshire, 2; Flintshire, 2; Glamorganshire, 2; Cardiff, 1; Merionethshire, 1; Montgomeryshire, 2; Pembrokeshire, 2; Haverfordwest, 1; Radnorshire, 2.

The distribution of the persons to be chosen for Scotland and Ireland, and the several counties, cities, and places therein, shall be according to such proportions and number as shall be agreed upon and declared by the Lord Protector and the major part of the council, before the sending forth writs of summons for the next Parliament.

XI. That the summons to Parliament shall be by writ under the Great Seal of England, directed to the sheriffs of the several and respective counties, with such alteration as may suit with the present government, to be made by the Lord Protector and his council, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal shall seal, issue, and send abroad by warrant from the Lord Protector. If the Lord Protector shall not give warrant for issuing of writs of summons for the next Parliament, before the first of June, 1654, or for the Triennial Parliaments, before the first day of August in every third year, to be accounted as aforesaid; that then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being, shall, without any warrant or direction, within seven days after the said first day of June, 1654, seal, issue, and send abroad writs of summons (changing therein what is to be changed as aforesaid) to the several and respective sheriffs of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for summoning the Parliament to meet at Westminster, the third day of September next: and shall like-

wise, within seven days after the said first day of August, in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the precedent Parliament, seal, issue, and send forth abroad several writs of summons (changing therein what is to be changed) as aforesaid, for summoning the Parliament to meet at Westminster the sixth of November in that third year. That the said several and respective sheriffs, shall, within ten days after the receipt of such writ as aforesaid, cause the same to be proclaimed and published in every market-town within his county upon the market-days thereof, between twelve and three of the clock; and shall then also publish and declare the certain day of the week and month, for choosing members to serve in Parliament for the body of the said county, according to the tenor of the said writ, which shall be upon Wednesday five weeks after the date of the writ; and shall likewise declare the place where the election shall be made: for which purpose he shall appoint the most convenient place for the whole county to meet in; and shall send precepts for elections to be made in all and every city, town, borough, or place within his county, where elections are to be made by virtue of these presents, to the Mayor, Sheriff, or other head officer of such city, town, borough, or place, within three days after the receipt of such writ and writs; which the said Mayors, Sheriffs, and officers respectively are to make publication of, and of the certain day for such elections to be made in the said city, town, or place aforesaid, and to cause elections to be made accordingly.

XII. That at the day and place of elections, the Sheriff of each county, and the said Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other head officers within their cities, towns, boroughs, and places respectively, shall take view of the said elections, and shall make return into the chancery within twenty days after the said elections, of the persons elected by the greater number of electors, under their hands and seals, between him on the one part, and the electors on the other part; wherein shall be contained, that the persons elected shall not have power to alter the government as it is hereby settled in one single person and a Parliament.

XIII. That the Sheriff, who shall wittingly and willingly make any false return, or neglect his duty, shall incur the penalty of 2000 marks of lawful English money; the one moiety to the Lord Protector, and the other moiety to such person as will sue for the same.

XIV. That all and every person and persons, who have

aided, advised, assisted, or abetted in any war against the Parliament, since the first day of January 1641 (unless they have been since in the service of the Parliament, and given signal testimony of their good affection thereunto) shall be disabled and incapable to be elected, or to give any vote in the election of any members to serve in the next Parliament, or in the three succeeding Triennial Parliaments.

XV. That all such, who have advised, assisted, or abetted the rebellion of Ireland, shall be disabled and incapable for ever to be elected, or give any vote in the election of any member to serve in Parliament; as also all such who do or shall profess the Roman Catholic religion.

XVI. That all votes and elections given or made contrary, or not according to these qualifications, shall be null and void; and if any person, who is hereby made incapable, shall give his vote for election of members to serve in Parliament, such person shall lose and forfeit one full year's value of his real estate, and one full third part of his personal estate; one moiety thereof to the Lord Protector, and the other moiety to him or them who shall sue for the same.

XVII. That the persons who shall be elected to serve in Parliament, shall be such (and no other than such) as are persons of known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation, and being of the age of twenty-one years.

XVIII. That all and every person and persons seised or possessed to his own use, of any estate, real or personal, to the value of £200, and not within the aforesaid exceptions, shall be capable to elect members to serve in Parliament for counties.

XIX. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall be sworn before they enter into their offices, truly and faithfully to issue forth, and send abroad, writs of summons to Parliament, at the times and in the manner before expressed: and in case of neglect or failure to issue and send abroad writs accordingly, he or they shall for every such offence be guilty of high treason, and suffer the pains and penalties thereof.

XX. That in case writs be not issued out, as is before expressed, but that there be a neglect therein, fifteen days after the time wherein the same ought to be issued out by the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal; that then the Parliament shall, as often as such failure shall happen, assemble and be held at Westminster, in the usual place, at the times prefixed, in manner and by the means

hereafter expressed; that is to say, that the sheriffs of the several and respective counties, sheriffdoms, cities, boroughs, and places aforesaid, within England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Mayor and Bailiffs of the borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and other places aforesaid respectively, shall at the several courts and places to be appointed as aforesaid, within thirty days after the said fifteen days, cause such members to be chosen for their said several and respective counties, sheriffdoms, universities, cities, boroughs, and places aforesaid, by such persons, and in such manner, as if several and respective writs of summons to Parliament under the Great Seal had issued and been awarded according to the tenor aforesaid: that if the sheriff, or other persons authorized, shall neglect his or their duty herein, that all and every such sheriff and person authorized as aforesaid, so neglecting his or their duty, shall, for every such offence, be guilty of high treason, and shall suffer the pains and penalties thereof.

XXI. That the clerk, called the clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery for the time being, and all others, who shall afterwards execute that office, to whom the returns shall be made, shall for the next Parliament, and the two succeeding Triennial Parliaments, the next day after such return, certify the names of the several persons so returned, and of the places for which he and they were chosen respectively, unto the Council; who shall peruse the said returns, and examine whether the persons so elected and returned be such as is agreeable to the qualifications, and not disabled to be elected: and that every person and persons being so duly elected, and being approved of by the major part of the Council to be persons not disabled, but qualified as aforesaid, shall be esteemed a member of Parliament, and be admitted to sit in Parliament, and not otherwise.

XXII. That the persons so chosen and assembled in manner aforesaid, or any sixty of them, shall be, and be deemed the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the supreme legislative power to be and reside in the Lord Protector and such Parliament, in manner herein expressed.

XXIII. That the Lord Protector, with the advice of the major part of the Council, shall at any other time than is before expressed, when the necessities of the State shall require it, summon Parliaments in manner before expressed, which shall not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved without

their own consent, during the first three months of their sitting. And in case of future war with any foreign State, a Parliament shall be forthwith summoned for their advice concerning the same.

XXIV. That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, shall be presented to the Lord Protector for his consent; and in case he shall not give his consent thereto within twenty days after they shall be presented to him, or give satisfaction to the Parliament within the time limited, that then, upon declaration of the Parliament that the Lord Protector hath not consented nor given satisfaction, such Bills shall pass into and become laws, although he shall not give his consent thereunto; provided such Bills contain nothing in them contrary to the matters contained in these presents.

XXV. That Henry Lawrence, Esq., &c.,<sup>1</sup> or any seven of them, shall be a Council for the purposes expressed in this writing; and upon the death or other removal of any of them, the Parliament shall nominate six persons of ability, integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed; out of which the major part of the Council shall elect two, and present them to the Lord Protector, of which he shall elect one; and in case the Parliament shall not nominate within twenty days after notice given unto them thereof, the major part of the Council shall nominate three as aforesaid to the Lord Protector, who out of them shall supply the vacancy; and until this choice be made, the remaining part of the Council shall execute as fully in all things, as if their number were full. And in case of corruption, or other miscarriage in any of the Council in their trust, the Parliament shall appoint seven of their number, and the Council six, who, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being, shall have power to hear and determine such corruption and miscarriage, and to award and inflict punishment, as the nature of the offence shall deserve, which punishment shall not be pardoned or remitted by the Lord Protector; and, in the interval of Parliaments, the major part of the Council, with the consent of the Lord Protector, may, for corruption or other miscarriage as aforesaid, suspend any of their number from the exercise of their trust, if they shall find it just, until the matter shall be heard and examined as aforesaid.

XXVI. That the Lord Protector and the major part of the

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<sup>1</sup> The names of fifteen members are given here.

Council aforesaid may, at any time before the meeting of the next Parliament, add to the Council such persons as they shall think fit, provided the number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed twenty-one, and the quorum to be proportioned accordingly by the Lord Protector and the major part of the Council.

XXVII. That a constant yearly revenue shall be raised, settled, and established for maintaining of 10,000 horse and dragoons, and 20,000 foot, in England, Scotland and Ireland, for the defence and security thereof, and also for a convenient number of ships for guarding of the seas; besides £200,000 per annum for defraying the other necessary charges of administration of justice, and other expenses of the Government, which revenue shall be raised by the customs, and such other ways and means as shall be agreed upon by the Lord Protector and the Council, and shall not be taken away or diminished, nor the way agreed upon for raising the same altered, but by the consent of the Lord Protector and the Parliament.

XXVIII. That the said yearly revenue shall be paid into the public treasury, and shall be issued out for the uses aforesaid.

XXIX. That in case there shall not be cause hereafter to keep up so great a defence both at land or sea, but that there be an abatement made thereof, the money which will be saved thereby shall remain in bank for the public service, and not be employed to any other use but by consent of Parliament, or, in the intervals of Parliament, by the Lord Protector and major part of the Council.

XXX. That the raising of money for defraying the charge of the present extraordinary forces, both at sea and land, in respect of the present wars, shall be by consent of Parliament, and not otherwise: save only that the Lord Protector, with the consent of the major part of the Council, for preventing the disorders and dangers which might otherwise fall out both by sea and land, shall have power, until the meeting of the first Parliament, to raise money for the purposes aforesaid; and also to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of these nations where it shall be necessary, which shall be binding and in force, until order shall be taken in Parliament concerning the same.

XXXI. That the lands, tenements, rents, royalties, jurisdictions and hereditaments which remain yet unsold or undisposed of, by Act or Ordinance of Parliament, belonging to the Commonwealth (except the forests and chases, and the hon-

ours and manors belonging to the same; the lands of the rebels in Ireland, lying in the four counties of Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Carlow; the lands forfeited by the people of Scotland in the late wars, and also the lands of Papists and delinquents in England who have not yet compounded), shall be vested in the Lord Protector, to hold, to him and his successors, Lords Protectors of these nations, and shall not be alienated but by consent in Parliament. And all debts, fines, issues, amercements, penalties and profits, certain and casual, due to the Keepers of the liberties of England by authority of Parliament, shall be due to the Lord Protector, and be payable into his public receipt, and shall be recovered and prosecuted in his name.

XXXII. That the office of Lord Protector over these nations shall be elective and not hereditary; and upon the death of the Lord Protector, another fit person shall be forthwith elected to succeed him in the Government; which election shall be by the Council, who, immediately upon the death of the Lord Protector, shall assemble in the Chamber where they usually sit in Council; and, having given notice to all their members of the cause of their assembling, shall, being thirteen at least present, proceed to the election; and, before they depart the said Chamber, shall elect a fit person to succeed in the Government, and forthwith cause proclamation thereof to be made in all the three nations as shall be requisite; and the person that they, or the major part of them, shall elect as aforesaid, shall be, and shall be taken to be, Lord Protector over these nations of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging. Provided that none of the children of the late King, nor any of his line or family, be elected to be Lord Protector or other Chief Magistrate over these nations, or any the dominions thereto belonging. And until the aforesaid election be past, the Council shall take care of the Government, and administer in all things as fully as the Lord Protector, or the Lord Protector and Council are enabled to do.

XXXIII. That Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of the forces of England, Scotland and Ireland, shall be, and is hereby declared to be, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, for his life.

XXXIV. That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the

Benches, shall be chosen by the approbation of Parliament; and, in the intervals of Parliament, by the approbation of the major part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

XXXV. That the Christian religion, as contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; and that, as soon as may be, a provision, less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, for the instructing the people, and for discovery and confutation of error, hereby, and whatever is contrary to sound doctrine; and until such provision be made, the present maintenance shall not be taken away or impeached.

XXXVI. That to the public profession held forth none shall be compelled by penalties or otherwise; but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine and the example of a good conversation.

XXXVII. That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion; so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts: provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practice licentiousness.

XXXVIII. That all laws, statutes and ordinances, and clauses in any law, statute or ordinance to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void.

XXXIX. That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament made for the sale or other disposition of the lands, rents and hereditaments of the late King, Queen, and Prince, of Archbishops and Bishops, &c., Deans and Chapters, the lands of delinquents and forest-lands, or any of them, or of any other lands, tenements, rents and hereditaments belonging to the Commonwealth, shall nowise be impeached or made invalid, but shall remain good and firm; and that the securities given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament for any sum or sums of money, by any of the said lands, the excise, or any other public revenue; and also the securities given by the public faith of the nation, and the engagement of the public faith for satisfaction of debts and damages, shall remain firm and good, and not be made void and invalid upon any pretence whatsoever.



XL. That the Articles given to or made with the enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, shall be performed and made good to the persons concerned therein; and that such appeals as were depending in the last Parliament for relief concerning bills of sale of delinquent's estates, may be heard and determined the next Parliament, any thing in this writing or otherwise to the contrary notwithstanding.

XLI. That every successive Lord Protector over these nations shall take and subscribe a solemn oath, in the presence of the Council, and such others as they shall call to them, that he will seek the peace, quiet and welfare of these nations, cause law and justice to be equally administered; and that he will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained in this writing, and in all other things will, to his power and to the best of his understanding, govern these nations according to the laws, statutes and customs thereof.

XLII. That each person of the Council shall, before they enter upon their trust, take and subscribe an oath, that they will be true and faithful in their trust, according to the best of their knowledge; and that in the election of every successive Lord Protector they shall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any promise, fear, favour or reward.

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The Instrument of Government was a constitution adopted by Cromwell and his Council of Officers when the Little Parliament dissolved itself in December, 1653, surrendering authority to Cromwell as Lord Protector. It is therefore to be regarded as the constitutional basis or definition of the Protectorate; and under it the reformed Parliament met in September, 1654. This assembly proceeded to settle the government on a Parliamentary basis, taking the "Instrument" as the groundwork of the new constitution, and carrying it clause by clause. The Instrument of Government holds therefore not only an important place in English political history, but in the general history of the development of the idea of a written constitution. The chief points in which the Parliamentary constitutional scheme differed from the Instrument of Government may be best seen as given in tabulated form by Gardiner. *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, Introduction, lx. Gardiner's comments upon the Instrument of Government itself are as follows:

"The Instrument of Government was intended to suit a Constitutional Government carried on by a Protector and a single House. The Protector therefore stepped into the place of the King, and there were therefore clauses inserted to define and check the power of the Protector, which may fitly be compared with those of the Heads of the Proposals. The main difference lay in this, that the Heads of the Proposals were intended to check a King who, at least for some time to come, was to be regarded as hostile to the Parliament, whereas the Instrument of Government was drawn up with the sanction of the Protector, and therefore took it for granted that the Protector was not to be guarded against as a possible enemy. His power however was to be limited first by his Council of State, and secondly by Parliament.

Parliament was to be elected and to meet, not as according to the Agreement of the People [see Old South Leaflets, No. 26], once in two, but once in three years (§ 7), and to remain in session at least five months (§ 8). It was to be elected in accordance with a scheme for the redistribution of seats based on that set forth in the Agreement of the People (§ 10), the Protector and Council having leave to establish constituencies in Scotland and Ireland, which were now to send members to the Parliament of Westminster. It was the first attempt at a Parliamentary union between the three countries carried out at a time when such a union was only possible because two of the countries had been conquered by one. Instead of the old freehold franchise, or of the rating franchise of the Agreement of the People, there was the franchise in the counties to be given to the possessors of real or personal estate to the value of £200 (§ 18). As nothing was said about the boroughs, the right of election would remain in those who had it under the Monarchy, that is to say, it would vary according to the

custom of each borough. In those boroughs in which the corporations elected, the feeling by this time would be likely to be anti-Royalist. The disqualification clauses were less stringently drawn than in the Ageement of the People, but all who had abetted the King in the war were to be deprived of their votes at the first election and of the right of sitting in the first four Parliaments (§ 14). Those who had abetted the Rebellion in Ireland, or were Roman Catholics, were permanently disqualified from sitting or voting. . . .

The clauses relating to the power of Parliament in matters of finance seem to have been modelled on the old notion that 'the King was to live of his own' in ordinary times. A constant yearly revenue was to be raised for supporting an army of 30,000 men — now regarded as a permanent charge — and for a fleet sufficient to guard the seas as well as £200,000 for the domestic administration. The total amount, and the sources of the necessary taxation, were to be settled by the Protector and Council; Parliament having no right to diminish it without the consent of the Protector (§ 27). With respect to war expenses, they were to be met by votes of Parliament, except that in the intervals of Parliament the Protector and Council might raise money to meet sudden emergencies from war till the Parliament could meet (§ 30), which the Protector and Council were bound to summon for an extraordinary session in such an emergency (§ 23). . . .

The functions of the Council were of considerable importance. In all important matters the Protector had to act by its advice, and when Parliament was not in session it was to join him in passing Ordinances which were to be obeyed until in the next session Parliament either confirmed them or disallowed them (§ 30). On the death of the Protector it was the Council which was to elect his successor (§ 32). . . .

The Instrument of Government suffered not only under the vice of ignoring the probable necessity of its amendment in the future, but also under the vice of having no support either in traditional loyalty nor in national sanction. If, however, we pass over these all-important faults, and discuss it from the purely constitutional point of view, it is impossible not to be struck with the ability of its framers, even if we pronounce their work to be not entirely satisfactory. It bears the stamp of an intention to steer a middle course between the despotism of a 'single person' and the despotism of a 'single House.' Parliament had supreme rights of legislation, and the Protector was not only sworn to administer the law, but every illegal act would come before the courts of law for condemnation. Parliament, too, had the right of disapproving the nominations to the principal ministerial offices, and of voting money for conducting operations in time of war. Where it fell short of the powers of modern Parliaments was in its inability to control administrative acts, and in its powerlessness to refuse supplies for the carrying on of the government in time of peace. A modern Parliament can exercise these powers with safety, because if it uses them foolishly a government can dissolve it and appeal to the nation, whereas Cromwell, who was but the head of a party in the minority, and whose real strength rested on the army, did not venture to appeal to the nation at large, or even to appeal too frequently to the constituencies who were to elect his Parliament.

The real constitutional safeguard was intended to be in the Council of State. Ultimately, after the death of the Councillors named in the Instrument, the Council of State would indirectly represent the Parliament, as no one would have a place on it whose name had not been one of six presented by Parliament. In the Council of State, the Protector would be in much the same position as a modern Prime Minister in his Cabinet, except that each member of the Council held his position for life, whereas a modern Prime Minister can obtain the resignation of any member of the Cabinet with whom he is in strong disagreement. On the other hand, the greater part of the members of a modern Cabinet are heads of executive departments, and thus have a certain independent position of their own. In some respects indeed, the relations between the Protector and the Council were more like those between an American President and the Senate in executive session, than those between an English Prime Minister and the Cabinet. The members of the American Senate are entirely independent of the President, as the members of the Council of the Protectorate were entirely independent of the Protector when once they had been chosen. On the other hand, the two bodies differed in a most important particular. The tendency of the American Senate, which is never officially brought into personal contact with the President, is to be antagonistic to the President. The tendency of the Council of State, which was in daily contact with the Protector, was to work with him instead of against him. It was not, however, in consequence of its merits or demerits as a constitutional settlement that the Instrument of Government failed. It broke down because the first Parliament summoned under it refused to acknowledge its binding force, and claimed to be a constituent as well as a legislative body."



# Cromwell's First Speech

TO THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

JULY 4, 1653.

GENTLEMEN :

I suppose the Summons that hath been instrumental to bring you hither gives you well to understand the occasion of your being here. Howbeit, I have something farther to impart to you, which is an Instrument drawn-up by the consent and advice of the principal Officers of the Army; which is a little (as we conceive) more significant than the Letter of the Summons. We have that here to tender you; and somewhat likewise to say farther for our own exoneration:<sup>1</sup> which we hope may be somewhat farther for your satisfaction. And withal seeing you sit here somewhat uneasily by reason of the scantness of the room and heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect thereunto.

We have not thought it amiss a little to remind you of that Series of Providences wherein the Lord hath appeared, dispensing wonderful things to these Nations from the beginning of our Troubles to this very day.

If I should look much backward, we might remind you of the state of affairs as they were before the Short, that is the last, Parliament,—in what posture the things of this Nation then stood: but they do so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledge, that I shall not need to look so far backward. Nor yet to those hostile occasions which arose between the King that was and the Parliament<sup>2</sup> that then followed. And indeed, should I begin much later, the things that would fall very necessarily before you, would rather be for a History than for a verbal Discourse at this present.

<sup>1</sup> "Exoneration" does not here mean "excuse," but mere laying-down of office with due form.

<sup>2</sup> The Long Parliament.

But thus far we may look back. You very well know, it pleased God, much about the midst of this War, to win now (if I may so say) the Forces of this Nation;<sup>1</sup> and to put them into the hands of other men of other principles than those that did engage at the first. By what ways and means that was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me to mind you of it. Indeed, there are Stories that do recite those Transactions, and give you narratives of matters of fact: but those things wherein the life and power of them lay; those strange windings and turnings of Providence; those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the purposes of men, that He might raise up a poor and contemptible company of men,<sup>2</sup> neither versed in military affairs, nor having much natural propensity to them, “into wonderful success—!” Simply by their owning a Principle of Godliness and Religion; which so soon as *it* came to be owned, and the state of affairs put upon the foot of that account,<sup>3</sup> how God blessed them, furthering all undertakings, yet using the most improbable and the most contemptible and despicable means (for that we shall ever own): is very well known to you.

What the several Successes and Issues have been, is not fit to mention at this time neither; — though I confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon that subject; forasmuch as Considering the works of God, and the operations of His hands, is a principal part of our duty; and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands and of our faith, for that which is behind.<sup>4</sup> And among other ends which those marvellous Dispensations have been given us for, that’s a principal end, which ought to be minded by us.

“Certainly” in this revolution of affairs, as the issue of those Successes which God was pleased to give to the Army, and “to” the Authority that then stood, there were very great things brought about; — besides those dints that came upon the Nations<sup>5</sup> and places where the War itself was, very great things in Civil matters too. “As first,” the bringing of Offenders to justice, — and the Greatest of them. Bringing of the State of this Government to the name (at least) of a Commonwealth. Searching and sifting of all persons and places. The King removed, and brought to justice; and many great ones with him. The House of Peers laid aside. The House of Commons itself, the representative of the People of England,

<sup>1</sup> Self-denying Ordinance; beginning of 1645.      <sup>2</sup> Fairfax’s Army.

<sup>3</sup> Upon that footing.

<sup>4</sup> Still to come.

<sup>5</sup> England, Ireland, Scotland.

winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful; as you very well remember.

And truly God would not rest there:—for, by the way, although it's fit for us to ascribe<sup>1</sup> our failings and miscarriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of the work may well be attributed to God Himself, and may be called His strange work. You remember well that at the Change of the Government there was not an end of our Troubles,—although in that year were such high things transacted as indeed made it to be the most memorable year (I mean the Year 1648) that this Nation ever saw. So many Insurrections,<sup>2</sup> Invasions, secret Designs, open and public Attempts, all quashed in so short a time, and this by the very signal appearance of God Himself; which, I hope, we shall never forget!—You know also, as I said before, that, as the first effect of that memorable year of 1648 was to lay a foundation, by bringing Offenders to Punishment, so it brought us likewise to the Change of Government:—although it were worth the time “perhaps, if one had time,” to speak of the carriage of some in places of trust, in most eminent places of trust, which was such as (had not God miraculously appeared) would have frustrated us of the hopes of all our undertakings. I mean by the closure of the Treaty that was endeavoured with the King;<sup>3</sup> whereby they would have put into his hands all that we had engaged for, and all our security should have been a little piece of Paper! That thing going off, you very well know how it kept this Nation still in broils by sea and land. And yet what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland you likewise know; until He had finished these Troubles upon the matter,<sup>4</sup> by His marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester.

I confess to you, that I am very much troubled in my own spirit that the necessity of affairs requires I should be so short in those things: because, as I told you, this is the *leanest* part of the Transactions, this mere historical Narrative of them; there being in every particular; in the King's first going from the Parliament, in the pulling-down of the Bishops, the House of Peers, in every step towards that Change of the Government,—I say there is not any one of these things, thus re-

<sup>1</sup> “Intitle” in orig.

<sup>2</sup> Kent, St. Neot's, Colchester, Welsh Poyer at Pembroke, Scotch Hamilton at Preston, &c. &c.

<sup>3</sup> Treaty of the Isle of Wight, again and again endeavoured.

<sup>4</sup> Means “so to speak;” a common phrase of those times; a perpetual one with Clarendon, for instance.

moved and reformed, but hath an evident print of Providence set upon it, so that he who runs may read it. I am sorry I have not an opportunity to be more particular on these points, which I principally designed, this day; thereby to stir-up your hearts and mine to gratitude and confidence.

I shall now begin a little to remind you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester. Coming from whence, with the rest of my fellow Officers and Soldiers, we did expect, and had some reasonable confidence our expectations would not be frustrated, That, having such an history to look back unto, such a God, so eminently visible, even our enemies confessing that "God Himself was certainly engaged against them, else they should never have been disappointed in *every* engagement,"—and that may be used by the way, That if we had but miscarried in the least,<sup>1</sup> all our former mercies were in danger to be lost:—I say, coming up then, we had some confidence That the mercies God had shown, and the expectations which were upon our hearts, and upon the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those who were in Authority to do those good things which might, by honest men, have been judged fit for such a God, and worthy of such mercies; and indeed been a discharge of duty from those to whom all these mercies had been shown, for the true interest of this Nation!—If I should now labour to be particular in enumerating how businesses have been transacted from that time to the Dissolution of the late Parliament, indeed I should be upon a theme which would be troublesome to myself. For I think I may say for myself and my fellow Officers, That we have rather desired and studied Healing and Looking-forward than to rake into sores and to look backward,—to give things forth in those colours that would not be very pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we shall say for our own vindication, as pointing out the ground for that unavoidable necessity, nay even that duty that was incumbent upon us, to make this last great Change.—I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two to that. As I said before, we are loath to rake into businesses, were there not a necessity so to do.

Indeed, we may say that, ever since the coming-up of myself and those Gentlemen who have been engaged in the military part, it hath been full in our hearts and thoughts, To desire and use all the fair and lawful means we could to have the Nation reap the fruit of all the blood and treasure that had

<sup>1</sup> Lost one battle of these many.

been spent in this Cause: and we have had many desires, and thirstings in our spirits, to find out ways and means wherein we might be anywise instrumental to help it forward. We were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition. For some of the Officers being Members; and others having very good acquaintance with, and some relations to, divers Members of Parliament, — we did, from time to time, solicit such; thinking if there had been nobody to prompt them, nor call upon them, these things might have been attended to, from ingenuity<sup>†</sup> and integrity in those that had it in their power to answer such expectations.

Truly, when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought according to our duty, a little, to remind them by a Petition; which I suppose you have seen: it was delivered, as I remember, in August last. What effect that had, is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all for our satisfaction, — a few words given us; the things presented by us, or the most of them, we were told “were under consideration:” and those not presented by us had very little or no consideration at all. Finding the People dissatisfied in every corner of the Nation, and “all men” laying at our doors the non-performance of these things, which had been promised, and were of duty to be performed, — truly we did then think ourselves concerned, if we would (as becomes honest men) keep-up the reputation of honest men in the world. And therefore we, divers times, endeavoured to obtain meetings with divers Members of Parliament; — and we did not begin those till about October last. And in these meetings we did, with all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them that they would be mindful of their duty to God and men, in the discharge of the trust reposed in them. I believe (as there are many gentlemen here know), we had at least ten or twelve meetings; most humbly begging and beseeching of them, That by their own means they would bring forth those good things which had been promised and expected; that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the Army, but from their own ingenuity: so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation of the People. Having had very many of those meetings; and declaring plainly that the issue would be the displeasure and judgment of God, the dissatisfaction of the People, the putting of “all” things into a confusion: yet how little we prevailed, we very well know, and we believe it’s not unknown to you.

<sup>†</sup> Ingenuousness.

At last, when indeed we saw that things would not be laid to heart, we had a very serious consideration among ourselves what other ways to have recourse unto; and when we grew to more closer considerations, then they “the Parliament men” began to take the Act for a Representative<sup>1</sup> to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on. And had it been done with integrity, there could nothing have happened more welcome to our judgments than that. But plainly the intention was, Not to give the People a right of choice; it would have been but a seeming right: that “semblance” of giving them a choice was only to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate *themselves*. And truly, having been, divers of us, spoken unto to give way hereunto, to which we made perpetual aversions, indeed abominating the thoughts of it,—we declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction with it. And yet they that would not hear of a Representative formerly, when it lay three years before them, without proceeding one line, or making any considerable progress,—I say, those that would not hear of this Bill formerly, did now, when they saw us falling into more closer considerations, make, instead of protracting their Bill, as much preposterous haste with it on the other side, and run into that “opposite” extremity.

Finding that this spirit was not according to God; and that the whole weight of this Cause,—which must needs be very dear unto us who had so often adventured our lives for it, and we believe it was so to you,—did hang upon the business now in hand; and seeing plainly that there was not here any consideration to assert this Cause, or provide security for *it*, but only to cross the troublesome people of the Army, who by this time were high enough in their displeasures: Truly, I say, when we saw all this, having power in our hands, “we could not resolve” to let such monstrous proceedings go on, and so to throw away all our liberties into the hands of those whom we had fought against; we came, first, to this conclusion among ourselves, That if we had been *fought* out of our liberties and rights, Necessity would have taught us patience; but that to deliver them “sluggishly” up would render us the basest persons in the world, and worthy to be accounted haters of God and of His People. When it pleased God to lay this close to our hearts; and indeed to show us that the interest of His People was grown cheap, “that *it* was” not at all laid to heart, but that if things came to real competition, His Cause, even among them-

<sup>1</sup> For a New Parliament and Method of Election,



selves, would also in every point go to the ground: indeed, this did add more considerations to us, That there was a duty incumbent upon us, "even upon us." And, — I speak here in the presence of some that were at the closure of our consultations, and as before the Lord, — the thinking of an act of violence was to us worse than any battle that ever we were in, or that could be, to the utmost hazard of our lives: so willing were we, even very tender and desirous, if possible, that these men might quit their places with honour.

I am the longer upon this; because it hath been in our own hearts and consciences, justifying us, and hath never been yet thoroughly imparted to any; and we had rather begin with you than have done it before; — and do think indeed that this Transaction is more proper for a verbal communication than to have it put into writing. I doubt, he whose pen is most gentle in England would, in recording that, have been tempted, whether he would or no, to dip it deep in anger and wrath. But affairs being at this posture; we seeing plainly, even in some critical cases, that the Cause of the People of God was a despised thing; — truly we did believe then that the hands of other men "than these" must be the hands to be used for the work. And we thought then, it was very high time to look about us, and to be sensible of *our* duty.

If, I say, I should take-up your time to tell you what instances we have to satisfy our judgments and consciences, That these are not vain imaginations, nor things fictitious, but which fell within the compass of our own certain knowledge, it would bring me, I say, to what I would avoid, to rake-into these things too much. Only this. If anybody was in competition for any place of real and signal trust, "if any really public interest was at stake in that Parliament," how hard and difficult a matter was it to get anything carried without making parties, — without practices indeed unworthy of a Parliament! When things must be carried so in a Supreme Authority, indeed I think it is not as it ought to be, to say no worse! — Then, when we came to other trials, as in that case of Wales, "of establishing a Preaching Ministry in Wales," which, I must confess for my own part, I set myself upon, — if I should relate what discountenance that business of the poor People of God there had (who had men<sup>1</sup> watching over them like so many wolves, ready to catch the lambs so soon as they were brought forth into the world); how signally that Business was trodden under foot "in Parliament," to the discountenancing of the Honest People,

<sup>1</sup> Clergymen so-called,

and the countenancing of the Malignant Party, of this Commonwealth—! I need but say it was so. For many of you know, and by sad experience have felt it to be so. And somebody I hope will, at leisure, better impart to you the state of that Business “of Wales;” which really, to myself and Officers, was as plain a trial of their spirits, “the Parliament’s spirits,” as anything,—it being known to many of us that God had kindled a seed there,<sup>1</sup> indeed hardly to be paralleled since the Primitive time.—

I would these had been all the instances we had! Finding, “however,” which way the spirits of men went, finding that good was never intended to the People of God,—I mean, when I say the People of God, I mean the *large* comprehension of them, under the several Forms of Godliness in this Nation;—finding, I say, that all tenderness was forgotten to the Good People (though it was by *their* hands and their means, under the blessing of God, that *those* sat where they did),—we thought this very bad requital! I will not say, they were come to an utter inability of working Reformation,—though I might say so in regard to one thing: the Reformation of the Law, so much groaned under in the posture it now is in. That was a thing we had many good words spoken for; but we know that many months together were not enough for the settling of one word, “Incumbrances,”—I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of men,—although these were faults for which no man should lift-up his hand against the Superior Magistrate; not simply for these faults and failings,—yet when we saw that this “New Representative of theirs” was meant to perpetuate men of such spirits; nay when we had it from their own mouths, That they could not endure to hear of the Dissolution of this Parliament: we thought this an high breach of trust. If they had been a Parliament never violence was upon,<sup>2</sup> sitting as free and clear as any in former ages, it was thought, this, to be a breach of trust, such as a greater could not be.

And that we might not be in doubt about these matters; having had that Conference among ourselves which I gave you an account of, we did desire one more,—and indeed it was the night before the Dissolution; it had been desired two or three nights before: we did desire that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the House. That we might with inge-

<sup>1</sup> “Kindle” = *kindeln* (German), meaning “give birth to,” “create.” Occurs in Shakspeare.

<sup>2</sup> Had no Pride’s Purge, Apprentice-riot, or the like, ever come upon them.

nity open our hearts to them; that we might either be convinced of the certainty of their intentions; or else that they would be pleased to hear our expedients to prevent these inconveniences. And indeed we could not attain our desire till the night before the Dissolution. There is a touch of this in our Declaration.<sup>1</sup> As I said before, at that time we had often desired it, and at that time we obtained it: where about Twenty of them were, none of the least in consideration for their interest and ability; with whom we desired some discourse upon these things; and had it. And it pleased these Gentlemen, who are here, the Officers of the Army, to desire me to offer their sense for them, which I did, and it was shortly thus: We told them “the reason of our desire to wait upon them now was, that we might know from them, What security lay in their manner of proceeding, so hastened, for a New Representative; wherein they had made a few qualifications, such as they were: and How the whole business would, ‘in actual practice,’ be executed: Of which we had as yet no account; and yet we had our interest, our lives, estates and families therein concerned; and, we thought likewise, the Honest People had interest in us: ‘How all this was to be?’ That so, if it did seem they meant to appear in such honest and just ways as might be security to the Honest Interest, we might therein acquiesce: or else that they would hear what we had to offer.” Indeed, when this desire was made, the answer was, “That nothing would do good for this Nation but the continuance of this Parliament!” We wondered we should have such a return. We said little to that: but, seeing they would not give us satisfaction that their ways were honourable and just, we craved their leave to make our objections. We then told them, That the way they were going in would be impracticable. “That” we could not tell how to send out an Act with such qualifications as to be a rule for electing and for being elected, Until we first knew who the persons were that should be admitted to elect. And above all, Whether any of the qualifications reached “so far as to include” the Presbyterian Party.<sup>2</sup> And we were bold to tell them, That none of that judgment who had deserted this Cause and Interest<sup>3</sup> should have any power therein. We did think we should profess it, That we had as good deliver up our Cause into the hands of any as into the hands of those who had deserted us, or who were as neu-

<sup>1</sup> Of April 22d.

<sup>2</sup> “Presbytery” in orig.

<sup>3</sup> Royalists, Hamilton-Invasion Presbyterians.

ters! For it's one thing to love a brother, to bear with and love a person of different judgment in matters of religion; and another thing to have anybody so far set in the saddle on that account, as to have all the rest of his brethren at mercy.

Truly, Gentlemen, having this discourse concerning the impracticableness of the thing, the bringing-in of neuters, and such as had deserted this Cause, whom we very well knew; objecting likewise how dangerous it would be by drawing concourses of people in the several Counties (every person that was within the qualification or without); and how did it fall obvious to us that the power would come into the hands of men who had very little affection to this Cause: the answer again was made, and that by very eminent persons, "That nothing would save the Nation but the continuance of this Parliament." This being so, we humbly proposed, — since neither our counsels, our objections to their way of proceeding, nor their answers to justify that, did give us satisfaction; nor did we think they ever intended to give us any, which indeed some of them have since declared "to be the fact," — we proposed to them, I say, *our* expedient; which was indeed this: That the Government of the Nation being in such a condition as we saw, and things "being" under so much ill sense abroad, and likely to end in confusion "if we so proceeded," — we desired they would devolve the trust over to some Well-affected Men, such as had an interest in the Nation, and were known to be of good affection to the Commonwealth. Which, we told them, was no new thing when this Land was under the like hurlyburly. And we had been labouring to get precedents "out of History" to convince them of it; and it was confessed by them it had been no new thing. This expedient we offered out of the deep sense we had of the Cause of Christ; and were answered so as I told you, That nothing would save this Nation but the continuance of that Parliament. "The continuance:" they would not "be brought to" say the *perpetuating* of it, at this time; yet we found their endeavours did directly tend that way; they gave us this answer, "That the thing we offered was of a very high nature and of tender consideration: How would money be raised?" — and made some other objections. We told them "how;" and that we here offered an expedient five times better than that "of theirs," for which no reason was given, nor we thought could be given; — and desired them that they would lay things seriously to heart! They told us, They would take time for the consideration of these things till tomorrow; they would sleep upon them, and consult some friends; "some

friends," — though, as I said, there were about Twenty-three "of them here," and not above Fifty-three in the House. And at parting, two or three of the chief of them, one of the chief, and two or three more, did tell us, That they would endeavour to suspend farther proceedings about their Bill for a New Representative until they had another conference with us. And upon this we had great satisfaction; and had hope, if our expedient could receive a loving debate, that the next day we should have some such issue thereof as would give satisfaction to all.<sup>1</sup> And herewith they went away, "it" being late at night.

The next morning, we considering how to order what we had farther to offer to them in the evening, word was brought us that the House was proceeding with all speed upon the New Representative! We could not believe it, that such persons would be so unworthy; we remained there till a second and third messenger came, with tidings That the House was really upon that business, and had brought it near to the issue, — and with that height<sup>2</sup> as was never before exercised; leaving out all things relating to the due exercise of the qualifications (which had appeared all along "in it till now"); and "meaning," as we heard, to pass it only on paper, without engrossing, for the quicker despatch of it. — Thus, as we apprehend, would the Liberties of the Nation have been thrown away into the hands of those who had never fought for it. And upon this we thought it our duty not to suffer it. — And upon this the House was dissolved, even when the Speaker was going to put the last question.

I have too much troubled you with this: but we have made this relation, that you might know that what hath been done in the Dissolution of the Parliament was as necessary to be done as the preservation of this Cause. And the necessity which led us to do that, hath brought us to this "present" issue, Of exercising an extraordinary way and course to draw You together "here;" upon this account, that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of His marvellous Dispensations; and may be trusted, as far as men may be trusted, with this Cause.

It remains now for me to acquaint you "a little" farther with what relates to your taking upon you this great Business.

<sup>1</sup> "Hoping by conference to have satisfaction to all" in orig.

<sup>2</sup> Violence, height of temper.

“But indeed” that is contained in the Paper<sup>1</sup> here in my hand, which will be offered presently to you to read. But having done that, we have done upon such ground of necessity as we have “now” declared, which was not a feigned necessity but a real, — “it did behove us,” to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and our integrity who did these things, Not to grasp at the power ourselves, or keep it in military hands, no not for a day; but, as far as God enabled us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands of Proper Persons that might be called from the several parts of the Nation. This necessity; and I hope we may say for ourselves, this integrity of concluding to divest the Sword of all power in the Civil Administration, — hath been that that hath moved us to put You to this trouble “of coming hither:” and having done that, truly we think we cannot, with the discharge of our own consciences, but offer somewhat to you on the devolving of the burden on your shoulders.<sup>2</sup> It hath been the practice of others who have, voluntarily and out of a sense of duty, divested themselves, and devolved the Government into new hands; I say, it hath been the practice of those that have done so; it hath been practised, and is very consonant to reason, To lay “down,” together with their Authority, some Charge “how to employ it,” (as we hope we have done), and to press the duty “of employing it well:” concerning which we have a word or two to offer you.

Truly God hath called you to this Work by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time. And truly I think, taking the argument of necessity, for the Government must not *fall*; taking the appearance of the hand of God in this thing, — “I think” you would have been loath it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies! I am sure, God would not have it so. It’s come, therefore, to you by the way of necessity; by the way of the wise Providence of God, — through weak hands. And therefore, I think, coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be ill taken if we do offer somewhat (as I said before) as to the discharge of the Trust which is now incumbent upon you. And although I seem to speak of that which may have the face and interpretation of a Charge, it’s a very humble one: and if he that means to be a Servant to you, who hath now called you to the exercise of the Supreme

<sup>1</sup> An Indenture or Instrument of Government, some account of which may be found in *Parliamentary History*, xx, 175.

<sup>2</sup> “For our own exoneration” in orig.

Authority, discharge what he conceives to be a duty to you, we hope you will take it in good part.

And truly I shall not hold you long in it; because I hope it's written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God. Only this Scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit: *Hosea*, xi. 12, "Judah yet ruleth with God and is faithful with the Saints." It's said before, that "Ephraim compassed God about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit." How God hath been compassed about by fastings and thanksgivings,<sup>1</sup> and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all cause to lament. Truly you are called by God, "as Judah was," to "rule with Him," and for Him. And you are called to be faithful with the Saints who have been instrumental to your call. "Again," *Second Samuel*, xxi. 3, "He that ruleth over men," the Scripture saith, "must be just, ruling in the fear of God."

And truly it's better to *pray* for you than to *counsel* you in that matter, That you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth! It's better, I say, to pray for you than counsel you; to ask wisdom from Heaven for you; which I am confident many thousands of Saints do this day, "and" have done, and will do, through the permission of God and His assistance. I say it's better to pray than advise: yet truly I think of another Scripture, which is very useful, though it seems to be for a common application to every man as a Christian, — wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom; and he is told what that is. That's "from Above," we are told; it's "pure, peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;" it's "without partiality and without hypocrisy." Truly my thoughts run much upon this place, that to the execution of judgment (the judgment of truth, for that's the judgment) you must have wisdom "from Above;" and that's "pure." That will teach you to exercise the judgment of truth; it's "without partiality." Purity, impartiality, sincerity: these are the effects of "wisdom," and these will help you to execute the judgment of truth. And then if God give you hearts to be "easy to be entreated," to be "peaceably spirited," to be "full of good fruits," bearing good fruits to the Nation, to men as men, to the People of God, to all in their several stations, — *this* will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth. And I

<sup>1</sup> There was a Monthly Fast, the last Wednesday of every Month, held duly for about Seven Years till abolished after the King's Death. These and other occasions had been attended by much that was unseemly.

have little more to say to this. I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf, as I said; and many others will.

Truly the "judgment of truth," it will teach you to be as just towards an Unbeliever as towards a Believer; and it's our duty to do so. I confess I have said sometimes, foolishly it may be: I had rather miscarry to a Believer than an Unbeliever. This may seem a paradox:—but let's take heed of doing that which is evil to either! Oh, if God fill your hearts with such a spirit as Moses had, and as Paul had,—which was not a spirit for Believers only, but for the whole People! Moses, he could die for them; wish himself "blotted out of God's Book:" Paul could wish himself "accursed for his countrymen after the flesh:" so full of affection were their spirits unto all. And truly this would help you to execute the judgment of truth, and of mercy also.

A second thing is, To desire you would be faithful with the Saints; to be touched with them. And I hope, whatever others may think, it may be a matter to us all of rejoicing to have our hearts touched (with reverence be it spoken) as Christ, "being full of the spirit," was "touched with our infirmities," that He might be merciful. So should we be; we should be pitiful. Truly, this calls us to be very much touched with the infirmities of the Saints; that we may have a respect unto all, and be pitiful and tender towards all, though of different judgments. And if I did seem to speak something that reflected on those of the Presbyterial judgment,—truly I think if we have not an interest of love for them too, we shall<sup>1</sup> hardly answer this of being faithful to the Saints.

In my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture often, Forty-first of *Isaiah*; where God gave me, and some of my fellows, encouragement "as to" what He would do there and elsewhere; which He hath performed for us. He said, "He would plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle and the oil-tree; and He would set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine-tree, and the box-tree together." For what end will the Lord do all this? "That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, That the hand of the Lord hath done this;"—that it is He who hath wrought all the salvations and deliverances we have received. For what end? To see, and know, and understand together, that He hath done and wrought all this for the good of the Whole Flock. Therefore, I beseech you,—but I think I need not,—have a care of the Whole Flock! Love

<sup>1</sup> "Will" in orig.



the sheep, love the lambs; love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, — I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected.

I think I need not advise, much less press you, to endeavour the Promoting of the Gospel; to encourage the Ministry;<sup>1</sup> such a Ministry and such Ministers as be faithful in the Land; upon whom the true character is. Men that have received the Spirit, which Christians will be able to discover, and do “the will of;” men that “have received Gifts from Him who is ascended up on high, who hath led captivity captive, to *give* gifts to men,” even for this same work of the Ministry! And truly the Apostle, speaking in another place, in the Twelfth of the *Romans*, when he has summed-up all the mercies of God, and the goodness of God; and discoursed, in the former Chapters, of the foundations of the Gospel, and of those things that are the subject of those first Eleven Chapters, — he beseecheth them to “present their bodies a living sacrifice.” He beseecheth them that they would not esteem highly of themselves, but be humble and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line; and also that they would have a care for those that “had received gifts” to the uses there mentioned. I speak not, — I thank God it is far from my heart, — for a Ministry deriving itself from the Papacy, and pretending to that which is so much insisted on, “Succession.” The true Succession is through the Spirit — given in its measure. The Spirit is given for that use, “To make proper Speakers-forth of God’s eternal Truth;” and that’s right Succession. But I need not discourse of these things to you; who, I am persuaded, are taught of God, much more and in a greater measure than myself, concerning these things.

Indeed I have but one word more to say to you; though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: it’s by way of encouragement to go on in this Work. And give me leave to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a Day as this, — it may be nor you neither, — when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is, this day, in this Work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by the Call of You; and you own Him by your willingness to appear for Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a Day of the Power of Christ. I know you well remember that Scripture, “He makes His People willing in the day of His power.” God manifests this

<sup>1</sup> Preaching Clergy.

to be the Day of the Power of Christ; having, through so much blood, and so much trial as hath been upon these Nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof: To have His People called to the Supreme Authority. He makes this to be the greatest mercy, next to His own Son. God hath owned His Son; and He hath owned you, and made you own Him. I confess I never looked to have seen such a day; I did not.—Perhaps you are not known by face to one another; “indeed” I am confident you are strangers, coming from all parts of the Nation as you do: but we shall tell you that indeed we have not allowed ourselves the choice of one person in whom we had not this good hope, That there was in him faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all His People and Saints.

Thus God hath owned you in the eyes of the world; and thus, by coming hither, you own Him: and, as it is in *Isaiah*, xliii. 21, — it’s an high expression; and look to your own hearts whether, now or hereafter, God shall apply it to *you*: “This People,” saith God, “I have formed for Myself, that they may show forth my praise.” I say, it’s a memorable passage; and, I hope, not unfitly applied: the Lord apply it to each of your hearts! I shall not descant upon the words; they are plain: indeed you are as like the “forming of God” as ever people were. If a man should tender a Book to you “to swear you upon,” I dare appeal to all your consciences, Neither directly nor indirectly did you seek for your coming hither. You have been passive in coming hither; being *called*, — and indeed that’s an active work, — “though not on your part!” “This People have *I formed* :” consider the circumstances by which you are “called” hither; through what strivings, through what blood you are come hither, — where neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had any thought to have seen such a company taking upon them, or rather being called to take, the Supreme Authority of this Nation! Therefore, own your call! Indèed, I think it may be truly said that there never was a Supreme Authority consisting of such a Body, above One-hundred-and-forty, I believe; “never such a Body” that came into the Supreme Authority “before,” under such a notion “as this,” in such a way of owning God, and being owned by Him. And therefore I may also say, never such a “People” so “formed,” for such a purpose, “were” thus called before.

If it were a time to compare your standing with “that of” those that have been “called” by the Suffrages of the People — Which who can tell how soon God may fit the People for such

a thing? None can desire it more than I! Would all were the Lord's People; as it was said, "Would all the Lord's People were Prophets!" I would all were fit to be called. It ought to be the longing of our hearts to see men brought to own the Interest of Jesus Christ. And give me leave to say: If I know anything in the world, what is there likelier to win the People to the interest of Jesus Christ, to the love of Godliness (and therefore what stronger duty lies on you, being thus called), than an humble and godly conversation? So that they may see "that" you love them; "that" you lay yourselves out, time and spirits, for them! Is not this the likeliest way to bring them to their liberties? And do not you, by this, put it upon God to find out times and seasons for you; "fit seasons" by putting forth His Spirit? At least you convince them that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their bondage under the Regal Power, so men fearing God do now rule them in the fear of God, and take care to administer Good unto them. — But this is some digression. I say, own your call; for it is of God! Indeed, it is marvellous, and it hath been unprojected. It's not long since either you or we came to know of it. And indeed this hath been the way God dealt with us all along, To keep things from our eyes all along, so that we have seen nothing, in all His dispensations, long beforehand; — which is also a witness, in some measure, to our integrity. I say, you are called with an high calling. And why should we be afraid to say or think, That *this* may be the door to usher-in the Things that God has promised; which have been prophesied of; which He has set the hearts of His People to wait for and expect? We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb, "against His enemies:" they shall be "a people called, and chosen and faithful." And God hath, in a Military way, — we may speak it without flattering ourselves, and I believe you know it, — He hath appeared with them, "with that same 'people,'" and for them; and now in these Civil Powers and Authorities "does not He appear?" These are not ill prognostications of the God we wait for. Indeed I do think somewhat is at the door: we are at the threshold; — and therefore it becomes us to lift-up our heads, and encourage ourselves in the Lord. And we have thought, some of us, That it is our duties to *endeavour* this way; not merely to *look* at that Prophecy in Daniel, "And the Kingdom shall not be delivered to another people," "and passively wait." Truly God hath brought this to your hands; by the owning of your call; blessing the Military Power. The Lord hath directed

their hearts to be instrumental to call you; and set it upon our hearts to deliver over the Power "to another people." — But I may appear to be beyond my line here; these things are dark. Only, I desire my thoughts<sup>1</sup> to be exercised in these things, and so I hope are yours.

Truly seeing things are thus, that you are at the edge of the Promises and Prophecies — At least, if there were neither Promise nor Prophecy, yet you are carrying, on the best things, you are endeavouring after the best things; and, as I have said elsewhere, if I were to choose any servant, the meanest Officer for the Army or the Commonwealth, I would choose a godly man that hath principles. Especially where a trust is to be committed. Because I know where to *have* a man that hath principles. I believe if any one of you should choose a servant, you would do thus. And I would all our Magistrates were so chosen: — this may be done; there may be good effects of this! Surely it's our duty to choose men that fear the Lord, and will praise the Lord: such hath the Lord "formed for Himself;" and He expects no praises from *other* "than such."

This being so, truly it puts me in mind of another Scripture, that famous Psalm, Sixty eighth Psalm; which indeed is a glorious Prophecy, I am persuaded, of the Gospel Churches, — it may be, of the Jews also. There it prophesies that "He will bring His People again from the depths of the Sea, as once He led Israel through the Red Sea." And it may be, as some think, God will bring the Jews home to their station "from the isles of the sea," and answer their expectations "as from the depths of the sea." But, "at all events," sure I am, when the Lord shall set-up the glory of the Gospel Church, it shall be a gathering of people as "out of deep waters," "out of the multitude of waters:" such are His People, drawn out of the multitudes of the Nations and People of this world. — And truly that Psalm is very glorious in many other parts of it: When He gathers them, "great was the company" of them that publish His word. "Kings of Armies did flee apace, and she that tarried at home divided the spoil;" and "Although ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold." And indeed the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great; and God is accomplishing it. And the close of it, — that closeth with my heart, and I do not doubt with yours, "The Lord shakes the hills and mountains, and they reel." And God

<sup>1</sup> "Senses" in orig.

hath a Hill too ; “ an high Hill as the Hill of Bashan : and the chariots of God are twenty-thousand, even thousands of Angels, and God will dwell upon this Hill for ever ! ”

I am sorry I have troubled you, in such a place of heat as this is, so long. All I have to say, in my own name, and that of my fellow Officers who have joined with me in this work, is : That we shall commend you to the grace of God, to the guidance of His Spirit : “ That ” having thus far served you, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ “ in regard to you, ” we shall be ready in our stations, according as the Providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the “ farther ” work of God, and to that Authority which we shall reckon God hath set over us. And though we have no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands, or visible expressions, of the Officers and Soldiers of the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland “ are set ; ” yet we may say of them, and we may say also with confidence for our brethren at Sea, — with whom neither in Scotland, Ireland, nor at Sea, hath there been any artifice used to persuade their consents to this work, — that nevertheless their consents have flowed in to us from all parts, beyond our expectations : and we may with all confidence say, that as we have their approbation and full consent to the other work, so you have their hearts and affections unto this.<sup>1</sup> And not only theirs : we have very many Papers from the Churches of Christ throughout the Nation ; wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing of obstacles, and approving what we have done in this very thing. And having said this, we shall trouble you no more. But if you will be pleased that this Instrument be read to you, which I have signed by the advice of the Council of Officers, — we shall then leave you to your own thoughts and the guidance of God ; to dispose of yourselves for a farther meeting, as you shall see cause.

I have only this to add. The affairs of the Nation lying on our hands to be taken care of ; and we knowing that both the Affairs at Sea, the Armies in Ireland and Scotland, and the providing of things for the preventing of inconveniences, and the answering of emergencies, did require that there should be no Interruption, but that care ought to be taken for these things ; and foreseeing likewise that before you could digest yourselves into such a method, both for place, time and other circumstances, as you shall please to proceed in, some time would be required, — which the Commonwealth could not bear in respect

<sup>1</sup> “ Other work ” means *dissolving the old Parliament* ; “ this ” is *assembling of you*, “ this very thing. ”

to the managing of things: I have, within a week "past," set-up a Council of State, to whom the managing of affairs is committed. Who, I may say, very voluntarily and freely, before they see how the issue of things will be, have engaged themselves in business; eight or nine of them being Members of the House that late was.—I say I did exercise that power which, I thought, was devolved upon me at that time; to the end affairs might not have any interval "or interruption." And now when you are met, it will ask some time for the settling of your affairs and your way. And, "on the other hand," a day cannot be lost, "or left vacant," but they must be in continual Council till you take farther order. So that the whole matter of their consideration also which regards them is at your disposal, as you shall see cause. And therefore I thought it my duty to acquaint you with thus much, to prevent distractions in your way: That things have been thus ordered; that your affairs will "not stop, but" go on, "in the meanwhile,"—till you see cause to alter this Council; they having no authority or continuance of sitting, except simply until you take farther order.

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What is usually called the Little Parliament, or derisively Barebones's Parliament, was the assembly convened by Cromwell after the expulsion of the Rump Parliament, to provide for "the peace, safety and good government of this Commonwealth." "Its work was, in fact, to be that of a constituent assembly, paving the way for a Parliament on a really national basis." It met on the 4th of July, 1653, and Cromwell, "standing by the window opposite to the middle of the table, and as many of the officers of the army as the room could well contain, some on his right hand, and others on his left, and about him," made the speech printed in the present leaflet. It is remarkable as the first full public expression of his views as to the proper settlement of the government. It is here printed as given by Carlyle, corrected from contemporaneous reports by different hands, in various editions. The passages included in quotation marks are those where the text is in some doubt.

By the instrument which convoked this convention, provision had been made that its authority should be transferred in fifteen months to another assembly elected according to its directions. In December, 1653, however, the assembly, after various dissensions, dissolved itself, surrendering its authority to Cromwell as Lord Protector; and Cromwell, on December 16, announced his intention of ruling according to a constitutional document known as the Instrument of Government, which was adopted by the Council of Officers (see this document, Old South Leaflets, No. 27). The first Parliament on the new basis met at Westminster in September, 1654. See Carlyle's remarks upon the Little Parliament and Cromwell's First Speech, in his "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches."



# The Discovery of America.

FROM THE LIFE OF COLUMBUS, BY HIS SON,  
FERDINAND COLUMBUS.

ALL the conditions which the admiral demanded being conceded by their Catholic majesties, he set out from Granada on the 21st May 1492, for Palos, where he was to fit out the ships for his intended expedition. That town was bound to serve the crown for three months with two caravels, which were ordered to be given to Columbus ; and he fitted out these and a third vessel with all care and diligence. The ship in which he personally embarked was called the St. Mary ; the second vessel named the Pinta, was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon ; and the third named the Nina, which had square sails, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon, the brother of Alonzo, both of whom were inhabitants of Palos. Being furnished with all necessaries, and having 90 men to navigate the three vessels, Columbus set sail from Palos on the 3d of August 1492, shaping his course directly for the Canaries.

During this voyage, and indeed in all the *four* voyages which he made from Spain to the West Indies, the admiral was very careful to keep an exact journal of every occurrence which took place ; always specifying what winds blew, how far he sailed with each particular wind, what currents were found, and every thing that was seen by the way, whether birds, fishes, or any other thing. Although to note all these particulars with a minute relation of every thing that happened, shewing what impressions and effects answered to the course and aspect of the stars, and the differences between the seas which he sailed and those of our countries, might all be useful ; yet as I conceive that the relation of these particulars might now be tiresome to the reader, I shall only give an account of what appears to me necessary and convenient to be known.

On Saturday the 4th of August, the next day after sailing

from Palos, the rudder of the *Pinta* broke loose. The admiral strongly suspected that this was occasioned by the contrivance of the master on purpose to avoid proceeding on the voyage, which he had endeavoured to do before they left Spain, and he therefore ranged up along side of the disabled vessel to give every assistance in his power, but the wind blew so hard that he was unable to afford any aid. Pinzon, however, being an experienced seaman, soon made a temporary repair by means of ropes, and they proceeded on their voyage. But on the following Tuesday, the weather becoming rough and boisterous, the fastenings gave way, and the squadron was obliged to lay to for some time to renew the repairs. From this misfortune of twice breaking the rudder, a superstitious person might have foreboded the future disobedience of Pinzon to the admiral; as through his malice the *Pin'a* twice separated from the squadron, as shall be afterwards related. Having applied the best remedy they could to the disabled state of the rudder, the squadron continued its voyage, and came in sight of the *Canaries* at day-break of Thursday the 9th of August; but owing to contrary winds, they were unable to come to anchor at *Gran Canaria* until the 12th. The admiral left Pinzon at *Gran Canaria* to endeavour to procure another vessel instead of that which was disabled, and went himself with the *Nina* on the same errand to *Gomera*.

The admiral arrived at *Gomera* on Sunday the 12th of August, and sent a boat on shore to inquire if any vessel could be procured there for his purpose. The boat returned next morning, and brought intelligence that no vessel was then at that island, but that *Dona Beatrix de Bobadilla*, the propriatrix of the island, was then at *Gran Canaria* in a hired vessel of 40 tons belonging to one *Gradeuna* of *Seville*, which would probably suit his purpose and might perhaps be got. He therefore determined to await the arrival of that vessel at *Gomera*, believing that Pinzon might have secured a vessel for himself at *Gran Canaria*, if he had not been able to repair his own. After waiting two days, he dispatched one of his people in a bark which was bound from *Gomera* to *Gran Canaria*, to acquaint Pinzon where he lay, and to assist him in repairing and fixing the rudder. Having waited a considerable time for an answer to his letter, he sailed with the two vessels from *Gomera* on the 23d of August for *Gran Canaria*, and fell in with the bark on the following day, which had been detained all that time on its voyage by contrary winds. He now took his man from the bark, and sailing in the night past the island of *Teneriffe*, the



people were much astonished at observing flames bursting out of the lofty mountain called El Pico, or the peak of Teneriffe. On this occasion the admiral was at great pains to explain the nature of this phenomenon to the people, by instancing the example of Etna and several other known volcanoes.

Passing by Teneriffe, they arrived at Gran Canaria on Saturday the 25th August; and found that Pinzon had only got in there the day before. From him the admiral was informed that Dona Beatrix had sailed for Gomera on the 20th with the vessel which he was so anxious to obtain. His officers were much troubled at the disappointment; but he, who always endeavoured to make the best of every occurrence, observed to them that since it had not pleased God that they should get this vessel it was perhaps better for them; as they might have encountered much opposition in pressing it into the service, and might have lost a great deal of time in shipping and unshipping the goods. Wherefore, lest he might again miss it if he returned to Gomera, he resolved to make a new rudder for the Pinta at Gran Canaria, and ordered the square sails of the Nina to be changed to *round* ones, like those of the other two vessels, that she might be able to accompany them with less danger and agitation.

The vessels being all refitted, the admiral weighed anchor from Gran Canaria on Saturday the first of September, and arrived next day at Gomera, where four days were employed in completing their stores of provisions and of wood and water. On the morning of Thursday the sixth of September, 1492, the admiral took his departure from Gomera, and commenced his great undertaking by standing directly westwards, but made very slow progress at first on account of calms. On Sunday the ninth of September, about day-break, they were nine leagues west of the island of Ferro. Now losing sight of land and stretching out into utterly unknown seas, many of the people expressed their anxiety and fear that it might be long before they should see land again; but the admiral used every endeavour to comfort them with the assurance of soon finding the land he was in search of, and raised their hopes of acquiring wealth and honour by the discovery. To lessen the fear which they entertained of the length of way they had to sail, he gave out that they had only proceeded fifteen leagues that day, when the actual distance sailed was eighteen; and to induce the people to believe that they were not so far from Spain as they really were, he resolved to keep considerably

short in his reckoning during the whole voyage, though he carefully recorded the true reckoning every day in private.

On Wednesday the twelfth September, having got to about 150 leagues west of Ferro, they discovered a large trunk of a tree, sufficient to have been the mast of a vessel of 120 tons, and which seemed to have been a long time in the water. At this distance from Ferro, and for somewhat farther on, the current was found to set strongly to the north-east. Next day, when they had run fifty leagues farther westwards, the needle was observed to vary half a point to the eastward of north, and next morning the variation was a whole point east. This variation of the compass had never been before observed, and therefore the admiral was much surprised at the phenomenon, and concluded that the needle did not actually point towards the polar star, but to some other fixed point. Three days afterwards, when almost 100 leagues farther west, he was still more astonished at the irregularity of the variation; for having observed the needle to vary a whole point to the eastwards at night, it pointed directly northwards in the morning. On the night of Saturday the fifteenth of September, being then almost 300 leagues west of Ferro, they saw a prodigious flash of light, or fire ball, drop from the sky into the sea, at four or five leagues distance from the ships towards the south-west. The weather was then quite fair and serene like April, the sea perfectly calm, the wind favourable from the north-east, and the current setting to the north-east. The people in the *Nina* told the admiral that they had seen the day before a heron, and another bird which they called *Rabo-de-junco*. These were the first birds which had been seen during the voyage, and were considered as indications of approaching land. But they were more agreeably surprised next day, Sunday sixteenth September, by seeing great abundance of yellowish green sea weeds, which appeared as if newly washed away from some rock or island. Next day the sea weed was seen in much greater quantity, and a small live lobster was observed among the weeds: from this circumstance many affirmed that they were certainly near the land. The sea water was afterwards noticed to be only half so salt as before; and great numbers of tunny fish were seen swimming about, some of which came so near the vessel, that one was killed by a bearded iron. Being now 360 leagues west from Ferro, another of the birds called *rabo-de-junco* was seen. On Tuesday the eighteenth September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who had gone a-head of the admiral in the *Pinta*, which was an excellent sailer, lay to for the admiral to come up, and told him

that he had seen a great number of birds fly away westwards, for which reason he was in great hopes to see land that night; Pinzon even thought that he saw land that night about fifteen leagues distant to the northwards, which appeared very black and covered with clouds. All the people would have persuaded the admiral to try for land in that direction; but, being certainly assured that it was not land, and having not yet reached the distance at which he expected to find the land, he would not consent to lose time in altering his course in that direction. But as the wind now freshened, he gave orders to take in the top-sails at night, having now sailed eleven days before the wind due westwards with all their sails up.

All the people in the squadron being utterly unacquainted with the seas they now traversed, fearful of their danger at such unusual distance from any relief, and seeing nothing around but sky and water, began to mutter among themselves, and anxiously observed every appearance. On the nineteenth September, a kind of sea-gull called *Alcatraz* flew over the admiral's ship, and several others were seen in the afternoon of that day, and as the admiral conceived that these birds would not fly far from land, he entertained hopes of soon seeing what he was in quest of. He therefore ordered a line of 200 fathoms to be tried, but without finding any bottom. The current was now found to set to the south-west.

On Thursday the twentieth of September, two alcatrazes came near the ship about two hours before noon, and soon afterwards a third. On this day likewise they took a bird resembling a heron, of a black colour with a white tuft on its head, and having webbed feet like a duck. Abundance of weeds were seen floating in the sea, and one small fish was taken. About evening three land birds settled on the rigging of the ship and began to sing. These flew away at day-break, which was considered a strong indication of approaching the land, as these little birds could not have come from any far distant country; whereas the other large fowls, being used to water, might much better go far from land. The same day an alcatraz was seen.

Friday the twenty-first another alcatraz and a rabo-de-junco were seen, and vast quantities of weeds as far as the eye could carry towards the north. These appearances were sometimes a comfort to the people, giving them hopes of nearing the wished-for land; while at other times the weeds were so thick as in some measure to impede the progress of the vessels, and to occasion terror lest what is fabulously reported

of St. Amaro in the frozen sea, might happen to them, that they might be so enveloped in the weeds as to be unable to move backwards or forwards; wherefore they steered away from those shoals of weeds as much as they could.

Next day, being Saturday the twenty-second September, they saw a whale and several small birds. The wind now veered to the south-west, sometimes more and sometimes less to the westwards; and though this was adverse to the direction of their proposed voyage, the admiral to comfort the people alleged that this was a favourable circumstance; because among other causes of fear, they had formerly said they should never have a wind to carry them back to Spain, as it had always blown from the east ever since they left Ferro. They still continued, however, to murmur, alleging that this south-west wind was by no means a settled one, and as it never blew strong enough to swell the sea, it would not serve to carry them back again through so great an extent of sea as they had now passed over. In spite of every argument used by the admiral, assuring them that the alterations in the wind were occasioned by the vicinity of the land, by which likewise the waves were prevented from rising to any height, they were still dissatisfied and terrified.

On Sunday the twenty-third of September, a brisk gale sprung up W. N. W. with a rolling sea, such as the people had wished for. Three hours before noon a turtle-dove was observed to fly over the ship; towards evening an alcatraz, a river fowl, and several white birds were seen flying about, and some crabs were observed among the weeds. Next day another alcatraz was seen and several small birds which came from the west. Numbers of small fishes were seen swimming about, some of which were struck with harpoons, as they would not bite at the hook.

The more that the tokens mentioned above were observed, and found not to be followed by the so anxiously looked-for land, the more the people became fearful of the event, and entered into cabals against the admiral, who they said was desirous to make himself a great lord at the expence of their danger. They represented that they had already sufficiently performed their duty in adventuring farther from land and all possibility of succour than had ever been done before, and that they ought not to proceed on the voyage to their manifest destruction. If they did they would soon have reason to repent their temerity, as provisions would soon fall short, the ships were already faulty and would soon fail, and it would be

extremely difficult to get back so far as they had already gone. None could condemn them in their own opinion for now turning back, but all must consider them as brave men for having gone upon such an enterprize and venturing so far. That the admiral was a foreigner who had no favour at court; and as so many wise and learned men had already condemned his opinions and enterprize as visionary and impossible, there would be none to favour or defend him, and they were sure to find more credit if they accused him of ignorance and mismanagement than he would do, whatsoever he might now say for himself against them. Some even proceeded so far as to propose, in case the admiral should refuse to acquiesce in their proposals, that they might make a short end of all disputes by throwing him overboard; after which they could give out that he had fallen over while making his observations, and no one would ever think of inquiring into the truth. They thus went on day after day, muttering, complaining, and consulting together; and though the admiral was not fully aware of the extent of their cabals, he was not entirely without apprehensions of their inconstancy in the present trying situation, and of their evil intentions towards him. He therefore exerted himself to the utmost to quiet their apprehensions and to suppress their evil design, sometimes using fair words, and at other times fully resolved to expose his life rather than abandon the enterprize; he put them in mind of the due punishment they would subject themselves to if they obstructed the voyage. To confirm their hopes, he recapitulated all the favourable signs and indications which had been lately observed, assuring them that they might soon expect to see the land. But they, who were ever attentive to these tokens, thought every hour a year in their anxiety to see the wished-for land.

On Tuesday the twenty-fifth of September near sun-set, as the admiral was discoursing with Pinzon, whose ship was then very near, Pinzon suddenly called out, "Land! land, Sir! let not my good news miscarry;" and pointed out a large mass in the S. W. about twenty-five leagues distant, which seemed very like an island. This was so pleasing to the people, that they returned thanks to God for the pleasing discovery; and, although the admiral was by no means satisfied of the truth of Pinzon's observation, yet to please the men, and that they might not obstruct the voyage, he altered his course and stood in that direction a great part of the night. Next morning, the twenty-sixth, they had the mortification to find the supposed land was only composed of clouds, which often put on the appearance

of distant land; and, to their great dissatisfaction, the stems of the ships were again turned directly westwards, as they always were unless when hindered by the wind. Continuing their course, and still attentively watching for signs of land, they saw this day an alcatraz, a rabo-de-junco, and other birds as formerly mentioned.

On Thursday the twenty-seventh of September they saw another alcatraz coming from the westwards and flying towards the east, and great numbers of fish were seen with gilt backs, one of which they struck with a harpoon. A rabo-de-junco likewise flew past; the currents for some of the last days were not so regular as before, but changed with the tide, and the weeds were not nearly so abundant.

On Friday the twenty-eighth all the vessels took some of the fishes with gilt backs; and on Saturday the twenty-ninth they saw a rabo-de-junco, which, although a sea-fowl, never rests on the waves, but always flies in the air, pursuing the alcatrazes. Many of these birds are said to frequent the Cape de Verd islands. They soon afterwards saw two other alcatrazes, and great numbers of flying-fishes. These last are about a span long, and have two little membranous wings like those of a bat, by means of which they fly about a pike-length high from the water and a musket-shot in length, and sometimes drop upon the ships. In the afternoon of this day they saw abundance of weeds lying in length north and south, and three alcatrazes pursued by a rabo-de-junco.

On the morning of Sunday the thirtieth of September four rabo-de-juncos came to the ship; and from so many of them coming together it was thought the land could not be far distant, especially as four alcatrazes followed soon afterwards. Great quantities of weeds were seen in a line stretching from W. N. W. to E. N. E. and a great number of the fishes which are called Emperadores, which have a very hard skin and are not fit to eat. Though the admiral paid every attention to these indications, he never neglected those in the heavens, and carefully observed the course of the stars. He was now greatly surprised to notice at this time that the *Charles wain* or Ursa Major constellation appeared at night in the west, and was N. E. in the morning: He thence concluded that their whole night's course was only nine hours, or so many parts in twenty-four of a great circle; and this he observed to be the case regularly every night. It was likewise noticed that the compass varied a whole point to the N. W. at nightfall, and came

due north every morning at day-break. As this unheard-of circumstance confounded and perplexed the pilots, who apprehended danger in these strange regions and at such unusual distance from home, the admiral endeavoured to calm their fears by assigning a cause for this wonderful phenomenon: He alleged that it was occasioned by the polar star making a circuit round the pole, by which they were not a little satisfied.

Soon after sunrise on Monday the first of October, an alcatraz came to the ship, and two more about ten in the morning, and long streams of weeds floated from east to west. That morning the pilot of the admiral's ship said that they were now 578 leagues west from the island of Ferro. In his public account the admiral said they were 584 leagues to the west; but in his private journal he made the real distance 707 leagues, or 129 more than was reckoned by the pilot. The other two ships differed much in their computation from each other and from the admiral's pilot. The pilot of Nina in the afternoon of the Wednesday following said they had only sailed 540 leagues, and the pilot of the Pinta reckoned 634. Thus they were all much short of the truth; but the admiral winked at the gross mistake, that the men, not thinking themselves so far from home, might be the less dejected.

The next day, being Tuesday the second of October, they saw abundance of fish, caught one small tunny, and saw a white bird with many other small birds, and the weeds appeared much withered and almost fallen to powder. Next day, seeing no birds, they suspected that they had passed between some islands on both hands, and had slipped through without seeing them, as they guessed that the many birds which they had seen might have been passing from one island to another. On this account they were very earnest to have the course altered one way or the other, in quest of these imaginary lands. But the admiral, unwilling to lose the advantage of the fair wind which carried him due west, which he accounted his surest course, and afraid to lessen his reputation by deviating from course to course in search of land, which he always affirmed that he well knew where to find, refused his consent to any change. On this the people were again ready to mutiny, and resumed their murmurs and cabals against him. But it pleased God to aid his authority by fresh indications of land.

On Thursday the fourth of October, in the afternoon, above forty sparrows together and two alcatrazes flew so near the ship that a seaman killed one of them with a stone. Several other birds were seen at this time, and many flying-fish fell into the

ships. Next day there came a rabo-de-junco and an alcatraz from the westwards, and many sparrows were seen. About sunrise on Sunday the seventh of October, some signs of land appeared to the westwards, but being imperfect no person would mention the circumstance. This was owing to fear of losing the reward of thirty crowns yearly for life which had been promised by their Catholic majesties to whoever should first discover land; and to prevent them from calling out land, land, at every turn without just cause, it was made a condition that whoever said he saw land should lose the reward if it were not made out in three days, even if he should afterwards actually prove the first discoverer. All on board the admiral's ship being thus forewarned, were exceedingly careful not to cry out land upon uncertain tokens; but those in the *Nina*, which sailed better and always kept ahead, believing that they certainly saw land, fired a gun and hung out their colours in token of the discovery; but the farther they sailed the more the joyful appearance lessened, till at last it vanished away. But they soon afterwards derived much comfort by observing great flights of large fowl and others of small birds going from the west towards the south-west.

Being now at a vast distance from Spain, and well assured that such small birds would not go far from land, the admiral now altered his course from due west which had been hitherto, and steered to the south-west. He assigned as a reason for now changing his course, although deviating little from his original design, that he followed the example of the Portuguese, who had discovered most of their islands by attending to the flight of birds, and because these they now saw flew almost uniformly in one direction. He said likewise that he had always expected to discover land about the situation in which they now were, having often told them that he must not look to find land until they should get 750 leagues to the westwards of the Canaries; about which distance he expected to fall in with Hispaniola which he then called *Cipango*; and there is no doubt that he would have found this island by his direct course, if it had not been that it was reported to extend from north to south. Owing therefore to his not having inclined more to the south he had missed that and others of the Caribbee islands whither those birds were now bending their flight, and which had been for some time upon his larboard hand. It was from being so near the land that they continually saw such great numbers of birds; and on Monday the eighth of October twelve singing birds of various colours came to the ship, and after flying round it for a short time held on their way. Many other birds were



seen from the ship flying towards the south-west, and that same night great numbers of large fowl were seen, and flocks of small birds proceeding from the northwards, and all going to the south-west. In the morning a jay was seen, with an alcatraz, several ducks, and many small birds, all flying the same way with the others, and the air was perceived to be fresh and odoriferous as it is at Seville in the month of April. But the people were now so eager to see land and had been so often disappointed, that they ceased to give faith to these continual indications; insomuch that on Wednesday the tenth, although abundance of birds were continually passing both by day and night, they never ceased to complain. The admiral upbraided their want of resolution, and declared that they must persist in their endeavours to discover the Indies, for which he and they had been sent out by their Catholic majesties.

It would have been impossible for the admiral to have much longer withstood the numbers which now opposed him; but it pleased God that, in the afternoon of Thursday the eleventh of October, such manifest tokens of being near the land appeared, that the men took courage and rejoiced at their good fortune as much as they had been before distressed. From the admiral's ship a green rush was seen to float past, and one of those green fish which never go far from the rocks. The people in the *Pinta* saw a cane and a staff in the water, and took up another staff very curiously carved, and a small board, and great plenty of weeds were seen which seemed to have been recently torn from the rocks. Those of the *Nina*, besides similar signs of land, saw a branch of a thorn full of red berries, which seemed to have been newly torn from the tree. From all these indications the admiral was convinced that he now drew near to the land, and after the evening prayers he made a speech to the men, in which he reminded them of the mercy of God in having brought them so long a voyage with such favourable weather, and in comforting them with so many tokens of a successful issue to their enterprize, which were now every day becoming plainer and less equivocal. He besought them to be exceedingly watchful during the night, as they well knew that in the first article of the instructions which he had given to all the three ships before leaving the Canaries, they were enjoined, when they should have sailed 700 leagues west without discovering land, to lay to every night, from midnight till day-break. And, as he had very confident hopes of discovering land that night, he required every one to keep watch at their quarters; and, besides the gratuity of thirty crowns a-year for

life, which had been graciously promised by their sovereigns to him that first saw the land, he engaged to give the fortunate discoverer a velvet doublet from himself.

After this, as the admiral was in his cabin about ten o'clock at night, he saw a light on shore; but it was so unsteady that he could not certainly affirm that it came from land. He called to one Peter Gutierres and desired him to try if he could perceive the same light, who said he did; but one Roderick Sanchez of Segovia, on being desired to look the same way could not see it, because he was not up time enough, as neither the admiral nor Gutierres could see it again above once or twice for a short space, which made them judge it to proceed from a candle or torch belonging to some fisherman or traveller, who lifted it up occasionally and lowered it again, or perhaps from people going from one house to another, because it appeared and vanished again so suddenly. Being now very much on their guard, they still held on their course until about two in the morning of Friday the twelfth of October, when the Pinta which was always far a-head, owing to her superior sailing, made the signal of seeing land, which was first discovered by Roderick de Triana at about two leagues from the ship. But the thirty crowns a-year were afterwards granted to the admiral, who had seen the light in the midst of darkness, a type of the spiritual light which he was the happy means of spreading in these dark regions of error. Being now so near land, all the ships lay to; every one thinking it long till daylight, that they might enjoy the sight they had so long and anxiously desired.

When daylight appeared, the newly discovered land was perceived to consist of a flat island fifteen leagues in length, without any hills, all covered with trees, and having a great lake in the middle. The island was inhabited by great abundance of people, who ran down to the shore filled with wonder and admiration at the sight of the ships, which they conceived to be some unknown animals. The Christians were not less curious to know what kind of people they had fallen in with, and the curiosity on both sides was soon satisfied, as the ships soon came to anchor. The admiral went on shore with his boat well armed, and having the royal standard of Castile and Leon displayed, accompanied by the commanders of the other two vessels, each in his own boat, carrying the particular colours which had been allotted for the enterprize, which were white with a green cross and the letter F. on one side and on the other the names of Ferdinand and Isabella crowned.

The whole company kneeled on the shore and kissed the

ground for joy, returning God thanks for the great mercy they had experienced during their long voyage through seas hitherto unpassed, and their now happy discovery of an unknown land. The admiral then stood up, and took formal possession in the usual words for their Catholic majesties of this island, to which he gave the name of St. Salvador. All the Christians present admitted Columbus to the authority and dignity of admiral and viceroy, pursuant to the commission which he had received to that effect, and all made oath to obey him as the legitimate representative of their Catholic majesties, with such expressions of joy and acknowledgment as became their mighty success; and they all implored his forgiveness of the many affronts he had received from them through their fears and want of confidence. Numbers of the Indians or natives of the island were present at these ceremonies; and perceiving them to be peaceable, quiet, and simple people, the admiral distributed several presents among them. To some he gave red caps, and to others strings of glass beads, which they hung about their necks, and various other things of small value, which they valued as if they had been jewels of high price.

After the ceremonies, the admiral went off in his boat, and the Indians followed him even to the ships, some by swimming and others in their canoes, carrying parrots, clews of spun cotton yarn, javelins, and other such trifling articles, to barter for glass beads, bells, and other things of small value. Like people in the original simplicity of nature, they were all naked, and even a woman who was among them was entirely destitute of clothing. Most of them were young, seemingly not above thirty years of age; of a good stature, with very thick black lank hair, mostly cut short above their ears, though some had it down to their shoulders, tied up with a string about their head like women's tresses. Their countenances were mild and agreeable and their features good; but their foreheads were too high, which gave them rather a wild appearance. They were of a middle stature, plump, and well shaped, but of an olive complexion, like the inhabitants of the Canaries, or sunburnt peasants. Some were painted with black, others with white, and others again with red; in some the whole body was painted, in others only the face, and some only the nose and eyes. They had no weapons like those of Europe, neither had they any knowledge of such; for when our people shewed them a naked sword, they ignorantly grasped it by the edge. Neither had they any knowledge of iron; as their javelins were merely constructed of wood, having their points hardened in the fire, and armed

with a piece of fish-bone. Some of them had scars of wounds on different parts, and being asked by signs how these had been got, they answered by signs that people from other islands came to take them away, and that they had been wounded in their own defence. They seemed ingenious and of a voluble tongue; as they readily repeated such words as they once heard. There were no kind of animals among them excepting parrots, which they carried to barter with the Christians among the articles already mentioned, and in this trade they continued on board the ships till night, when they all returned to the shore.

In the morning of the next day, being the 13th of October, many of the natives returned on board the ships in their boats or canoes, which were all of one piece hollowed like a tray from the trunk of a tree; some of these were so large as to contain forty or forty-five men, while others were so small as only to hold one person, with many intermediate sizes between these extremes. These they worked along with paddles formed like a baker's peel or the implement which is used in dressing hemp. These oars or paddles were not fixed by pins to the sides of the canoes like ours; but were dipped into the water and pulled backwards as if digging. Their canoes are so light and artfully constructed, that if overset they soon turn them right again by swimming; and they empty out the water by throwing them from side to side like a weaver's shuttle, and when half emptied they lade out the rest with dried calabashes cut in two, which they carry for that purpose.

This second day the natives, as said before, brought various articles to barter for such small things as they could procure in exchange. Jewels or metals of any kind were not seen among them, except some small plates of gold which hung from their nostrils; and on being questioned from whence they procured the gold, they answered by signs that they had it from the south, where there was a king who possessed abundance of pieces and vessels of gold; and they made our people to understand that there were many other islands and large countries to the south and south-west. They were very covetous to get possession of any thing which belonged to the Christians, and being themselves very poor, with nothing of value to give in exchange, as soon as they got on board, if they could lay hold of any thing which struck their fancy, though it were only a piece of a broken glazed earthen dish or porringer, they leaped with it into the sea and swam on shore with their prize. If they brought any thing on board they would barter it for any thing whatever belonging to our people, even for a piece of

broken glass; insomuch that some gave sixteen large clews of well spun cotton yarn, weighing twenty-five pounds, for three small pieces of Portuguese brass coin not worth a farthing. Their liberality in dealing did not proceed from their putting any great value on the things themselves which they received from our people in return, but because they valued them as belonging to the Christians, whom they believed certainly to have come down from Heaven, and they therefore earnestly desired to have something from them as a memorial. In this manner all this day was spent, and the islanders as before went all on shore at night.

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Ferdinand Columbus was born three or four years before his father sailed on his first voyage. In 1502, when thirteen years old, he accompanied his father on his fourth voyage; and he is said to have made two other voyages to the New World. His later years were passed in attendance upon Charles V on his travels and in literary pursuits. He died at Seville in 1539. He bequeathed his library, consisting of about twenty thousand volumes in print and manuscript, to the cathedral, and about four thousand of the volumes still remain there. His life of his father appeared in Italian at Venice in 1571. The history of the original manuscript is involved in obscurity, and in this latest time the authenticity of the work has been called in question by the French critic, Henri Harrisse, but on grounds which do not seem to be adequate in the face of the long-accepted belief. A full account of the controversy, by Justin Winsor, may be found in connection with the chapter on Columbus in the second volume of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*. The student is referred to this chapter for a thorough discussion of the whole literature concerning Columbus and the discovery of America; special attention is directed to those books which show how the knowledge of the New World affected Europe. See also Mr. Winsor's separate volume on *Christopher Columbus: An Examination of the Historical and Geographical Conditions under which the Western Continent was disclosed to Europe, with an inquiry into the personal history of Cristoval Colon*.

There is an account by Columbus himself of his first voyage, in a letter to Sanchez, the Spanish treasurer; and this with other valuable papers may be seen in the *Select Letters of Columbus*, edited by Major. More important is the account of the first voyage, by Las Casas, abridged from the Journal of Columbus, which is lost. This abridgment was discovered by Navarete and printed in 1825; and there is an English translation by Samuel Kettell. Las Casas says that for a while he follows the very words of Columbus.

The principal life of Columbus in English is the well-known work of

Irving, which contains in its appendix many valuable original documents, as well as discussions of several such interesting subjects as the explorations of Marco Polo and their influence on Columbus, and the voyages of the Northmen. Many of the young people will prefer to read the new and briefer life of Columbus, by Edward Everett Hale; and they will be interested in the chapters on Columbus in Higginson's *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers* and Jules Verne's *Exploration of the World*. There is a life of Columbus by Arthur Helps; and the valuable biography by the Italian Tarducci has recently been translated. The new work by John Fiske, just ready, on *The Discovery and Spanish Conquest of America*, covers this whole period in a thorough and most attractive manner.

The selection in the present leaflet is taken from the biography by Ferdinand Columbus, as given in Kerr's *Voyages*, vol. iii. Here also may be found Herrera's early account of Columbus, so highly praised by Irving, Prescott, and Ticknor.

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#### OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS, GENERAL SERIES.

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## Old South Leaflets.

GENERAL SERIES, No. 30.

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# Strabo's Introduction to Geography

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### THE FIRST CHAPTER OF STRABO'S GEOGRAPHY.

1. If the scientific investigation of any subject be the proper avocation of the philosopher, Geography, the science of which we propose to treat, is certainly entitled to a high place; and this is evident from many considerations. They who first ventured to handle the matter were distinguished men. Homer, Anaximander the Milesian, and Hecataeus (his fellow-citizen according to Eratosthenes), Democritus, Eudoxus, Dicæarchus, Ephorus, with many others, and after these Eratosthenes, Polybius, and Posidonius, all of them philosophers.

Nor is the great learning, through which alone this subject can be approached, possessed by any but a person acquainted with both human and divine things, and these attainments constitute what is called philosophy. In addition to its vast importance in regard to social life, and the art of government, Geography unfolds to us the celestial phenomena, acquaints us with the occupants of the land and ocean, and the vegetation, fruits, and peculiarities of the various quarters of the earth, a knowledge of which marks him who cultivates it as a man earnest in the great problem of life and happiness.

2. Admitting this, let us examine more in detail the points we have advanced.

And, first [we maintain], that both we and our predecessors, amongst whom is Hipparchus, do justly regard Homer as the founder of geographical science, for he not only excelled all, ancient as well as modern, in the sublimity of his poetry, but also in his experience of social life. Thus it was that he not only exerted himself to become familiar with as many historic facts as possible, and transmit them to posterity, but also with

the various regions of the inhabited land and sea, some intimately, others in a more general manner. For otherwise he would not have reached the utmost limits of the earth, traversing it in his imagination.

3. First, he stated that the earth was entirely encompassed by the ocean, as in truth it is; afterwards he described the countries, specifying some by name, others more generally by various indications, explicitly defining Libya, Ethiopia, the Sidonians, and the Erembi (by which latter are probably intended the Troglodyte Arabians); and alluding to those farther east and west as the lands washed by the ocean, for in ocean he believed both the sun and constellations to rise and set.

“Now from the gently swelling flood profound  
The sun arising, with his earliest rays,  
In his ascent to heaven smote on the fields.”

“And now the radiant sun in ocean sank,  
Dragging night after him o’er all the earth.”

The stars also he describes as bathed in the ocean.

4. He portrays the happiness of the people of the West, and the salubrity of their climate, having no doubt heard of the abundance of Iberia, which had attracted the arms of Hercules, afterwards of the Phœnicians, who acquired there an extended rule, and finally of the Romans. There the airs of Zephyr breathe, there the poet feigned the fields of Elysium, when he tells us Menelaus was sent thither by the gods;

“Thee the gods  
Have destined to the blest Elysian isles,  
Earth’s utmost boundaries. Rhadamanthus there  
Forever reigns, and there the human kind  
Enjoy the easiest life; no snow is there,  
No biting winter, and no drenching shower,  
But Zephyr always gently from the sea  
Breathes on them, to refresh the happy race.”

5. The Isles of the Blest are on the extreme west of Maurusia, near where its shore runs parallel to the opposite coast of Spain; and it is clear he considered these regions also Blest, from their contiguity to the Islands.

6. He tells us, also, that the Ethiopians are far removed, and bounded by the ocean: far removed,—

“The Ethiopians, utmost of mankind,  
These eastward situate, those toward the west.”

Nor was he mistaken in calling them separated into two divisions, as we shall presently show: and next to the ocean,—



“For to the banks of the Oceanus,  
Where Ethiopia holds a feast to Jove,  
He journey’d yesterday.”

Speaking of the Bear, he implies that the most northern part of the earth is bounded by the ocean :—

“Only star of these denied  
To slake his beams in Ocean’s briny baths.”

Now, by the “Bear” and the “Wain” he means the Arctic Circle; otherwise he would never have said, “It *alone* is deprived of the baths of the ocean,” when such an *infinity* of stars is to be seen continually revolving in that part of the hemisphere. Let no one any longer blame his ignorance for being merely acquainted with one Bear, when there are two. It is probable that the second was not considered a constellation until, on the Phœnicians specially designating it, and employing it in navigation, it became known as one to the Greeks. Such is the case with the Hair of Berenice, and Canopus, whose names are but of yesterday; and, as Aratus remarks, there are numbers which have not yet received any designation. Crates, therefore, is mistaken when, endeavoring to amend what is correct, he reads the verse thus :

Οἶος δ’ ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν,

replacing οἶη by οἶος, with a view to make the adjective agree with the Arctic Circle, which is masculine; instead of the Arctic Constellation, which is feminine. The expression of Heraclitus is far more preferable and Homeric, who thus figuratively describes the Arctic Circle as the Bear,—“The Bear is the limit of the dawn and of the evening, and from the region of the Bear we have fine weather.” Now it is not the constellation of the Bear, but the Arctic Circle, which is the limit of the rising and the setting stars.

By the Bear, then, which he elsewhere calls the Wain, and describes as pursuing Orion, Homer means us to understand the Arctic Circle; and by the ocean, that horizon into which, and out of which, the stars rise and set. When he says that the Bear turns round and is deprived of the ocean, he was aware that the Arctic Circle [always] extended to the sign opposite the most northern point of the horizon. Adapting the words of the poet to this view, by that part of the earth nearest to the ocean we must understand the horizon, and by the Arctic Circle that which extends to the signs which seem to our senses to touch in succession the most northern point of the horizon. Thus, according to him, this portion of the earth is washed by

the ocean. With the nations of the North he was well acquainted, although he does not mention them by name, and indeed at the present day there is no regular title by which they are all distinguished. He informs us of their mode of life, describing them as "wanderers," "noble milkers of mares," "living on cheese," and "without wealth."

7. In the following speech of Juno, he states that the ocean surrounds the earth:—

"For to the green earth's utmost bounds I go  
To visit there the parent of the gods,  
Oceanus."

Does he not here assert that ocean bounds all its extremities, and does it not surround these extremities? Again, in the *Hoplopœia*, he places the ocean in a circle round the border of Achilles' shield. Another proof of the extent of his knowledge is his acquaintance with the ebb and flow of the sea, calling it "the ebbing ocean." Again,

"Each day she thrice disgorges, and again  
Thrice drinks, insatiate, the deluge down."

The assertion of thrice, instead of twice, is either an error of the author or a blunder of the scribe, but the phenomenon is the same, and the expression soft-flowing has reference to the flood-tide, which has a gentle swell, and does not flow with a full rush. Posidonius believes that where Homer describes the rocks as at one time covered with the waves, and at another left bare, and when he compares the ocean to a river, he alludes to the flow of the ocean. The first supposition is correct, but for the second there is no ground; inasmuch as there can be no comparison between the flow, much less the ebb, of the sea and the current of a river. There is more probability in the explanation of Crates, that Homer describes the whole ocean as deep-flowing, ebbing, and also calls it a river, and that he also describes a part of the ocean as a river, and the flow of a river; and that he is speaking of a part, and not the whole, when he thus writes:—

"When down the smooth Oceanus impelled  
By prosperous gales, my galley, once again,  
Cleaving the billows of the spacious deep,  
Had reach'd the Ææan isle."

He does not, however, mean the whole, but the flow of the river in the ocean, which forms but a part of the ocean. Crates says he speaks of an estuary or gulf, extending from the winter tropic toward the south pole. Now, any one quitting this might

still be in the ocean ; but for a person to leave the whole, and still to be in the whole, is an impossibility. But Homer says that, leaving the flow of the river, the ship entered on the waves of the sea, which is the same as the ocean. If you take it otherwise, you make him say that, departing from the ocean, he came to the ocean. But this requires further discussion.

8. Perception and experience alike inform us that the earth we inhabit is an island, since, wherever men have approached the termination of the land, the sea, which we designate ocean, has been met with ; and reason assures us of the similarity of those places which our senses have not been permitted to survey. For in the east the land occupied by the Indians, and in the west by the Iberians and Maurusians, is wholly encompassed [by water], and so is the greater part on the south and north. And as to what remains as yet unexplored by us, because navigators, sailing from opposite points, have not hitherto fallen in with each other, it is not much, as any one may see who will compare the distances between those places with which we are already acquainted. Nor is it likely that the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two seas by narrow isthmuses so placed as to prevent circumnavigation : how much more probable that it is confluent and uninterrupted ! Those who have returned from an attempt to circumnavigate the earth do not say they have been prevented from continuing their voyage by any opposing continent,—for the sea remained perfectly open,—but through want of resolution and the scarcity of provision. This theory, too, accords better with the ebb and flow of the ocean ; for the phenomenon, both in the increase and diminution, is everywhere identical, or at all events has but little difference, as if produced by the agitation of one sea and resulting from one cause.

9. We must not credit Hipparchus, who combats this opinion, denying that the ocean is everywhere similarly affected ; or that, even if it were, it would not follow that the Atlantic flowed in a circle, and thus continually returned into itself. Seleucus, the Babylonian, is his authority for this assertion. For a further investigation of the ocean and its tides we refer to Posidonius and Athenodorus, who have fully discussed this subject : we will now only remark that this view agrees better with the uniformity of the phenomenon ; and that the greater the amount of moisture surrounding the earth, the easier would the heavenly bodies be supplied with vapors from thence.

10. Homer, besides the boundaries of the earth, which he fully describes, was likewise well acquainted with the Mediterranean.

Starting from the Pillars, this sea is encompassed by Libya, Egypt, and Phœnicia, then by the coasts opposite Cyprus, the Solymi, Lycia, and Caria, and then by the shore which stretches between Mycale and Troas, and the adjacent islands, every one of which he mentions, as well as those of the Propontis and the Euxine, as far as Colchis, and the locality of Jason's expedition. Furthermore, he was acquainted with the Cimmerian Bosphorus, having known the Cimmerians, and that not merely by name, but as being familiar with themselves. About this time, or a little before, they had ravaged the whole country, from the Bosphorus to Ionia. Their climate he characterizes as dismal, in the following lines:—

“ With clouds and darkness veiled, on whom the sun  
Deigns not to look with his beam-darting eye,

But sad night canopies the woful race.”

He must also have been acquainted with the Ister, since he speaks of the Mysians, a Thracian race, dwelling on the banks of the Ister. He knew also the whole Thracian coast adjacent thereto, as far as the Peneus; for he mentions individually the Pæonians, Athos, the Axius, and the neighboring islands. From hence to Thesprotis is the Grecian shore, with the whole of which he was acquainted. He was besides familiar with the whole of Italy, and speaks of Temese and the Sicilians, as well as the whole of Spain and its fertility, as we have said before. If he omits various intermediate places, this must be pardoned; for even the compiler of a Geography overlooks numerous details. We must forgive him, too, for intermingling fabulous narrative with his historical and instructive work. This should not be complained of: nevertheless, what Eratosthenes says is false, that the poets aim at amusement, not instruction, since those who have treated upon the subject most profoundly regard poesy in the light of a primitive philosophy. But we shall refute Eratosthenes more at length, when we have occasion again to speak of Homer.

11. What we have already advanced is sufficient to prove that poet the father of geography. Those who followed in his track are also well known as great men and true philosophers. The two immediately succeeding Homer, according to Eratosthenes, were Anaximander, the disciple and fellow-citizen of Thales, and Hecatæus the Milesian. Anaximander was the first to publish a geographical chart. Hecatæus left a work [on the same subject], which we can identify as his by means of his other writings.

12. Many have testified to the amount of knowledge which this subject requires; and Hipparchus, in his *Strictures on Eratosthenes*, well observes "that no one can become really proficient in geography, either as a private individual or as a professor, without an acquaintance with astronomy, and a knowledge of eclipses. For instance, no one could tell whether Alexandria in Egypt were north or south of Babylon, nor yet the intervening distance, without observing the latitudes. Again, the only means we possess of becoming acquainted with the longitudes of different places is afforded by the eclipses of the sun and moon." Such are the very words of Hipparchus.

13. Every one who undertakes to give an accurate description of a place should be particular to add its astronomical and geometrical relations, explaining carefully its extent, distance, degrees of latitude, and "climate." Even a builder before constructing a house, or an architect before laying out a city, would take these things into consideration: much more should he who examines the whole earth; for such things in a peculiar manner belong to him. In small distances a little deviation north or south does not signify, but when it is the whole circle of the earth, the north extends to the furthest confines of Scythia, or Keltica, and the south to the extremities of Ethiopia: there is a wide difference here. The case is the same, should we inhabit India or Spain, one in the east, the other far west, and, as we are aware, the antipodes to each other.

14. The [motions] of the sun and stars and the centripetal force meet us on the very threshold of such subjects, and compel us to the study of astronomy, and the observation of such phenomena as each of us may notice; in which, too, very considerable differences appear, according to the various points of observation. How could any one undertake to write accurately and with propriety on the differences of the various parts of the earth, who was ignorant of these matters? and although, if the undertaking were of a popular character, it might not be advisable to enter thoroughly into detail, still we should endeavor to include everything which could be comprehended by the general reader.

15. He who has thus elevated his mind, will he be satisfied with anything less than the whole world? If, in his anxiety accurately to portray the inhabited earth, he has dared to survey heaven, and make use thereof for purposes of instruction, would it not seem childish, were he to refrain from examining the whole earth, of which the inhabited is but a part,—its

size, its features, and its position in the universe: whether other portions are inhabited besides those on which we dwell, and, if so, their amount? What is the extent of the regions not peopled? what their peculiarities, and the cause of their remaining as they are? Thus it appears that the knowledge of geography is connected with meteorology and geometry, that it unites the things of earth to the things of heaven, as though they were nearly allied and not separated.

“As far as heaven from earth.”

16. To the various subjects which it embraces let us add natural history, or the history of the animals, plants, and other different productions of the earth and sea, whether serviceable or useless, and my original statement will, I think, carry perfect conviction with it.

That he who should undertake this work would be a benefactor to mankind, reason and the voice of antiquity agree. The poets feign that they were the wisest heroes who travelled and wandered most in foreign climes; and to be familiar with many countries, and the disposition of the inhabitants, is, according to them, of vast importance. Nestor prides himself on having associated with the Lapithæ, to whom he went, “having been invited thither from the Apian land afar.”

So does Menelaus:—

“Cyprus, Phœnicia, Sidon, and the shores  
Of Egypt, roaming without hope I reach’d;  
In distant Ethiopia thence arrived,  
And Libya, where the lambs their foreheads show  
With budding horns defended soon as year’d.”

Adding as a peculiarity of the country,

“There thrice within the year the flocks produce.”

And of Egypt: “Where the sustaining earth is most prolific.”  
And Thebes,

“The city with an hundred gates,  
Whence twenty thousand chariots rush to war.”

Such information greatly enlarges our sphere of knowledge, by informing us of the nature of the country, its botanical and zoölogical peculiarities. To these should be added its marine history; for we are in a certain sense amphibious, not exclusively connected with the land, but with the sea as well. Hercules, on account of his vast experience and observation, was described as “skilled in mighty works.”

All that we have previously stated is confirmed both by the

testimony of antiquity and by reason. One consideration, however, appears to bear in a peculiar manner on the case in point: viz., the importance of geography in a political view. For the sea and the earth in which we dwell furnish theatres for action; limited, for limited actions; vast, for grander deeds; but that which contains them all, and is the scene of the greatest undertakings, constitutes what we term the habitable earth; and they are the greatest generals who, subduing nations and kingdoms under one sceptre, and one political administration, have acquired dominion over land and sea. It is clear, then, that geography is essential to all the transactions of the statesman, informing us, as it does, of the position of the continents, seas, and oceans of the whole habitable earth. Information of especial interest to those who are concerned to know the exact truth of such particulars, and whether the places have been explored or not; for government will certainly be better administered where the size and position of the country, its own peculiarities, and those of the surrounding districts, are understood. Forasmuch as there are many sovereigns who rule in different regions, and some stretch their dominion over others' territories, and undertake the government of different nations and kingdoms, and thus enlarge the extent of their dominion, it is not possible that either themselves, nor yet writers on geography, should be equally acquainted with the whole, but to both there is a great deal more or less known. Indeed, were the whole earth under one government and one administration, it is hardly possible that we should be informed of every locality in an equal degree; for even then we should be most acquainted with the places nearest us: and, after all, it is better that we should have a more perfect description of these, since, on account of their proximity, there is greater need for it. We see there is no reason to be surprised that there should be one chorographer for the Indians, another for the Ethiopians, and a third for the Greeks and Romans. What use would it be to the Indians if a geographer should thus describe Bœotia to them, in the words of Homer?—

“The dwellers on the rocks  
Of Aulis follow'd, with the hardy clans  
Of Hyria, Schœnus, Scolus.”

To us this is of value, while to be acquainted with the Indies and their various territorial divisions would be useless, as it could lead to no advantage, which is the only criterion of the worth of such knowledge.

17. Even if we descend to the consideration of such trivial

matters as hunting, the case is still the same ; for he will be most successful in the chase who is acquainted with the size and nature of the wood, and one familiar with the locality will be the most competent to superintend an encampment, an ambush, or a march. But it is in great undertakings that the truth shines out in all its brilliancy ; for here, while the success resulting from knowledge is grand, the consequences of ignorance are disastrous. The fleet of Agamemnon, for instance, ravaging Mysia, as if it had been the Trojan territory, was compelled to a shameful retreat. Likewise the Persians and Libyans, supposing certain straits to be impassable, were very near falling into great perils, and have left behind them memorials of their ignorance ; the former a monument to Sarganeus on the Euripus, near Chalcis, whom the Persians slew, for, as they thought, falsely conducting their fleet from the Gulf of Malea to the Euripus ; and the latter to the memory of Pelorus, who was executed on a like occasion. At the time of the expedition of Xerxes the coasts of Greece were covered with wrecks, and the emigrations from Æolia and Ionia furnish numerous instances of the same calamity. On the other hand, matters have come to a prosperous termination, when judiciously directed by a knowledge of the locality. Thus it was at the pass of Thermopylæ that Ephialtes is reported to have pointed out to the Persians a pathway over the mountains, and so placed the band of Leonidas at their mercy, and opened to the Barbarians a passage into Pylæ. But, passing over ancient occurrences, we think that the late expeditions of the Romans against the Parthians furnish an excellent example, where, as in those against the Germans and Kelts, the Barbarians, taking advantage of their situation, [carried on the war] in marshes, woods, and pathless deserts, deceiving the ignorant enemy as to the position of different places, and concealing the roads and the means of obtaining food and necessaries.

18. As we have said, this science has an especial reference to the occupations and requirements of statesmen, with whom also political and ethical philosophy is mainly concerned ; and here is an evidence. We distinguish the different kinds of civil government by the office of their chief men, denominating one government a monarchy, or kingdom, another an aristocracy, a third a democracy ; for so many we consider are the forms of government, and we designate them by these names, because from them they derive their primary characteristic. For the laws which emanate from the sovereign, from the aristocracy, and from the people, all are different. The law is, in fact, a type



of the form of government. It is on this account that some define right to be the interest of the strongest. If, therefore, political philosophy is advantageous to the ruler, and geography in the actual government of the country, this latter seems to possess some little superiority. This superiority is most observable in real service.

19. But even the theoretical portion of geography is by no means contemptible. On the one hand, it embraces the arts, mathematics, and natural science; on the other, history and fable. Not that this latter can have any distinct advantage: for instance, if any one should relate to us the wanderings of Ulysses, Menelaus, and Jason, he would not seem to have added directly to our fund of practical knowledge thereby (which is the only thing men of the world are interested in) unless he should convey useful examples of what those wanderers were compelled to suffer, and at the same time afford matter of rational amusement to those who interest themselves in the places which gave birth to such fables. Practical men interest themselves in these pursuits, since they are at once commendable, and afford them pleasure, but yet not to any great extent. In this class, too, will be found those whose main object in life is pleasure and respectability; but these by no means constitute the majority of mankind, who naturally prefer that which holds out some direct advantage. The geographer should therefore chiefly devote himself to what is practically important. He should follow the same rule in regard to history and the mathematics, selecting always that which is most useful, most intelligible, and most authentic.

20. Geometry and astronomy, as we before remarked, seem absolutely indispensable in this science. This, in fact, is evident, that without some such assistance it would be impossible to be accurately acquainted with the configuration of the earth, its climata, dimensions, and the like information.

As the size of the earth has been demonstrated by other writers, we shall here take for granted and receive as accurate what they have advanced. We shall also assume that the earth is spheroidal, that its surface is likewise spheroidal, and, above all, that bodies have a tendency towards its centre, which latter point is clear to the perception of the most average understanding. However, we may show summarily that the earth is spheroidal from the consideration that all things however distant tend to its centre, and that every body is attracted towards its centre of gravity: this is more distinctly proved from observations of the sea and sky, for here the evidence of the senses,

and common observation, is alone requisite. The convexity of the sea is a further proof of this to those who have sailed; for they cannot perceive lights at a distance when placed at the same level as their eyes, but, if raised on high, they at once become perceptible to vision, though at the same time further removed. So, when the eye is raised, it sees what before was utterly imperceptible. Homer speaks of this when he says,

“Lifted up on the vast wave, he quickly beheld afar.”

Sailors, as they approach their destination, behold the shore continually raising itself to their view; and objects which had at first seemed low begin to elevate themselves. Our gnomons, also, are, among other things, evidence of the revolution of the heavenly bodies; and common sense at once shows us that, if the depth of the earth were infinite, such a revolution could not take place.

Every information respecting the climata is contained in the “Treatises on Positions.”

21. Now there are some facts which we take to be established; namely, those with which every politician and general should be familiar. For on no account should they be so uninformed as to the heavens and the position of the earth that when they are in strange countries, where some of the heavenly phenomena wear a different aspect to what they have been accustomed, they should be in a consternation, and exclaim,

“Neither west  
Know we, nor east, where rises or where sets  
The all-enlightening sun.”

Still, we do not expect that they should be such thorough masters of the subject as to know what stars rise and set together for the different quarters of the earth; those which have the same meridian line, the elevation of the poles, the signs which are in the zenith, with all the various phenomena which differ as well in appearance as reality with the variations of the horizon and arctic circle. With some of these matters, unless as philosophical pursuits, they should not burden themselves at all; others they must take for granted without searching into their causes. This must be left to the care of the philosopher; the statesman can have no leisure, or very little, for such pursuits. Those who, through carelessness and ignorance, are not familiar with the globe and the circles traced upon it, some parallel to each other, some at right angles to the former, others, again, in an oblique direction; nor yet with the position of the tropics, equator, and zodiac (that circle through which

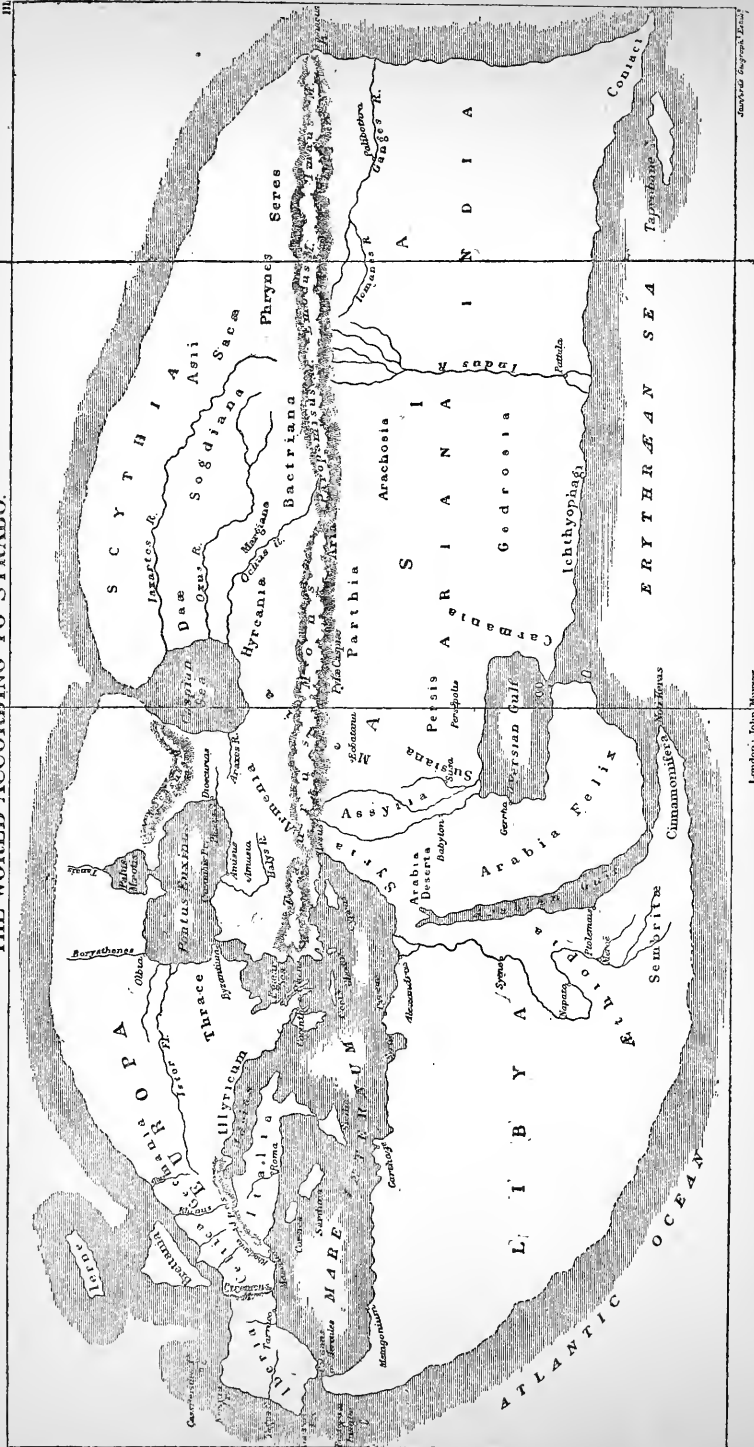
the sun travels in his course, and by which we reckon the changes of season and the winds),—such persons we caution against the perusal of our work. For if a man is neither properly acquainted with these things, nor with the variations of the horizon and arctic circle, and such similar elements of mathematics, how can he comprehend the matters treated of here? So for one who does not know a right line from a curve, nor yet a circle, nor a plane or spherical surface, nor the seven stars in the firmament composing the Great Bear, and such like, our work is entirely useless, at least for the present. Unless he first acquires such information, he is utterly incompetent to the study of geography. So those who have written the works entitled “On Ports,” “Voyages round the World,” have performed their task imperfectly, since they have omitted to supply the requisite information from mathematics and astronomy.

22. The present undertaking is composed in a lucid style, suitable alike to the statesman and the general reader, after the fashion of my History. By a statesman we do not intend an illiterate person, but one who has gone through the course of a liberal and philosophical education. For a man who has bestowed no attention on virtue or intelligence, nor what constitutes them, must be incompetent either to blame or praise, still less to decide what actions are worthy to be placed on record.

23. Having already compiled our Historical Memoirs, which, as we conceive, are a valuable addition both to political and moral philosophy, we have now determined to follow it up with the present work, which has been prepared on the same system as the former, and for the same class of readers, but more particularly for those who are in high stations of life. And as our former production contains only the most striking events in the lives of distinguished men, omitting trifling and unimportant incidents, so here it will be proper to dismiss small and doubtful particulars, and merely call attention to great and remarkable transactions, such in fact as are useful, memorable, and entertaining. In the colossal works of the sculptor we do not descend into a minute examination of particulars, but look principally for perfection in the general *ensemble*. This is the only method of criticism applicable to the present work. Its proportions, so to speak, are colossal; it deals in the generalities and main outlines of things, except now and then, when some minor detail can be selected, calculated to be serviceable to the seeker after knowledge or the man of business.

We now think we have demonstrated that our present under-

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO STRABO.



London: John Murray

taking is one that requires great care, and is well worthy of a philosopher.

Strabo, the most famous geographer of ancient times, lived just at the beginning of our era. He was born at Amasea in Pontus, about sixty years before the birth of Christ, and died, probably at Rome, about twenty-five years after the birth of Christ,—that is, just as Christ was beginning his public ministry. He lived, therefore, during the reign at Rome of Julius Cæsar, Augustus, and Tiberius. His earliest writings were two historical works now lost. Plutarch calls him “the philosopher,” and quotes his *Memoirs*. But his great work is his *Geography*. There had been Greek geographers before Strabo, and Eratosthenes is considered by some scholars an even greater geographer than Strabo; but Strabo’s work is the most comprehensive that had been attempted up to his time, giving a survey of the whole world as then known. His work, as Humboldt remarked, “surpasses all the geographical writings of antiquity, both in grandeur of plan and in the abundance and variety of its materials.” Strabo was a great traveller, although he had of course seen but a comparatively small portion of the regions he describes, and necessarily relies on other travellers and writers. He had a passionate love for Homer, as appears from the passage given in the present leaflet, and accepted fully the Homeric geography. Towards Herodotus, on the other hand, he is very unjust, and his slight regard for the accounts of Herodotus betrays him into mistakes. He refers to Cæsar’s *Commentaries* once, and evidently made further use of them. He designed his work, he tells us, largely for the statesman; and his observations upon the people, productions, and political conditions of the different countries are therefore especially full.

Strabo’s *Geography* consists of seventeen books. The first two form a general introduction, the next ten deal with Europe, the four following with Asia, and the last with Africa. His discussions, in his introduction, of the changes in the earth’s surface effected by earthquakes and otherwise are praised by Sir Charles Lyell and others for the soundness of their geological theories. He denies the existence of Thule, making Ireland (Ierne), which he places north of Britain, the farthest land in that direction. He regards the Caspian Sea as opening into the Northern Ocean, here following Patrocles. Of Eastern Asia and Northern Africa of course he knows but little. He held the earth to be spherical, and placed in the centre of the universe. His illustrations of the spheroidal form of the earth are the same as in our own school geographies. The earth’s circumference he makes 25,200 geographical miles. He gives directions for making a plane map of the world, as a globe of sufficient size is so cumbersome. The most famous passage in his book is that (Book I., chap. iv., § 6) in which he conjectures that, as the inhabited world was only one-third of the globe’s circumference, there might be two or more continents besides that then known. “It is quite possible,” are his words, “that in the temperate zone there may be two or even more habitable earths, especially near the circle of latitude which is drawn through Athens and the Atlantic Ocean.”

There is an English translation of Strabo’s *Geography*, in three volumes, in Bohn’s Library. The student should also read the article on Strabo in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The more thorough student will consult Bunbury’s great *History of Ancient Geography*: the account of Strabo and his work is in the second volume of this work. The work is full of most valuable maps of the world, according to Eratosthenes, Ptolemy, and others, including the map reproduced in the present leaflet.

In the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. i., there is a valuable chapter on "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients considered in Relation to the Discovery of America," by William H. Tillinghast, which should have special attention.

On the whole, it is remarkable how little geographical science was extended between the time of Strabo and the time of Columbus, although the travels of Marco Polo and the explorations of the Portuguese navigators were, of course, most important. The name of Ptolemy, who lived about one hundred and fifty years after Christ, was still the dominant name in geography in the fifteenth century. The student is referred to the allusions to Ptolemy and the other early geographers down to Toscanelli, who corresponded with Columbus and furnished him with the map of the world which he carried with him on his voyage, in the first volume of Fiske's *Discovery of America*, pp. 263, etc. This work of Mr. Fiske's covers the whole period treated in the Old South lectures for 1892, in a most interesting and thorough manner; and it is especially commended for reading in connection with the subject.

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#### OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS, GENERAL SERIES.

These Leaflets, issued by the Directors of the Old South Studies in History, are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of sixteen pages, and are sold at the low price of five cents a copy, or three dollars per hundred. The Old South work is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people in American history and politics; and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such Leaflets as these. The aim is to bring important original documents within easy reach of everybody. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. There are at present 28 leaflets in this general series, and others will rapidly follow. The following are the titles of those now ready:

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787. 14. The Constitution of Ohio.\* 15. Washington's Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. 16. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. 17. Verrazano's Voyage, 1524. 18. The Swiss Constitution.\* 19. The Bill of Rights, 1689. 20. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. 21. Eliot's Brief Narrative of Work among the Indians, 1670. 22. Wheelock's Narrative of the Founding of his Indian School, 1762. 23. The Petition of Rights, 1628. 24. The Grand Remonstrance. 25. The Scottish National Covenants. 26.



## Old South Leaflets.

GENERAL SERIES, No. 31.

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# The Voyages to Vinland.

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FROM THE SAGA OF ERIC THE RED.

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### LEIF THE LUCKY BAPTIZED.

After that sixteen winters had lapsed, from the time when Eric the Red. went to colonize Greenland, Leif, Eric's son, sailed out from Greenland to Norway. He arrived in Drontheim in the autumn, when King Olaf Tryggvason was come down from the North, out of Halagoland. Leif put into Nidaros with his ship, and set out at once to visit the king. King Olaf expounded the faith to him, as he did to other heathen men who came to visit him. It proved easy for the king to persuade Leif, and he was accordingly baptized, together with all of his shipmates. Leif remained throughout the winter with the king, by whom he was well entertained.

### BIARNI GOES IN QUEST OF GREENLAND.

Heriulf was a son of Bard Heriulfsson. He was a kinsman of Ingolf, the first colonist. Ingolf allotted land to Heriulf between Vág and Reykianess, and he dwelt at first at Drepstokk. Heriulf's wife's name was Thorgerd, and their son, whose name was Biarni, was a most promising man. He formed an inclination for voyaging while he was still young, and he prospered both in property and public esteem. It was his custom to pass his winters alternately abroad and with his father. Biarni soon became the owner of a trading-ship; and during the last winter that he spent in Norway [his father] Heriulf determined to accompany Eric on his voyage to Greenland, and made his preparations to give up his farm. Upon the ship with Heriulf was a Christian man from the Hebrides,

he it was who composed the Sea-Roller's Song, which contains this stave :

“ Mine adventure to the Meek One,  
 Monk-heart-searcher, I commit now ;  
 He, who heaven's halls doth govern,  
 Hold the hawk's-seat ever o'er me ! ”

Heriulf settled at Heriulfsness, and was a most distinguished man. Eric the Red dwelt at Brattahlid, where he was held in the highest esteem, and all men paid him homage. These were Eric's children: Leif, Thorvald, and Thorstein, and a daughter whose name was Freydis; she was wedded to a man named Thorvard, and they dwelt at Gardar, where the episcopal seat now is. She was a very haughty woman, while Thorvard was a man of little force of character, and Freydis had been wedded to him chiefly because of his wealth. At that time the people of Greenland were heathen.

Biarni arrived with his ship at Eyrar [in Iceland] in the summer of the same year, in the spring of which his father had sailed away. Biarni was much surprised when he heard this news, and would not discharge his cargo. His shipmates inquired of him what he intended to do, and he replied that it was his purpose to keep to his custom, and make his home for the winter with his father; “and I will take the ship to Greenland, if you will bear me company.” They all replied that they would abide by his decision. Then said Biarni, “Our voyage must be regarded as foolhardy, seeing that no one of us has ever been in the Greenland Sea.” Nevertheless, they put out to sea when they were equipped for the voyage, and sailed for three days, until the land was hidden by the water, and then the fair wind died out, and north winds arose, and fogs, and they knew not whither they were drifting, and thus it lasted for many “dœgr.” Then they saw the sun again, and were able to determine the quarters of the heavens; they hoisted sail, and sailed that “dœgr” through before they saw land. They discussed among themselves what land it could be, and Biarni said that he did not believe that it could be Greenland. They asked whether he wished to sail to this land or not. “It is my counsel” [said he] “to sail close to the land.” They did so, and soon saw that the land was level, and covered with woods, and that there were small hillocks upon it. They left the land on their larboard, and let the sheet turn toward the land. They sailed for two “dœgr” before they saw another land. They asked whether Biarni thought this was Greenland yet. He replied that he did not think this any more like Greenland than



the former, "because in Greenland there are said to be many great ice mountains." They soon approached this land, and saw that it was a flat and wooded country. The fair wind failed them then, and the crew took counsel together, and concluded that it would be wise to land there, but Biarni would not consent to this. They alleged that they were in need of both wood and water. "Ye have no lack of either of these," says Biarni,—a course, forsooth, which won him blame among his shipmates. He bade them hoist sail, which they did, and turning the prow from the land they sailed out upon the high seas, with south-westerly gales, for three "dœgr," when they saw the third land; this land was high and mountainous, with ice mountains upon it. They asked Biarni then whether he would land there, and he replied that he was not disposed to do so, "because this land does not appear to me to offer any attractions." Nor did they lower their sail, but held their course off the land, and saw that it was an island. They left this land astern, and held out to sea with the same fair wind. The wind waxed amain, and Biarni directed them to reef, and not to sail at a speed unbefitting their ship and rigging. They sailed now for four "dœgr," when they saw the fourth land. Again they asked Biarni whether he thought this could be Greenland or not. Biarni answers, "This is likest Greenland, according to that which has been reported to me concerning it, and here we will steer to the land." They directed their course thither, and landed in the evening, below a cape upon which there was a boat, and there, upon this cape, dwelt Heriulf, Biarni's father, whence the cape took its name, and was afterward called Heriulfsness. Biarni now went to his father, gave up his voyaging, and remained with his father while Heriulf lived, and continued to live there after his father.

#### HERE BEGINS THE BRIEF HISTORY OF THE GREENLANDERS.

Next to this is now to be told how Biarni Heriulfsson came out from Greenland on a visit to Earl Eric, by whom he was well received. Biarni gave an account of his travels [upon the occasion] when he saw the lands, and the people thought that he had been lacking in enterprise, since he had no report to give concerning these countries; and the fact brought him reproach. Biarni was appointed one of the Earl's men, and went out to Greenland the following summer. There was now much talk about voyages of discovery. Leif, the son of Eric the Red, of Brattahlid, visited Biarni Heriulfsson and bought a ship of

him, and collected a crew, until they formed altogether a company of thirty-five men. Leif invited his father, Eric, to become the leader of the expedition, but Eric declined, saying that he was then stricken in years, and adding that he was less able to endure the exposure of sea life than he had been. Leif replied that he would nevertheless be the one who would be most apt to bring good luck, and Eric yielded to Leif's solicitation, and rode from home when they were ready to sail. When he was but a short distance from the ship, the horse which Eric was riding stumbled, and he was thrown from his back and wounded his foot, whereupon he exclaimed, "It is not designed for me to discover more lands than the one in which we are now living, nor can we now continue longer together." Eric returned home to Brattahlid, and Leif pursued his way to the ship with his companions, thirty-five men. One of the company was a German, named Tyrker. They put the ship in order; and, when they were ready, they sailed out to sea, and found first that land which Biarni and his shipmates found last. They sailed up to the land, and cast anchor, and launched a boat, and went ashore, and saw no grass there. Great ice mountains lay inland back from the sea, and it was as a [tableland of] flat rock all the way from the sea to the ice mountains; and the country seemed to them to be entirely devoid of good qualities. Then said Leif, "It has not come to pass with us in regard to this land as with Biarni, that we have not gone upon it. To this country I will now give a name, and call it Helluland." They returned to the ship, put out to sea, and found a second land. They sailed again to the land, and came to anchor, and launched the boat, and went ashore. This was a level wooded land; and there were broad stretches of white sand where they went, and the land was level by the sea. Then said Leif, "This land shall have a name after its nature; and we will call it Markland." They returned to the ship forthwith, and sailed away upon the main with north-east winds, and were out two "dœgr" before they sighted land. They sailed toward this land, and came to an island which lay to the northward off the land. There they went ashore and looked about them, the weather being fine, and they observed that there was dew upon the grass, and it so happened that they touched the dew with their hands, and touched their hands to their mouths, and it seemed to them that they had never before tasted anything so sweet as this. They went aboard their ship again and sailed into a certain sound, which lay between the island and a cape, which jutted out from the land on the north, and they stood in

westering past the cape. At ebb-tide there were broad reaches of shallow water there, and they ran their ship aground there, and it was a long distance from the ship to the ocean ; yet were they so anxious to go ashore that they could not wait until the tide should rise under their ship, but hastened to the land, where a certain river flows out from a lake. As soon as the tide rose beneath their ship, however, they took the boat and rowed to the ship, which they conveyed up the river, and so into the lake, where they cast anchor and carried their hammocks ashore from the ship, and built themselves booths there. They afterward determined to establish themselves there for the winter, and they accordingly built a large house. There was no lack of salmon there either in the river or in the lake, and larger salmon than they had ever seen before. The country thereabouts seemed to be possessed of such good qualities that cattle would need no fodder there during the winters. There was no frost there in the winters, and the grass withered but little. The days and nights there were of more nearly equal length than in Greenland or Iceland. On the shortest day of winter, the sun was up between "eyktarstad" and "dagmalastad." When they had completed their house, Leif said to his companions, "I propose now to divide our company into two groups, and to set about an exploration of the country. One-half of our party shall remain at home at the house, while the other half shall investigate the land ; and they must not go beyond a point from which they can return home the same evening, and are not to separate [from each other]. Thus they did for a time. Leif, himself, by turns joined the exploring party, or remained behind at the house. Leif was a large and powerful man, and of a most imposing bearing,—a man of sagacity, and a very just man in all things.

#### LEIF THE LUCKY FINDS MEN UPON A SKERRY AT SEA.

It was discovered one evening that one of their company was missing ; and this proved to be Tyrker, the German. Leif was sorely troubled by this, for Tyrker had lived with Leif and his father for a long time, and had been very devoted to Leif when he was a child. Leif severely reprimanded his companions, and prepared to go in search of him, taking twelve men with him. They had proceeded but a short distance from the house, when they were met by Tyrker, whom they received most cordially. Leif observed at once that his foster-father was in lively spirits. Tyrker had a prominent forehead, restless eyes, small

features, was diminutive in stature, and rather a sorry-looking individual withal, but was, nevertheless, a most capable handicraftsman. Leif addressed him, and asked, "Wherefore art thou so belated, foster-father mine, and astray from the others?" In the beginning Tyrker spoke for some time in German, rolling his eyes and grinning, and they could not understand him; but after a time he addressed them in the Northern tongue: "I did not go much further [*than you*], and yet I have something of novelty to relate. I have found vines and grapes." "Is this indeed true, foster-father?" said Leif. "Of a certainty it is true," quoth he, "for I was born where there is no lack of either grapes or vines." They slept the night through, and on the morrow Leif said to his shipmates, "We will now divide our labors, and each day will either gather grapes or cut vines and fell trees, so as to obtain a cargo of these for my ship." They acted upon this advice, and it is said that their after-boat was filled with grapes. A cargo sufficient for the ship was cut, and when the spring came they made their ship ready, and sailed away; and from its products Leif gave the land a name, and called it Wineland. They sailed out to sea, and had fair winds until they sighted Greenland and the fells below the glaciers. Then one of the men spoke up and said, "Why do you steer the ship so much into the wind?" Leif answers: "I have my mind upon my steering, but on other matters as well. Do ye not see anything out of the common?" They replied that they saw nothing strange. "I do not know," says Leif, "whether it is a ship or a skerry that I see." Now they saw it, and said that it must be a skerry; but he was so much keener of sight than they that he was able to discern men upon the skerry. "I think it best to tack," says Leif, "so that we may draw near to them, that we may be able to render them assistance if they should stand in need of it; and, if they should not be peaceably disposed, we shall still have better command of the situation than they." They approached the skerry, and, lowering their sail, cast anchor, and launched a second small boat, which they had brought with them. Tyrker inquired who was the leader of the party. He replied that his name was Thori, and that he was a Norseman; "but what is thy name?" Leif gave his name. "Art thou a son of Eric the Red of Brattahlid?" says he. Leif responded that he was. "It is now my wish," says Leif, "to take you all into my ship, and likewise so much of your possessions as the ship will hold." This offer was accepted, and [with their ship] thus laden they held away to

Eric's firth, and sailed until they arrived at Brattahlid. Having discharged the cargo, Leif invited Thori, with his wife, Gudrid, and three others, to make their home with him, and procured quarters for the other members of the crew, both for his own and Thori's men. Leif rescued fifteen persons from the skerry. He was afterwards called Leif the Lucky. Leif had now goodly store both of property and honor. There was serious illness that winter in Thori's party, and Thori and a great number of his people died. Eric the Red also died that winter. There was now much talk about Leif's Wineland journey; and his brother, Thorvald, held that the country had not been sufficiently explored. Thereupon Leif said to Thorvald, "If it be thy will, brother, thou mayest go to Wineland with my ship; but I wish the ship first to fetch the wood which Thori had upon the skerry." And so it was done.

#### THORVALD GOES TO WINELAND.

Now Thorvald, with the advice of his brother, Leif, prepared to make this voyage with thirty men. They put their ship in order, and sailed out to sea; and there is no account of their voyage before their arrival at Leif's-booths in Wineland. They laid up their ship there, and remained there quietly during the winter, supplying themselves with food by fishing. In the spring, however, Thorvald said that they should put their ship in order, and that a few men should take the after-boat, and proceed along the western coast, and explore [the region] thereabouts during the summer. They found it a fair, well-wooded country. It was but a short distance from the woods to the sea, and [there were] white sands, as well as great numbers of islands and shallows. They found neither dwelling of man nor lair of beast; but in one of the westerly islands they found a wooden building for the shelter of grain. They found no other trace of human handiwork; and they turned back, and arrived at Leif's-booths in the autumn. The following summer Thorvald set out toward the east with the ship, and along the northern coast. They were met by a high wind off a certain promontory, and were driven ashore there, and damaged the keel of their ship, and were compelled to remain there for a long time and repair the injury to their vessel. Then said Thorvald to his companions, "I propose that we raise the keel upon this cape, and call it Keelness"; and so they did. Then they sailed away to the eastward off the land and into the mouth of the adjoining firth and to a headland, which projected into the sea

there, and which was entirely covered with woods. They found an anchorage for their ship, and put out the gangway to the land; and Thorvald and all of his companions went ashore. "It is a fair region here," said he; "and here I should like to make my home." They then returned to the ship, and discovered on the sands, in beyond the headland, three mounds: they went up to these, and saw that they were three skin canoes with three men under each. They thereupon divided their party, and succeeded in seizing all of the men but one, who escaped with his canoe. They killed the eight men, and then ascended the headland again, and looked about them, and discovered within the firth certain hillocks, which they concluded must be habitations. They were then so overpowered with sleep that they could not keep awake, and all fell into a [heavy] slumber from which they were awakened by the sound of a cry uttered above them; and the words of the cry were these: "Awake, Thorvald, thou and all thy company, if thou wouldst save thy life; and board thy ship with all thy men, and sail with all speed from the land!" A countless number of skin canoes then advanced toward them from the inner part of the firth, whereupon Thorvald exclaimed, "We must put out the war-boards on both sides of the ship, and defend ourselves to the best of our ability, but offer little attack." This they did; and the Skrellings, after they had shot at them for a time, fled precipitately, each as best he could. Thorvald then inquired of his men whether any of them had been wounded, and they informed him that no one of them had received a wound. "I have been wounded in my arm-pit," says he. "An arrow flew in between the gunwale and the shield, below my arm. Here is the shaft, and it will bring me to my end. I counsel you now to retrace your way with the utmost speed. But me ye shall convey to that headland which seemed to me to offer so pleasant a dwelling-place: thus it may be fulfilled that the truth sprang to my lips when I expressed the wish to abide there for a time. Ye shall bury me there, and place a cross at my head, and another at my feet, and call it Crossness forever after." At that time Christianity had obtained in Greenland: Eric the Red died, however, before [the introduction of] Christianity.

Thorvald died; and, when they had carried out his injunctions, they took their departure, and rejoined their companions, and they told each other of the experiences which had befallen them. They remained there during the winter, and gathered grapes and wood with which to freight the ship. In the follow-

ing spring they returned to Greenland, and arrived with their ship in Ericsfirth, where they were able to recount great tidings to Leif.

#### THORSTEIN ERICSSON DIES IN THE WESTERN SETTLEMENT.

In the mean time it had come to pass in Greenland that Thorstein of Ericsfirth had married, and taken to wife Gudrid, Thorbrion's daughter, [she] who had been the spouse of Thori Eastman, as has been already related. Now Thorstein Ericsson, being minded to make the voyage to Wineland after the body of his brother, Thorvald, equipped the same ship, and selected a crew of twenty-five men of good size and strength, and taking with him his wife, Gudrid, when all was in readiness, they sailed out into the open ocean, and out of sight of land. They were driven hither and thither over the sea all that summer, and lost all reckoning; and at the end of the first week of winter they made the land at Lysufirth in Greenland, in the Western settlement. Thorstein set out in search of quarters for his crew, and succeeded in procuring homes for all of his shipmates; but he and his wife were unprovided for, and remained together upon the ship for two or more days. At this time Christianity was still in its infancy in Greenland. [Here follows the account of Thorstein's sickness and death in the winter.] . . . When he had thus spoken, Thorstein sank back again; and his body was laid out for burial, and borne to the ship. Thorstein, the master, faithfully performed all his promises to Gudrid. He sold his lands and live stock in the spring, and accompanied Gudrid to the ship, with all his possessions. He put the ship in order, procured a crew, and then sailed for Ericsfirth. The bodies of the dead were now buried at the church; and Gudrid then went home to Leif at Brattahlid, while Thorstein the Swarthy made a home for himself on Ericsfirth, and remained there as long as he lived, and was looked upon as a very superior man.

#### OF THE WINELAND VOYAGES OF THORFINN AND HIS COMPANIONS.

That same summer a ship came from Norway to Greenland. The skipper's name was Thorfinn Karlsefni. He was a son of Thord Horsehead, and a grandson of Snorri, the son of Thord of Höfdi. Thorfinn Karlsefni, who was a very wealthy man, passed the winter at Brattahlid with Leif Ericsson. He very soon set his heart upon Gudrid, and sought her hand in marriage. She referred him to Leif for her answer, and was subsequently betrothed to him; and their marriage was celebrated that same winter. A renewed discussion arose concerning a

Wineland voyage; and the folk urged Karlsefni to make the venture, Gudrid joining with the others. He determined to undertake the voyage, and assembled a company of sixty men and five women, and entered into an agreement with his shipmates that they should each share equally in all the spoils of the enterprise. They took with them all kinds of cattle, as it was their intention to settle the country, if they could. Karlsefni asked Leif for the house in Wineland; and he replied that he would lend it, but not give it. They sailed out to sea with the ship, and arrived safe and sound at Leifs-booths, and carried their hammocks ashore there. They were soon provided with an abundant and goodly supply of food; for a whale of good size and quality was driven ashore there, and they secured it, and flensed it, and had then no lack of provisions. The cattle were turned out upon the land, and the males soon became very restless and vicious: they had brought a bull with them. Karlsefni caused trees to be felled and to be hewed into timbers wherewith to load his ship, and the wood was placed upon a cliff to dry. They gathered somewhat of all of the valuable products of the land,—grapes, and all kinds of game and fish, and other good things. In the summer succeeding the first winter Skrellings were discovered. A great troop of men came forth from out the woods. The cattle were hard by, and the bull began to bellow and roar with a great noise, whereat the Skrellings were frightened, and ran away with their packs, wherein were gray furs, sables, and all kinds of peltries. They fled towards Karlsefni's dwelling, and sought to effect an entrance into the house; but Karlsefni caused the doors to be defended [against them]. Neither [people] could understand the other's language. The Skrellings put down their bundles then, and loosed them, and offered their wares [for barter], and were especially anxious to exchange these for weapons; but Karlsefni forbade his men to sell their weapons, and, taking counsel with himself, he bade the women carry out milk to the Skrellings, which they no sooner saw than they wanted to buy it, and nothing else. Now the outcome of the Skrellings' trading was that they carried their wares away in their stomachs, while they left their packs and peltries behind with Karlsefni and his companions, and, having accomplished this [exchange], they went away. Now it is to be told that Karlsefni caused a strong wooden palisade to be constructed and set up around the house. It was at this time that Gudrid, Karlsefni's wife, gave birth to a male child, and the boy was called Snorri. In the early part of the second winter the Skrellings came to them



again, and these were now much more numerous than before, and brought with them the same wares as at first. Then said Karlsefni to the women, "Do ye carry out now the same food which proved so profitable before, and nought else." When they saw this, they cast their packs in over the palisade. Gudrid was sitting within, in the doorway, beside the cradle of her infant son, Snorri, when a shadow fell upon the door, and a woman in a black namkirtle entered. She was short in stature, and wore a fillet about her head; her hair was of a light chestnut color, and she was pale of hue, and so big-eyed that never before had eyes so large been seen in a human skull. She went up to where Gudrid was seated, and said, "What is thy name?" "My name is Gudrid, but what is thy name?" "My name is Gudrid," says she. The housewife Gudrid motioned her with her hand to a seat beside her; but it so happened that at that very instant Gudrid heard a great crash, whereupon the woman vanished, and at that same moment one of the Skrellings, who had tried to seize their weapons, was killed by one of Karlsefni's followers. At this the Skrellings fled precipitately, leaving their garments and wares behind them; and not a soul, save Gudrid alone, beheld this woman. "Now we must needs take counsel together," says Karlsefni; "for that I believe they will visit us a third time in great numbers, and attack us. Let us now adopt this plan. Ten of our number shall go out upon the cape, and show themselves there; while the remainder of our company shall go into the woods and hew a clearing for our cattle, when the troop approaches from the forest. We will also take our bull, and let him go in advance of us." The lie of the land was such that the proposed meeting-place had the lake upon the one side and the forest upon the other. Karlsefni's advice was now carried into execution. The Skrellings advanced to the spot which Karlsefni had selected for the encounter; and a battle was fought there, in which great numbers of the band of the Skrellings were slain. There was one man among the Skrellings, of large size and fine bearing, whom Karlsefni concluded must be their chief. One of the Skrellings picked up an axe; and, having looked at it for a time, he brandished it about one of his companions, and hewed at him, and on the instant the man fell dead. Thereupon the big man seized the axe; and, after examining it for a moment, he hurled it as far as he could out into the sea. Then they fled helter skelter into the woods, and thus their intercourse came to an end. Karlsefni and his party remained there throughout the winter; but in the spring Karlsefni an-

nounces that he is not minded to remain there longer, but will return to Greenland. They now made ready for the voyage, and carried away with them much booty in vines and grapes and peltries. They sailed out upon the high seas, and brought their ship safely to Eric's firth, where they remained during the winter.

#### FREYDIS CAUSES THE BROTHERS TO BE PUT TO DEATH.

There was now much talk anew about a Wineland voyage, for this was reckoned both a profitable and an honorable enterprise. The same summer that Karlsefni arrived from Wineland a ship from Norway arrived in Greenland. This ship was commanded by two brothers, Helgi and Finnbogi, who passed the winter in Greenland. They were descended from an Icelandic family of the East-firths. It is now to be added that Freydis, Eric's daughter, set out from her home at Gardar, and waited upon the brothers, Helgi and Finnbogi, and invited them to sail with their vessel to Wineland, and to share with her equally all of the good things which they might succeed in obtaining there. To this they agreed, and she departed thence to visit her brother, Leif, and ask him to give her the house which he had caused to be erected in Wineland; but he made her the same answer [as that which he had given Karlsefni], saying that he would lend the house, but not give it. It was stipulated between Karlsefni and Freydis that each should have on ship-board thirty able-bodied men, besides the women; but Freydis immediately violated this compact by concealing five men more [than this number], and this the brothers did not discover before they arrived in Wineland. They now put out to sea, having agreed beforehand that they would sail in company, if possible, and, although they were not far apart from each other, the brothers arrived somewhat in advance, and carried their belongings up to Leif's house. Now, when Freydis arrived, her ship was discharged and the baggage carried up to the house, whereupon Freydis exclaimed, "Why did you carry your baggage in here?" "Since we believed," said they, "that all promises made to us would be kept." "It was to me that Leif loaned the house," says she, "and not to you." Whereupon Helgi exclaimed, "We brothers cannot hope to rival thee in wrong dealing." They thereupon carried their baggage forth, and built a hut, above the sea, on the bank of the lake, and put all in order about it; while Freydis caused wood to be felled, with which to load her ship. The winter now set in, and the brothers suggested that they should amuse

themselves by playing games. This they did for a time, until the folk began to disagree, when dissensions arose between them, and the games came to an end, and the visits between the houses ceased; and thus it continued far into the winter. One morning early Freydis arose from her bed and dressed herself, but did not put on her shoes and stockings. A heavy dew had fallen, and she took her husband's cloak, and wrapped it about her, and then walked to the brothers' house, and up to the door, which had been only partly closed by one of the men, who had gone out a short time before. She pushed the door open, and stood silently in the doorway for a time. Finnbogi, who was lying on the innermost side of the room, was awake, and said, "What dost thou wish here, Freydis?" She answers, "I wish thee to rise and go out with me, for I would speak with thee." He did so; and they walked to a tree, which lay close by the wall of the house, and seated themselves upon it. "How art thou pleased here?" says she. He answers, "I am well pleased with the fruitfulness of the land; but I am ill content with the breach which has come between us, for, methinks, there has been no cause for it." "It is even as thou sayest," says she, "and so it seems to me; but my errand to thee is that I wish to exchange ships with you brothers, for that ye have a larger ship than I, and I wish to depart from here." "To this I must accede," says he, "if it is thy pleasure." Therewith they parted; and she returned home and Finnbogi to his bed. She climbed up into bed, and awakened Thorvard with her cold feet; and he asked her why she was so cold and wet. She answered with great passion: "I have been to the brothers," says she, "to try to buy their ship, for I wished to have a larger vessel; but they received my overtures so ill that they struck me and handled me very roughly; what time thou, poor wretch, wilt neither avenge my shame nor thy own; and I find, perforce, that I am no longer in Greenland. Moreover I shall part from thee unless thou wraekest vengeance for this." And now he could stand her taunts no longer, and ordered the men to rise at once and take their weapons; and this they did. And they then proceeded directly to the house of the brothers, and entered it while the folk were asleep, and seized and bound them, and led each one out when he was bound; and, as they came out, Freydis caused each one to be slain. In this wise all of the men were put to death, and only the women were left; and these no one would kill. At this Freydis exclaimed, "Hand me an axe." This was done; and she fell upon the five women, and left them dead. They returned

home after this dreadful deed; and it was very evident that Freydis was well content with her work. She addressed her companions, saying, "If it be ordained for us to come again to Greenland, I shall contrive the death of any man who shall speak of these events. We must give it out that we left them living here when we came away." Early in the spring they equipped the ship which had belonged to the brothers, and freighted it with all of the products of the land which they could obtain, and which the ship would carry. Then they put out to sea, and after a prosperous voyage arrived with their ship in Ericsfirth early in the summer. Karlsefni was there, with his ship all ready to sail, and was awaiting a fair wind; and people say that a ship richer laden than that which he commanded never left Greenland.

#### CONCERNING FREYDIS.

Freydis now went to her home, since it had remained unharmed during her absence. She bestowed liberal gifts upon all of her companions, for she was anxious to screen her guilt. She now established herself at her home; but her companions were not all so close-mouthed concerning their misdeeds and wickedness that rumors did not get abroad at last. These finally reached her brother, Leif, and he thought it a most shameful story. He thereupon took three of the men, who had been of Freydis' party, and forced them all at the same time to a confession of the affair, and their stories entirely agreed. "I have no heart," says Leif, "to punish my sister, Freydis, as she deserves, but this I predict of them, that there is little prosperity in store for their offspring." Hence it came to pass that no one from that time forward thought them worthy of aught but evil. It now remains to take up the story from the time when Karlsefni made his ship ready, and sailed out to sea. He had a successful voyage, and arrived in Norway safe and sound. He remained there during the winter, and sold his wares; and both he and his wife were received with great favor by the most distinguished men of Norway. The following spring he put his ship in order for the voyage to Iceland; and when all his preparations had been made, and his ship was lying at the wharf, awaiting favorable winds, there came to him a Southerner, a native of Bremen in the Saxonland, who wished to buy his "house-neat." "I do not wish to sell it," says he. "I will give thee half a 'mörk' in gold for it," says the Southerner. This Karlsefni thought a good offer, and accordingly closed the bargain. The Southerner went his way with the "house-neat,"

and Karlsefni knew not what wood it was, but it was "mösur," come from Wineland.

Karlsefni sailed away, and arrived with his ship in the north of Iceland, in Skagafirth. His vessel was beached there during the winter, and in the spring he bought Glaumbœiar-land, and made his home there, and dwelt there as long as he lived, and was a man of the greatest prominence. From him and his wife, Gudrid, a numerous and goodly lineage is descended. After Karlsefni's death Gudrid, together with her son Snorri, who was born in Wineland, took charge of the farmstead; and, when Snorri was married, Gudrid went abroad, and made a pilgrimage to the South, after which she returned again to the home of her son Snorri, who had caused a church to be built at Glaumbær. Gudrid then took the veil and became an anchorite, and lived there the rest of her days. Snorri had a son, named Thorgeir, who was the father of Ingveld, the mother of Bishop Brand. Hallfrid was the name of the daughter of Snorri, Karlsefni's son: she was the mother of Runolf, Bishop Thorlak's father. Biorn was the name of [another] son of Karlsefni and Gudrid: he was the father of Thorunn, the mother of Bishop Biorn. Many men are descended from Karlsefni, and he has been blessed with a numerous and famous posterity; and of all men Karlsefni has given the most exact accounts of all these voyages, of which something has now been recounted.

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The famous *Saga of Eric the Red*, which gives the original accounts of the Northmen's voyages to Vinland, exists in two different versions, that known as the *Hauks-bók*, written by Hauk Erlendsson between 1305 and 1334, and that made about 1387 by the priest Jón Thórdharson, contained in the compilation known as the *Flateyar-bók*, or "Flat Island Book." Jón used parts of the original saga, and added a considerable amount of material concerning the Vinland voyages derived from other sources, to us unknown. It is this second version which is reproduced, almost in its entirety, in the present leaflet.

The Vinland voyages belong to about the year 1000. These Icelandic chronicles belong therefore to a date three centuries later. They were doubtless based upon earlier writings which had come down from the times of Leif and Thorfinn, subject to the various influences which affected similar writings at that period, the world over. An interesting and valuable confirmation of the simple fact of the visit of the Northmen to "Vinland" is given us by Adam of Bremen, who visited Denmark between 1047 and 1073, when the voyages would have been within the memory of living men and natural subjects of conversation. In speaking of the Scandinavian countries, in his book, Adam describes the colonies in Iceland and Greenland, and says that there is another country or island beyond, called Vinland, on account of the wild grapes that grow there. He says that corn also grows in Vinland without cultivation; and, thinking this may seem strange to European readers,

he adds that his statement is based upon "trustworthy reports of the Danes."

The great work of Professor Charles Christian Rafn, of Copenhagen, *Antiquitates Americanae*, published in 1837, first brought these Icelandic sagas prominently before modern scholars. Professor Rafn's work was most elaborate and thorough, and very little in the way of new material has been given us since his time, although his theories and the general subject of the Northmen's voyages and the whereabouts of Vinland have been discussed in numberless volumes during the fifty years since he wrote. Perhaps the most valuable work is that by Arthur Middleton Reeves, a young American scholar, whose untimely death in a recent railroad disaster is so deeply to be deplored. The title of Mr. Reeves's work is *The Finding of Winland the Good: The History of the Icelandic Discovery of America*. (London, 1890). This work contains phototype plates of the original Icelandic vellums, English translations of the two sagas, and very thorough historical accounts and critical discussions. The present leaflet makes use of Mr. Reeves's translation. De Costa's *Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen* and Slafter's *Voyages of the Northmen to America* are earlier works of high authority, going over the same ground and also containing translations of the sagas. Dr. Slafter's book has an added value from its critical accounts of all the important works on the subject which had appeared up to that time (1877). A completer bibliography, now accessible, is that by Justin Winsor, appended to his chapter on "Pre-Columbian Explorations" in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. i.

The best popular account of the Norsemen and their voyages is that by Mr. Fiske, in his *Discovery of America*, vol. i. chap. ii. Mr. Fiske is refreshingly sound and sane in his treatment of the whole subject, which with so many writers has been a field for the wildest speculations. He shows the absurdity of the earlier writers who used to associate the Old Mill at Newport and the inscriptions on the Dighton rock with the Northmen, and the slight grounds on which, at the present time, enthusiasts like Professor Horsford have attempted to determine details so exactly as to claim that Leif Erikson settled on the banks of Charles River. "On the whole," concludes Mr. Fiske, "we may say with some confidence that the place described by our chroniclers as Vinland was situated somewhere between Point Judith and Cape Breton; possibly we may narrow our limits, and say that it was somewhere between Cape Cod and Cape Ann. But the latter conclusion is much less secure than the former. In such a case as this, the more we narrow our limits, the greater our liability to error."

It should be said that many scholarly investigators hold that all the conditions of the descriptions of Vinland in the sagas are met by the shores of Labrador and Newfoundland, although the weight of opinion is in favor of the New England coast. The accounts themselves make any exacter determination impossible; and no genuine Norse remains have ever been discovered in New England.

The claim that Columbus knew of these discoveries of the Northmen or that he was influenced by them has never been made out, and is quite improbable. He simply set out to find a western route to Asia. The course of his voyage was not such as he would have taken, had he had in mind the Vinland of the Northmen; and he made no mention of Vinland while exhausting every possible argument in favor of his expedition at the Spanish court. Had he known of it, he certainly would have mentioned it; for, as Colonel Higginson so well says (see his excellent chapter on the Northmen in his *Larger History of the United States*), for the purpose of his argument, "an ounce of Vinland would have been worth a pound of cosmography."

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# Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java.

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## DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF CHIPANGU, AND THE GREAT KAAN'S DESPATCH OF A HOST AGAINST IT.

Chipangu is an island toward the east in the high seas, 1,500 miles distant from the continent; and a very great island it is.

The people are white, civilized, and well-favored. They are idolaters, and are dependent on nobody. And I can tell you the quantity of gold they have is endless; for they find it in their own islands [and the king does not allow it to be exported. Moreover], few merchants visit the country because it is so far from the main land, and thus it comes to pass that their gold is abundant beyond all measure.

I will tell you a wonderful thing about the Palace of the Lord of that island. You must know that he hath a great palace which is entirely roofed with fine gold, just as our churches are roofed with lead, insomuch that it would scarcely be possible to estimate its value. Moreover, all the pavement of the palace, and the floors of its chambers, are entirely of gold, in plates like slabs of stone, a good two fingers thick; and the windows also are of gold, so that altogether the richness of this palace is past all bounds and all belief.

They have also pearls in abundance, which are of a rose color, but fine, big, and round, and quite as valuable as the white ones. [In this island some of the dead are buried, and others are burned. When a body is burned, they put one of these pearls in the mouth, for such is their custom.] They have also quantities of other precious stones.

Cublay, the Grand Kaan, who now reigneth, having heard much of the immense wealth that was in this island, formed a plan to get possession of it. For this purpose he sent two of his barons with a great navy, and a great force of horse and foot. These barons were able and valiant men, one of them

called Abacan and the other Vonsainchin, and they weighed with all their company from the ports of Zayton and Kinsay, and put out to sea. They sailed until they reached the island aforesaid, and there they landed, and occupied the open country and the villages, but did not succeed in getting possession of any city or castle. And so a disaster befell them, as I shall now relate.

You must know that there was much ill-will between those two barons, so that one would do nothing to help the other. And it came to pass that there arose a north wind which blew with great fury, and caused great damage along the coasts of that island, for its harbors were few. It blew so hard that the Great Kaan's fleet could not stand against it. And, when the chiefs saw that, they came to the conclusion that, if the ships remained where they were, the whole navy would perish. So they all got on board and made sail to leave the country. But, when they had gone about four miles, they came to a small island, on which they were driven ashore in spite of all they could do; and a great part of the fleet was wrecked, and a great multitude of the force perished, so that there escaped only some 30,000 men, who took refuge on this island.

These held themselves for dead men, for they were without food, and knew not what to do, and they were in great despair when they saw that such of the ships as had escaped the storm were making full sail for their own country, without the slightest sign of turning back to help them. And this was because of the bitter hatred between the two barons in command of the force; for the baron who escaped never showed the slightest desire to return to his colleague who was left upon the island in the way you have heard, though he might easily have done so after the storm ceased, and it endured not long. He did nothing of the kind, however, but made straight for home. And you must know that the island to which the soldiers had escaped was uninhabited: there was not a creature upon it but themselves.

Now we will tell you what befell those who escaped on the fleet, and also those who were left upon the island.

#### WHAT FURTHER CAME OF THE GREAT KAAAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST CHIPANGU.

You see those who were left upon the island, some 30,000 souls, as I have said, did hold themselves for dead men, for they saw no possible means of escape. And when the king of



the great island got news how the one part of the expedition had saved themselves upon that isle, and the other part was scattered and fled, he was right glad thereat; and he gathered together all the ships of his territory and proceeded with them, the sea now being calm, to the little isle, and landed his troops all round it. And when the Tartars saw them thus arrive, and the whole force landed, without any guard having been left on board the ships (the act of men very little acquainted with such work), they had the sagacity to feign flight. [Now the island was very high in the middle, and, while the enemy were hastening after them by one road, they fetched a compass by another, and] in this way managed to reach the enemy's ships and to get aboard of them. This they did easily enough, for they encountered no opposition.

Once they were on board, they got under way immediately for the great island, and landed there, carrying with them the standards and banners of the king of the island; and in this wise they advanced to the capital. The garrison of the city, suspecting nothing wrong, when they saw their own banners advancing, supposed that it was their own host returning, and so gave them admittance. The Tartars as soon as they had got in seized all the bulwarks, and drove out all who were in the place except the pretty women, and these they kept for themselves. In this way the Great Kaan's people got possession of the city.

When the king of the great island and his army perceived that both fleet and city were lost, they were greatly cast down: howbeit, they got away to the great island on board some of the ships which had not been carried off. And the king then gathered all his host to the siege of the city, and invested it so straitly that no one could go in or come out. Those who were within held the place for seven months, and strove by all means to send word to the Great Kaan; but it was all in vain, they never could get the intelligence carried to him. So, when they saw they could hold out no longer, they gave themselves up on condition that their lives should be spared, but still that they should never quit the island. And this befell in the year of our Lord 1279. The Great Kaan ordered the baron who had fled so disgracefully to lose his head. And afterward he caused the other also, who had been left on the island, to be put to death, for he had never behaved as a good soldier ought to do.

But I must tell you a wonderful thing that I had forgotten, which happened on this expedition.

You see, at the beginning of the affair, when the Kaan's people had landed on the great island and occupied the open country, as I told you, they stormed a tower belonging to some of the islanders who refused to surrender, and they cut off the heads of all the garrison except eight: on these eight they found it impossible to inflict any wound. Now this was by virtue of certain stones which they had in their arms, inserted between the skin and the flesh, with such skill as not to show at all externally. And the charm and virtue of these stones was such that those who wore them could never perish by steel. So, when the barons learned this, they ordered the men to be beaten to death with clubs. And after their death the stones were extracted from the bodies of all, and were greatly prized. But now let us have done with that matter, and return to our subject.

#### CONCERNING THE FASHION OF THE IDOLS.

Now you must know that the idols of Cathay, and of Manzi, and of this island, are all of the same class. And in this island, as well as elsewhere, there be some of the idols that have the head of an ox, some that have the head of a pig, some of a dog, some of a sheep, and some of divers other kinds. And some of them have four heads, while some have three, one growing out of either shoulder. There are also some that have four hands, some ten, some a thousand. And they do put more faith in those idols that have a thousand hands than in any of the others. And when any Christian asks them why they make their idols in so many different guises, and not all alike, they reply that just so their forefathers were wont to have them made, and just so they will leave them to their children, and these to the after generations. And so they will be handed down for ever. And you must understand that the deeds ascribed to these idols are such a parcel of devilries as it is best not to tell. So let us have done with the idols, and speak of other things.

But I must tell you one thing still concerning that island (and 'tis the same with the other Indian islands), that, if the natives take prisoner an enemy who cannot pay a ransom, he who hath the prisoner summons all his friends and relations, and they put the prisoner to death, and then they cook him and eat him, and they say there is no meat in the world so good. But now we *will* have done with that island and speak of something else.

You must know the sea in which lie the islands of those parts is called the Sea of Chin, which is as much as to say "The Sea over against Manzi." For, in the language of those isles, when they say *Chin*, 'tis Manzi they mean. And I tell you with regard to that Eastern Sea of Chin, according to what is said by the experienced pilots and mariners of those parts there be 7,459 islands in the waters frequented by the said mariners; and that is how they know the fact, for their whole life is spent in navigating that sea. And there is not one of those islands but produces valuable and odorous woods like the lignaloe, aye, and better, too; and they produce also a great variety of spices. For example, in those islands grows pepper as white as snow, as well as the black in great quantities. In fact, the riches of those islands is something wonderful, whether in gold or precious stones, or in all manner of spicery; but they lie so far off from the main land that it is hard to get to them. And, when the ships of Zayton and Kinsay do voyage thither, they make vast profits by their venture.

It takes them a whole year for the voyage, going in winter and returning in summer. For in that sea there are but two winds that blow, the one that carries them outward and the other that brings them homeward; and the one of these winds blows all the winter, and the other all the summer. And you must know these regions are so far from India that it takes a long time also for the voyage thence.

Though that sea is called the Sea of Chin, as I have told you, yet it is part of the Ocean Sea all the same. But just as in these parts people talk of the Sea of England and the Sea of Rochelle, so in those countries they speak of the Sea of Chin and the Sea of India, and so on, though they all are but parts of the ocean.

Now let us have done with that region, which is very inaccessible and out of the way. Moreover, Messer Marco Polo never was there. And let me tell you the Great Kaan has nothing to do with them, nor do they render him any tribute or service.

#### CONCERNING THE GREAT ISLAND OF JAVA.

When you sail from Chamba, 1,500 miles in a course between south and south-east, you come to a great island called Java. And the experienced mariners of those islands, who know the matter well, say that it is the greatest island in the world, and has a compass of more than 3,000 miles. It is subject to a

great king, and tributary to no one else in the world. The people are idolaters. The island is of surpassing wealth, producing black pepper, nutmegs, spikenard, galingale, cubebs, cloves, and all other kinds of spices.

This island is also frequented by a vast amount of shipping, and by merchants who buy and sell costly goods from which they reap great profit. Indeed, the treasure of this island is so great as to be past telling. And I can assure you the Great Kaan never could get possession of this island on account of its great distance and the great expense of an expedition thither. The merchants of Zayton and Manzi draw annually great returns from this country.

#### CONCERNING THE ISLAND OF JAVA THE LESS. THE KINGDOMS OF FERLEC AND BASMA.

When you leave the island of Pentam and sail about 100 miles, you reach the island of Java the Less. For all its name 'tis none so small but that it has a compass of two thousand miles or more. Now I will tell you all about this Island.

You see there are upon it eight kingdoms and eight crowned kings. The people are all idolaters, and every kingdom has a language of its own. The island hath great abundance of treasure, with costly spices, lignaloes and spikenard and many others that never come into our parts.

Now I am going to tell you all about these eight kingdoms, or at least the greater part of them. But let me premise one marvellous thing, and that is the fact that this Island lies so far to the south that the North Star, little or much, is never to be seen!

Now let us resume our subject, and first I will tell you of the kingdom of Ferlec.

This kingdom, you must know, is so much frequented by the Saracen merchants that they have converted the natives to the Law of Mahomet—I mean the townspeople only, for the hill-people live for all the world like beasts, and eat human flesh, as well as all other kinds of flesh, clean or unclean. And they worship this, that, and the other thing; for in fact the first thing that they see on rising in the morning, that they do worship for the rest of the day.

Having told you of the kingdom of Ferlec, I will now tell of another which is called Basma.

When you quit the kingdom of Ferlec, you enter upon that of Basma. This also is an independent kingdom, and the people

have a language of their own ; but they are just like beasts, without laws or religion. They call themselves subjects of the Great Kaan, but they pay him no tribute ; indeed they are so far away that his men could not go thither. Still all these islanders declare themselves to be his subjects, and sometimes they send him curiosities as presents. There are wild elephants in the country, and numerous unicorns, which are very nearly as big. They have hair like that of a buffalo, feet like those of an elephant, and a horn in the middle of the forehead, which is black and very thick. They do no mischief, however, with the horn, but with the tongue alone ; for this is covered all over with long and strong prickles [and when savage with any one they crush him under their knees and then rasp him with their tongue]. The head resembles that of a wild boar, and they carry it ever bent towards the ground. They delight much to abide in mire and mud. 'Tis a passing ugly beast to look upon, and is not in the least like that which our stories tell of ; in fact, 'tis altogether different from what we fancied. There are also monkeys here in great numbers and of sundry kinds ; and goshawks as black as crows. These are very large birds, and capital for fowling.

I may tell you moreover that, when people bring home pygmies which they allege to come from India, 'tis all a lie and a cheat. For those little men, as they call them, are manufactured on this island, and I will tell you how. You see there is on the island a kind of monkey which is very small, and has a face just like a man's. They take these, and pluck out all the hair except the hair of the beard and on the breast, and then they dry them and stuff them and daub them with saffron and other things until they look like men. But you see it is all a cheat ; for nowhere in India nor anywhere else in the world were there ever men seen so small as these pretended pygmies.

Now I will say no more of the kingdom of Basma, but tell you of the others in succession.

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“Great princes, emperors and kings, dukes and marquises, counts, knights and burgesses, and people of all degrees who desire to get knowledge of the various races of mankind and of the diversities of the sundry regions of the world, take this book and cause it to be read to you. For ye shall find therein all kinds of wonderful things, and the divers histories of the Great Hermania, and of Persia, and of the Land of the Tartars, and of India, and of many another country of which our book doth speak, particularly and in regular succession, according to the description of Messer Marco Polo, a wise and noble citizen of Venice, as he saw them with his own eyes. Some things there be indeed therein which he beheld not ; but

these he heard from men of credit and veracity. And we shall set down things seen as seen, and things heard as heard only, so that no jot of falsehood may mar the truth of our book, and that all who shall read it, or hear it read, may put full faith in the truth of all its contents. For let me tell you that since our Lord God did mould with his hands our first father Adam, even until this day, never hath there been Christian, or Pagan, or Tartar, or Indian, or any man of any nation, who in his own person hath had so much knowledge and experience of the world and its wonders as hath had this Messer Marco. And for that reason he bethought himself that it would be a very great pity did he not cause to be put in writing all the great marvels that he had seen, or on sure information heard of, so that other people who had not these advantages might, by his book, get such knowledge. And I may tell you that in acquiring this knowledge he spent in those various parts of the world good six-and-twenty years. Now, being thereafter an inmate of the prison at Genoa, he caused Messer Rusticiano, of Pisa, who was in the said prison likewise, to reduce the whole to writing; and this befell in the year 1298 from the birth of Jesus."

Such is the prologue to *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*,—the most famous book of travels ever written. Marco Polo lived just two centuries before Columbus. He was born at Venice in 1254, started upon his remarkable travels to China and the East, in company with his father and uncle, when he was twenty years old, remained for years in the service of the Emperor of China at Pekin and elsewhere, returned to Venice in 1295, was writing his book at Genoa just two hundred years before Columbus (in 1498) touched the American continent, and died at Venice probably in the year 1324. His will, executed in that year, contains, among other provisions, the following: "I release Peter the Tartar, my servant, from all bondage, as completely as I pray God to release mine own soul from all sin and guilt."

The student who wishes to learn everything that is to be learned about Marco Polo will read his book in the great two-volume edition translated and edited by Colonel Yule, with an invaluable mass of maps, notes and illustrations. There are other English editions of Marco Polo, by Marsden, Wright, and Murray, which may be found in the libraries; and there are two capital books about Marco Polo for young people, by Thomas W. Knox and George M. Towle. One of the subjects proposed for the Old South essays in 1891 was "Marco Polo's Explorations in Asia, and their Influence upon Columbus"; and the first prize essay upon this subject, by Miss Helen P. Margesson, is printed in the *New England Magazine* for August, 1892. This is especially commended to the young people of the Old South. They can learn still more of the influence of Marco Polo upon Columbus from the accounts in the first volume of Fiske's *Discovery of America*. The map of the world prepared for Columbus by Toscanelli, and carried by Columbus on his voyage, was based upon the accounts of the eastern coast of Asia and the adjacent islands given by Polo. Columbus in the West Indies always supposed that he was among the East Indies, or on the coast of Japan (Chipangu), described in Polo's book. The brief chapters about Japan and Java, and a portion of the account of Sumatra (which Polo calls Java the Less), are given in the present leaflet.

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# Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez.

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*A letter of Christopher Colom, to whom our age is much indebted, about the recently discovered islands of India beyond the Ganges; in search of which he had been sent eight months before under the auspices and at the expense of the most invincible Ferdinand, King of the Spains; sent to the illustrious Lord Raphael Sanxis, Treasurer of the same most serene King,—which Alexander de Cosco, a noble and learned gentleman, has translated from the Spanish language into the Latin, April 29, 1493, in the First year of the Pontificate of Alexander the Sixth.*

As I know that it will afford you pleasure that I have brought my undertaking to a successful result, I have determined to write you this letter to inform you of everything that has been done and discovered in this voyage of mine.

On the thirty-third day after leaving Cadiz I came into the Indian Sea, where I discovered many islands inhabited by numerous people. I took possession of all of them for our most fortunate King by making public proclamation and unfurling his standard, no one making any resistance. To the first of them I have given the name of our blessed Saviour, trusting in whose aid I had reached this and all the rest; but the Indians call it Guanahani. To each of the others also I gave a new name, ordering one to be called Sancta Maria de Concepcion, another Fernandina, another Hysabella, another Johana; and so with all the rest. As soon as we reached the island which I have just said was called Johana, I sailed along its coast some considerable distance toward the west, and found it to be so large, without any apparent end, that I believed it was not an island, but a continent, a province of Cathay. But I saw neither towns nor cities lying on the sea-

board, only some villages and country farms, with whose inhabitants I could not get speech, because they fled as soon as they beheld us. I continued on, supposing I should come upon some city or country houses. At last, finding that no discoveries rewarded our further progress, and that this course was leading us toward the north, which I was desirous of avoiding, as it was now winter in these regions, and it had always been my intention to proceed southwards, and the winds also were favorable to such desires, I concluded not to attempt any other adventures; so, turning back, I came again to a certain harbor, which I had remarked. From there I sent two of our men into the country to learn whether there was any king or cities in that land. They journeyed for three days, and found innumerable people and habitations, but small and having no fixed government, on which account they returned. Meanwhile I had learned from some Indians whom I had seized at this place, that this country was really an island. Consequently, I continued along toward the east, as much as 322 miles, always hugging the shore, where was the very extremity of the island. From there I saw another island to the eastwards, distant 54 miles from this Johana, which I named Hispana, and proceeded to it, and directed my course for 564 miles east by north as it were, just as I had done at Johana.

The island called Johana, as well as the others in its neighborhood, is exceedingly fertile. It has numerous harbors on all sides, very safe and wide, above comparison with any I have ever seen. Through it flow many very broad and health-giving rivers; and there are in it numerous very lofty mountains. All these islands are very beautiful, and of quite different shapes, easy to be traversed, and full of the greatest variety of trees reaching to the stars. I think these never lose their leaves, as I saw them looking as green and lovely as they are wont to be in the month of May in Spain. Some of them were in leaf, and some in fruit; each flourishing in the condition its nature required. The nightingale was singing and various other little birds, when I was rambling among them in the month of November. There are also in the island called Johana seven or eight kinds of palms, which as readily surpass ours in height and beauty as do all the other trees, herbs, and fruits. There are also wonderful pine-woods, fields, and extensive meadows, birds of various kinds, and honey, and all the different metals except iron.



In the island, which I have said before was called Hispana, there are very lofty and beautiful mountains, great farms, groves and fields, most fertile both for cultivation and for pasturage, and well adapted for constructing buildings. The convenience of the harbors in this island, and the excellence of the rivers, in volume and salubrity, surpass human belief, unless one should see them. In it the trees, pasture-lands, and fruits differ much from those of Johana. Besides, this Hispana abounds in various kinds of spices, gold, and metals. The inhabitants of both sexes of this and of all the other islands I have seen, or of which I have any knowledge, always go as naked as they came into the world, except that some of the women cover parts of their bodies with leaves or branches, or a veil of cotton, which they prepare themselves for this purpose. They are all, as I said before, unprovided with any sort of iron, and they are destitute of arms, which are entirely unknown to them, and for which they are not adapted; not on account of any bodily deformity, for they are well made, but because they are timid and full of terror. They carry, however, canes dried in the sun in place of weapons, upon whose roots they fix a wooden shaft, dried and sharpened to a point. But they never dare to make use of these, for it has often happened, when I have sent two or three of my men to some of their villages to speak with the inhabitants, that a crowd of Indians has sallied forth; but, when they saw our men approaching, they speedily took to flight, parents abandoning their children, and children their parents. This happened not because any loss or injury had been inflicted upon any of them. On the contrary, I gave whatever I had, cloth and many other things, to whomsoever I approached, or with whom I could get speech, without any return being made to me; but they are by nature fearful and timid. But, when they see that they are safe, and all fear is banished, they are very guileless and honest, and very liberal of all they have. No one refuses the asker anything that he possesses; on the contrary, they themselves invite us to ask for it. They manifest the greatest affection toward all of us, exchanging valuable things for trifles, content with the very least thing or nothing at all. But I forbade giving them a very trifling thing and of no value, such as bits of plates, dishes, or glass, also nails and straps; although it seemed to them, if they could get such, that they had acquired the most beautiful jewels in the world. For it chanced that a sailor received for a single strap as much weight of gold as three gold solidi; and so others for other things of less price, especially for new

blancas, and for some gold coins, for which they gave whatever the seller asked; for instance, an ounce and a half or two ounces of gold, or thirty or forty pounds of cotton, with which they were already familiar. So, too, for pieces of hoops, jugs, jars, and pots they bartered cotton and gold like beasts. This I forbade, because it was plainly unjust; and I gave them many beautiful and pleasing things, which I had brought with me, for no return whatever, in order to win their affection, and that they might become Christians and inclined to love our King and Queen and Princes and all the people of Spain, and that they might be eager to search for and gather and give to us what they abound in and we greatly need.

They do not practise idolatry; on the contrary, they believe that all strength, all power, in short, all blessings, are from Heaven, and that I have come down from there with these ships and sailors; and in this spirit was I received everywhere, after they had got over their fear. They are neither lazy nor awkward, but, on the contrary, are of an excellent and acute understanding. Those who have sailed these seas give excellent accounts of everything; but they have never seen men wearing clothes, or ships like ours.

As soon as I had come into this sea, I took by force some Indians from the first island, in order that they might learn from us, and at the same time tell us what they knew about affairs in these regions. This succeeded admirably; for in a short time we understood them and they us both by gesture and signs and words, and they were of great service to us. They are coming now with me, and have always believed that I have come from heaven, notwithstanding the long time they have been, and still remain, with us. They were the first who told this wherever we went, one calling to another, with a loud voice, "Come, come, you will see men from heaven." Whereupon both women and men, children and adults, young and old, laying aside the fear they had felt a little before, flocked eagerly to see us, a great crowd thronging about our steps, some bringing food, and others drink, with greatest love and incredible good will.

In each island are many boats made of solid wood; though narrow, yet in length and shape similar to our two-bankers, but swifter in motion, and managed by oars only. Some of them are large, some small, and some of medium size; but most are larger than a two-banker rowed by eighteen oars. With these they sail to all the islands, which are innumerable; engaging in traffic and commerce with each other. I saw some

of these biremes, or boats, which carried seventy or eighty rowers. In all these islands there is no difference in the appearance of the inhabitants, and none in their customs and language, so that all understand one another. This is a circumstance most favorable for what I believe our most serene King especially desires, that is, their conversion to the holy faith of Christ; for which, indeed, so far as I could understand, they are very ready and prone.

I have told already how I sailed in a straight course along the island of Johana from west to east 322 miles. From this voyage and the extent of my journeyings I can say that this Johana is larger than England and Scotland together. For beyond the aforesaid 322 miles, in that portion which looks toward the west, there are two more provinces, which I did not visit. One of them the Indians called Anan, and its inhabitants are born with tails. These provinces extend 180 miles, as I learned from the Indians, whom I am bringing with me, and who are well acquainted with all these islands.

The distance around Hispana is greater than all Spain from Colonia to Fontarabia; as is readily proved, because its fourth side, which I myself traversed in a straight course from west to east, stretches 540 miles. This island is to be coveted, and not to be despised when acquired. As I have already taken possession of all the others, as I have said, for our most invincible King, and the rule over them is entirely committed to the said King, so in this one I have taken special possession of a certain large town, in a most convenient spot, well suited for all profit and commerce, to which I have given the name of the Nativity of our Lord; and there I ordered a fort to be built forthwith, which ought to be finished now. In it I left as many men as seemed necessary, with all kinds of arms, and provisions sufficient for more than a year; also a caravel and men to build others, skilled not only in this trade, but in others. I secured for them good will and remarkable friendship of the king of the island; for these people are very affectionate and kind, so much so that the aforesaid king took a pride in my being called his brother. Although they should change their minds, and wish to harm those who have remained in the fort, they cannot, because they are without arms, go naked, and are too timid; so that, in truth, those who hold the aforesaid fort can lay waste the whole of that island, without any danger to themselves, provided they do not violate the rules and instructions I have given them.

In all these islands, as I understand, every man is satisfied

with only one wife, except the princes or kings, who are permitted to have 20. The women appear to work more than the men, but I could not well understand whether they have private property or not; for I saw that what every one had was shared with the others, especially meals, provisions, and such things. I found among them no monsters, as very many expected, but men of great deference and kind; nor are they black like the Ethiopians, but they have long, straight hair. They do not dwell where the rays of the sun have most power, although the sun's heat is very great there, as this region is twenty-six degrees distant from the equinoctial line. From the summits of the mountains there comes great cold, but the Indians mitigate it by being inured to the weather, and by the help of very hot food, which they consume frequently and in immoderate quantities.

I saw no monsters, neither did I hear accounts of any such except in an island called Charis, the second as one crosses over from Spain to India, which is inhabited by a certain race regarded by their neighbors as very ferocious. They eat human flesh, and make use of several kinds of boats by which they cross over to all the Indian islands, and plunder and carry off whatever they can. But they differ in no respect from the others except in wearing their hair long after the fashion of women. They make use of bows and arrows made of reeds, having pointed shafts fastened to the thicker portion, as we have before described. For this reason they are considered to be ferocious, and the other Indians consequently are terribly afraid of them; but I consider them of no more account than the others. They have intercourse with certain women who dwell alone upon the island of Mateurin, the first as one crosses from Spain to India. These women follow none of the usual occupations of their sex; but they use bows and arrows like those of their husbands, which I have described, and protect themselves with plates of copper, which is found in the greatest abundance among them.

I was informed that there is another island larger than the aforesaid Hispana, whose inhabitants have no hair; and that there is a greater abundance of gold in it than in any of the others. Some of the inhabitants of these islands and of the others I have seen I am bringing over with me to bear testimony to what I have reported. Finally, to sum up in a few words the chief results and advantages of our departure and speedy return, I make this promise to our most invincible Sovereigns, that, if I am supported by some little assistance from them, I

will give them as much gold as they have need of, and in addition spices, cotton, and mastic, which is found only in Chios, and as much aloes-wood, and as many heathen slaves as their Majesties may choose to demand; besides these, rhubarb and other kinds of drugs, which I think the men I left in the fort before alluded to have already discovered, or will do so; as I have myself delayed nowhere longer than the winds compelled me, except while I was providing for the construction of a fort in the city of Nativity, and for making all things safe.

Although these matters are very wonderful and unheard of, they would have been much more so if ships to a reasonable amount had been furnished me. But what has been accomplished is great and wonderful, and not at all proportionate to my deserts, but to the sacred Christian faith, and to the piety and religion of our Sovereigns. For what the mind of man could not compass, the spirit of God has granted to mortals. For God is wont to listen to his servants who love his precepts, even in impossibilities, as has happened to me in the present instance, who have accomplished what human strength has hitherto never attained. For, if any one has written or told anything about these islands, all have done so either obscurely or by guesswork, so that it has almost seemed to be fabulous.

Therefore let King and Queen and Princes, and their most fortunate realms, and all other Christian provinces, let us all return thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has bestowed so great a victory and reward upon us; let there be processions and solemn sacrifices prepared; let the churches be decked with festal boughs; let Christ rejoice upon earth as he rejoices in heaven, as he foresees that so many souls of so many people heretofore lost are to be saved; and let us be glad not only for the exaltation of our faith, but also for the increase of temporal prosperity, in which not only Spain, but all Christendom is about to share.

As these things have been accomplished, so have they been briefly narrated. Farewell.

CHRISTOPHER COLOM,

*Admiral of the Ocean Fleet.*

LISBON, March 14th.

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AN EPIGRAM.

R. L. de Corbaria, Bishop of Montepeloso, to the most invincible King of Spain.

Now no land need be added to the triumphs of Spain,  
For the world was too small for power so great;

Now a region far hidden beneath the eastern waves  
 Will add to thy titles, O great lord of the Bætis.  
 Wherefore to Columbus, its discoverer, must deservedly be paid  
 Thanks; but greater be rendered to God most high,  
 Who is preparing new realms to be conquered by thee and by himself.  
 It is best for thee to be at the same time brave and pious.

Columbus was a very voluminous writer. Ninety-seven pieces of writing by him, memoirs, relations, or letters, exist, or are known to have existed. Sixty-four of these writings we possess in their entirety, including twenty-three in his own handwriting, all of which have been published. The completest accounts of these various writings are those by Justin Winsor in the first chapter of his book on Columbus and in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii., to which the student is referred.

In February, 1493, while off the Azores, on his return voyage, Columbus wrote an account of his voyage and discoveries, in a letter, intended for the eyes of Ferdinand and Isabella, addressed to Luis de Santangel, the treasurer of Aragon, who had been his warm friend and helped fit out the expedition. This letter, which was printed at Barcelona immediately after Columbus's arrival in Spain, may be found in English in the volumes edited by Major and Kettell, and also in the "American History Leaflets," edited by Professor Hart and Professor Channing. At almost the same time with his letter to Santangel, Columbus wrote another account, substantially the same, to Gabriel Sanchez (in some copies, including the Boston Public Library copy, improperly called Raphael Sanxis), another officer of the royal treasury. Several editions of this letter, translated into Latin by a certain Leander de Cosco, were published at Rome, at Paris, and elsewhere, in the course of the year 1493. One of the Rome editions was printed by Stephen Planck. Only five copies of this edition are now known to exist,—two in the British Museum, one in the Royal Library at Munich, one in the collection of Mr. Brayton Ives in New York, and one in the Boston Public Library. The trustees of the Public Library have reproduced this latter in fac-simile by the heliotype process (it can be purchased at the library for fifty cents), with a bibliographical note and translation by Henry W. Haynes; and this translation is given, by the kind consent of the trustees, in the present leaflet. Another translation by R. H. Major, from a different Latin text, may be found in his volume of the *Select Letters by Columbus*.

There is an English translation by Samuel Kettell of Las Casas's account of the first voyage, abridged from the Journal of Columbus, which is lost. Las Casas says that for a while he follows the very words of Columbus. The account of the discovery, from the Life of Columbus by his son, Ferdinand Columbus, is given in the series of Old South Leaflets for 1891, No. 8.

The popular lives of Columbus in English have been those by Irving and Arthur Helps. In the present year the learned biography by Justin Winsor, a mine of information concerning the original authorities, and the brilliant work by John Fiske have appeared, together with two briefer lives of Columbus, by Prof. Charles K. Adams and Frederic Saunders. The valuable biography by the Italian, Tarducci, has recently been translated. The thorough student will give special attention to the learned and critical volumes upon Columbus by Henry Harrisse. The young people will enjoy the bright Life of Columbus by Edward Everett Hale.



# Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First Voyage.

LETTER OF AMERIGO VESPUCCI TO PIER SODERINI, GONFALONIER OF THE REPUBLIC OF FLORENCE.

Magnificent Lord. After humble reverence and due commendations, etc. It may be that your Magnificence will be surprised by (*this conjunction of*) my rashness and your customary wisdom, in that I should so absurdly bestir myself to write to your Magnificence the present so-prolix letter: knowing (*as I do*) that your Magnificence is continually employed in high councils and affairs concerning the good government of this sublime Republic. And will hold me not only presumptuous, but also idly-meddlesome in setting myself to write things, neither suitable to your station, nor entertaining, and written in barbarous style, and outside of every canon of polite literature: <sup>2</sup> but my confidence which I have in your virtues and in the truth of my writing, which are things (*that*) are not found written neither by the ancients nor by modern writers, as your Magnificence will in the sequel perceive, makes me bold.<sup>3</sup> The chief cause which moved (*me*) to write to you, was at the request of the present bearer, who is named Benvenuto Benvenuti our Florentine (*fellow-citizen*), very much, as it is proven, your Magnificence's servant, and my very good friend: who happening to be here in this city of Lisbon, begged that I should make communication to your Magnificence of the things seen by me in divers regions of the world, by virtue of four voyages which I have made in discovery of new lands: two by order of the king of Castile,<sup>4</sup> King Don Ferrando VI., across the great gulf

<sup>1</sup> Varnhagen suggests that *usada* is a corruption of the Spanish *osadia* (daring), but this would leave *vostra savidoria* inexplicable.

<sup>2</sup> *Humanità*.

<sup>3</sup> Here *usato* is certainly the Spanish *osado*, or the Portuguese *ousado*.

<sup>4</sup> This lack of precision with regard to Ferdinand's title may be compared with similar carelessness on the early maps which refer to America.

of the Ocean-sea, towards the west: and the other two by command of the puissant King Don Manuel King of Portugal, towards the south: Telling me that your Magnificence would take pleasure thereof, and that herein he hoped to do you service: wherefore I set me to do it: because I am assured that your Magnificence holds me in the number of your servants, remembering that in the time of our youth I was your friend, and now (*am your*) servant: and (*remembering our*) going to hear the rudiments of grammar under the fair example and instruction of the venerable monk friar of Saint Mark Fra Giorgio Antonio Vespucci: whose counsels and teaching would to God that I had followed: for as saith Petrarch, I should be another man than what I am. Howbeit soever,<sup>1</sup> I grieve not: because I have ever taken delight in worthy matters: and although these trifles of mine may not be suitable to your virtues, I will say to you as said Pliny to Mæcenas, you were sometime wont to take pleasure in my prattlings: even though your Magnificence be continuously busied in public affairs, you will take some hour of relaxation to consume a little time in frivolous or amusing things: and as fennel is customarily given atop of delicious viands to fit them for better digestion, so may you, for a relief from your so heavy occupations, order this letter of mine to be read: so that they<sup>2</sup> may withdraw you somewhat from the continual anxiety and assiduous reflection upon public affairs: and if I shall be prolix, I crave pardon,<sup>3</sup> my Magnificent Lord. Your Magnificence shall know that the motive of my coming into this realm of Spain was to traffic in merchandise: and that I pursued this intent about four years: during which I saw and knew the inconstant shiftings of Fortune: and how she kept changing those frail and transitory benefits: and how at one time she holds man on the summit of the wheel, and at another time drives him back from her, and despoils him of what may be called his borrowed riches: so that, knowing the continuous toil which man undergoes to win them, submitting himself to so many anxieties and risks, I resolved to abandon trade, and to fix my aim upon something more praiseworthy and stable: whence it was that I made preparation for going to see part<sup>4</sup> of the world and its wonders: and herefor the time and place presented themselves most opportunely to me: which was that the King Don Ferrando of Castile being about to despatch four

<sup>1</sup> *Quomodo cunque sit.* Vespucci affected a little Latin.

<sup>2</sup> "They" for "it."

<sup>3</sup> *Veniam peto.*

<sup>4</sup> *Parte* is used by Vespucci as plural as well as singular, and consequently this means properly "parts" or "various parts," as it appears in the Latin version.



ships to discover new lands towards the west, I was chosen by his Highness to go in that fleet to aid in making discovery: and we set out from the port of Cadiz on the 10<sup>r</sup> day of May 1497, and took our route through the great gulph of the Ocean-sea: in which voyage we were eighteen months (*engaged*): and discovered much continental land and innumerable islands, and great part of them inhabited: whereas there is no mention made by the ancient writers of them: I believe, because they had no knowledge thereof: for, if I remember well, I have read in some one (*of those writers*) that he considered that this Ocean-sea was an unpeopled sea: and of this opinion was Dante our poet in the xxvi. chapter of the Inferno, where he feigns the death of Ulysses: in which voyage I beheld things of great wondrousness, as your Magnificence shall understand. As I said above, we left the port of Cadiz four consort ships:<sup>2</sup> and began our voyage in direct course to the Fortunate Isles, which are called to-day *la gran Canaria*, which are situated in the Ocean-sea at the extremity of the inhabited west, (*and*) set in the third climate: over which the North Pole has an elevation of 27 and a half degrees<sup>3</sup> beyond their horizon:<sup>4</sup> and they are 280 leagues distant from this city of Lisbon, by the wind between *mezzo di* and *libeccio*:<sup>5</sup> where we remained eight days, taking in provision of water, and wood and other necessary things: and from here, having said our prayers, we weighed anchor, and gave the sails to the wind, beginning our course to westward, taking one quarter by south-west:<sup>6</sup> and so we sailed on till at the end of 377 days we reached a land which we deemed to be a continent: which is distant westwardly from the isles of Canary about a thousand leagues beyond the inhabited region<sup>8</sup> within the torrid zone: for we found the North Pole at an elevation of 16 degrees above its horizon,<sup>9</sup> and (*it was*) westward, according to the shewing of our instruments, 75 degrees from the isles of Canary: whereat we anchored with our ships a league and a half from land: and we put out our boats freighted with men and arms: we made towards the land, and before we reached it, had sight of a great

<sup>1</sup>The Latin version at the end of the *Cosmographia Introductio* has "20" instead of "10."

<sup>2</sup>*Navi di conserva.*

<sup>3</sup>The Latin has "27 $\frac{2}{3}$ ."

<sup>4</sup>That is, *which are situate at 27 $\frac{1}{2}$  degrees north latitude.*

<sup>5</sup>South-south-west. It is to be remarked that Vespucci always uses the word *wind* to signify the course in which it blows, not the quarter from which it rises.

<sup>6</sup>West and a quarter by south-west.

<sup>7</sup>Latin has 27.

<sup>8</sup>This phrase is merely equivalent to a repetition of *from the Canaries*, these islands having been already designated *the extreme western limit of inhabited land.*

<sup>9</sup>That is, 16 degrees north latitude.

number of people who were going along the shore: by which we were much rejoiced: and we observed that they were a naked race: they shewed themselves to stand in fear of us: I believe (*it was*) because they saw us clothed and of other appearance (*than their own*): they all withdrew to a hill, and for whatsoever signals we made to them of peace and of friendliness, they would not come to parley with us: so that, as the night was now coming on, and as the ships were anchored in a dangerous place, being on a rough and shelterless coast, we decided to remove from there the next day, and to go in search of some harbour or bay, where we might place our ships in safety: and we sailed with the *maestrale* wind,<sup>1</sup> thus running along the coast with the land ever in sight, continually in our course observing people along the shore: till after having navigated for two days, we found a place sufficiently secure for the ships, and anchored half a league from land, on which we saw a very great number of people: and this same day we put to land with the boats, and sprang on shore full 40 men in good trim: and still the land's people appeared shy of converse with us, and we were unable to encourage them so much as to make them come to speak with us: and this day we laboured so greatly in giving them of our wares, such as rattles and mirrors, beads,<sup>2</sup> *spalline*, and other trifles, that some of them took confidence and came to discourse with us: and after having made good friends with them, the night coming on, we took our leave of them and returned to the ships: and the next day when the dawn appeared we saw that there were infinite numbers of people upon the beach, and they had their women and children with them: we went ashore, and found that they were all laden with their worldly goods<sup>3</sup> which are suchlike as, in its (*proper*) place, shall be related: and before we reached the land, many of them jumped into the sea and came swimming to receive us at a bowshot's length (*from the shore*), for they are very great swimmers, with as much confidence as if they had for a long time been acquainted with us: and we were pleased with this their confidence. For so much as we learned of their manner of life and customs, it was that they go entirely naked, as well the men as the women. . . . They are of medium stature, very well proportioned: their flesh is of a colour that verges into

<sup>1</sup> North-west. Latin has *vento secundum collem*.

<sup>2</sup> The word is *cente*, supposed to be a misprint for *conte*, an Italianised form of the Spanish *cuentas*. *Spalline* is a word not given in the dictionaries. The Latin translator seems to have read the original as *certe cristalline*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mantenimenti*. The word "all" (*tucte*) is feminine, and probably refers only to the women.

red like a lion's mane : and I believe that if they went clothed, they would be as white as we : they have not any hair upon the body, except the hair of the head which is long and black, and especially in the women, whom it renders handsome . in aspect they are not very good-looking, because they have broad faces, so that they would seem Tartar-like : they let no hair grow on their eyebrows, nor on their eyelids, nor elsewhere, except the hair of the head : for they hold hairiness to be a filthy thing : they are very lightfooted in walking and in running, as well the men as the women : so that a woman recks nothing of running a league or two, as many times we saw them do : and herein they have a very great advantage over us Christians : they swim (*with an expertness*) beyond all belief, and the women better than the men : for we have many times found and seen them swimming two leagues out at sea without anything to rest upon. Their arms are bows and arrows very well made, save that (*the arrows*) are not (*tipped*) with iron nor any other kind of hard metal : and instead of iron they put animals' or fishes' teeth, or a spike of tough wood, with the point hardened by fire : they are sure marksmen, for they hit whatever they aim at : and in some places the women use these bows : they have other weapons, such as fire-hardened spears, and also clubs with knobs, beautifully carved. Warfare is used amongst them, which they carry on against people not of their own language, very cruelly, without granting life to any one, except (*to reserve him*) for greater suffering. When they go to war, they take their women with them, not that these may fight, but because they carry behind them their worldly goods, for a woman carries on her back for thirty or forty leagues a load which no man could bear : as we have many times seen them do. They are not accustomed to have any Captain, nor do they go in any ordered array, for every one is lord of himself : and the cause of their wars is not for lust of dominion, nor of extending their frontiers, nor for inordinate covetousness, but for some ancient enmity which in by-gone times arose<sup>1</sup> amongst them : and when asked why they made war, they knew not any other reason to give than that they did so to avenge the death of their ancestors, or of their parents : these people have neither King, nor Lord, nor do they yield obedience to any one, for they live in their own liberty : and how they be stirred up to go to war is (*this*) that when the enemies have slain or captured any of them, his oldest kinsman rises up and goes about the highways haranguing them to go

<sup>1</sup> The expression in the original is *e suta*, an error for *è suta*.

with him and avenge the death of such his kinsman: and so are they stirred up by fellow-feeling: they have no judicial system, nor do they punish the ill-doer: nor does the father, nor the mother chastise the children: and marvellously (*seldom*) or never did we see any dispute among them: in their conversation they appear simple, and they are very cunning and acute in that which concerns them:<sup>1</sup> they speak little and in a low tone: they use the same articulations as we, since they form their utterances either with the palate, or with the teeth, or on the lips:<sup>2</sup> except that they give different names to things. Many are the varieties of tongues: for in every 100 leagues we found a change of language, so that they are not understandable each to the other. The manner of their living is very barbarous, for they do not eat at certain hours, and as oftentimes as they will: and it is not much of a boon to them that the will may come more at midnight than by day, for they eat at all hours:<sup>3</sup> and they eat upon the ground without a table-cloth or any other cover, for they have their meats either in earthen basins which they make themselves, or in the halves of pumpkins: they sleep in certain very large nettings made of cotton,<sup>4</sup> suspended in the air: and although this their (*fashion of*) sleeping may seem uncomfortable, I say that it is sweet to sleep in those (*nettings*): and we slept better in them than in the counterpanes. They are a people smooth and clean of body, because of so continually washing themselves as they do. . . . Amongst those people we did not learn that they had any law, nor can they be called Moors nor Jews, and (*they are*) worse than pagans: because we did not observe that they offered any sacrifice: nor even<sup>5</sup> had they a house of prayer: their manner of living I judge to be Epicurean: their dwellings are in common: and their houses (*are*) made in the style of huts,<sup>6</sup> but strongly made, and constructed with very large trees, and covered over with palm-leaves, secure against storms and winds: and in some places (*they are*) of so great breadth and length, that in one single house we found there were 600 souls: and we saw a village of only thirteen<sup>7</sup> houses where

<sup>1</sup> *Che loro cuple.* The Spanish word *complir*, with the sense of being important or suitable.

<sup>2</sup> He means that they have no sounds in their language unknown to European organs of speech, all being either palatals or dentals or labials.

<sup>3</sup> The words from "and it is not much" down to "at all hours" omitted in the Latin. I have translated "*et non si da loro molto*" as "it is not much of a boon to them," but may be "it matters not much to them."

<sup>4</sup> *Bambacia.*

<sup>5</sup> *Nec etiam non.*

<sup>6</sup> Waldseemüller has "bell-towers," having misread *campane* for *capanne*, huts or cabins.

<sup>7</sup> Latin has *eight*.

there were four thousand<sup>1</sup> souls: every eight or ten years<sup>2</sup> they change their habitations: and when asked why they did so: (*they said it was*) because of the soil<sup>3</sup> which, from its filthiness, was already unhealthy and corrupted, and that it bred aches in their bodies, which seemed to us a good reason: their riches consist of birds' plumes of many colours, or of rosaries<sup>4</sup> which they make from fishbones, or of white or green stones which they put in their cheeks and in their lips and ears, and of many other things which we in no wise value: they use no trade, they neither buy nor sell. In fine, they live and are contented with that which nature gives them. The wealth that we enjoy in this our Europe and elsewhere, such as gold, jewels, pearls, and other riches, they hold as nothing: and although they have them in their own lands, they do not labour to obtain them, nor do they value them. They are liberal in giving, for it is rarely they deny you anything: and on the other hand, liberal in asking, when they shew themselves your friends. . . . When they die, they use divers manners of obsequies, and some they bury with water and victuals at their heads: thinking that they shall have (*whereof*) to eat: they have not nor do they use ceremonies of torches<sup>5</sup> nor of lamentation. In some other places, they use the most barbarous and inhuman burial,<sup>6</sup> which is that when a suffering or infirm (*person*) is as it were at the last pass of death, his kinsmen carry him into a large forest, and attach one of those nets, of theirs, in which they sleep, to two trees, and then put him in it, and dance around him for a whole day: and when the night comes on they place at his bolster, water with other victuals, so that he may be able to subsist for four or six days: and then they leave him alone and return to the village: and if the sick man helps himself, and eats, and drinks, and survives, he returns to the village, and his (*friends*) receive him with ceremony: but few are they who escape: without receiving any further visit they die, and that is their sepulture: and they have many other customs which for prolixity are not related. They use in their sicknesses various forms of medicines,<sup>7</sup> so different from ours that we marvelled how any one escaped: for many times I saw that with a man sick of fever, when it heightened upon him, they bathed him from head to

<sup>1</sup> Latin, *ten thousand*.

<sup>2</sup> Latin has *seven* for *ten*.

<sup>3</sup> *Suolo*, the ground or flooring, which Waldeemüller absurdly misread *sole*, the sun. Varnhagen, no less strangely, translates it "the atmosphere."

<sup>4</sup> *Paternostrini*.

<sup>5</sup> *Lumi*, lights, tapers, candles, as in Catholic ceremonies.

<sup>6</sup> *Interramento* is the word, but he means only "funeral rite."

<sup>7</sup> That is, "medical treatment."

foot with a large quantity of cold water: then they lit a great fire around him, making him turn and turn again every two hours, until they tired him and left him to sleep, and many were (*thus*) cured: with this they make use of dieting, for they remain three days without eating, and also of blood-letting, but not from the arm, only from the thighs and the loins and the calf of the leg: also they provoke vomiting with their herbs which are put into the mouth: and they use many other remedies which it would be long to relate: they are much vitiated in the phlegm and in the blood because of their food which consists chiefly of roots of herbs, and fruits and fish: they have no seed of wheat nor other grain: and for their ordinary use and feeding, they have a root of a tree, from which they make flour, tolerably good, and they call it Iuca, and another which they call Cazabi, and another Ignami: they eat little flesh except human flesh: for your Magnificence must know that herein they are so inhuman that they outdo every custom (*even*) of beasts; for they eat all their enemies whom they kill or capture, as well females as males with so much savagery, that (*merely*) to relate it appears a horrible thing: how much more so to see it, as, infinite times and in many places, it was my hap to see it: and they wondered to hear us say that we did not eat our enemies: and this your Magnificence may take for certain, that their other barbarous customs are such that expression is too weak for the reality: and as in these four voyages I have seen so many things diverse from our customs, I prepared to write a common-place-book<sup>1</sup> which I name LE QUATTRO GIORNATE: in which I have set down the greater part of the things which I saw, sufficiently in detail, so far as my feeble wit has allowed me: which I have not yet published, because I have so ill a taste for my own things that I do not relish those which I have written, notwithstanding that many encourage me to publish it: therein everything will be seen in detail: so that I shall not enlarge further in this chapter: as in the course of the letter we shall come to many other things which are particular: let this suffice for the general. At this beginning, we saw nothing in the land of much profit, except some show of gold: I believe the cause of it was that we did not know the language: but in so far as concerns the situation and condition of the land, it could not be better: we decided to leave that place, and to go further on, continuously coasting the shore: upon which we made fre-

<sup>1</sup> *Zibaldone*, miscellany, *omnium-gatherum*.

quent descents, and held converse with a great number of people: and at the end of some days we went into a harbour where we underwent very great danger: and it pleased the Holy Ghost to save us: and it was in this wise. We landed in a harbour, where we found a village built like Venice upon the water: there were about 44 large dwellings in the form of huts erected upon very thick piles,<sup>1</sup> and they had their doors or entrances in the style of drawbridges: and from each house one could pass through all, by means of the drawbridges which stretched from house to house: and when the people thereof had seen us, they appeared to be afraid of us, and immediately drew up all the bridges: and while we were looking at this strange action, we saw coming across the sea about 22 canoes, which are a kind of boats of theirs, constructed from a single tree: which came towards our boats, as they had been surprised by our appearance and clothes, and kept wide of us: and thus remaining, we made signals to them that they should approach us, encouraging them with every token of friendliness: and seeing that they did not come, we went to them, and they did not stay for us, but made to the land, and, by signs, told us to wait, and that they should soon return: and they went to a hill in the background,<sup>2</sup> and did not delay long: when they returned, they led with them 16 of their girls, and entered with these into their canoes, and came to the boats: and in each boat they put 4 of the girls. That we marvelled at this behavior your Magnificence can imagine how much, and they placed themselves with their canoes among our boats, coming to speak with us: insomuch that we deemed it a mark of friendliness: and while thus engaged, we beheld a great number of people advance swimming towards us across the sea, who came from the houses: and as they were drawing near to us without any apprehension: just then there appeared at the doors of the houses certain old women, uttering very loud cries and tearing their hair to exhibit grief: whereby they made us suspicious, and we each betook ourselves to arms: and instantly the girls whom we had in the boats, threw themselves into the sea, and the men of the canoes drew away from us, and began with their bows to shoot arrows at us: and those who were swimming each carried a lance held, as covertly, as they could, beneath the water: so that, recognizing the treachery, we engaged with them, not merely to

<sup>1</sup> Waldseemüller has 20 instead of 44, and repeats his error of "bell-towers" for "huts."

<sup>2</sup> Varnhagen says "went straight to land," evidently mistaking *drieto* (*dietro*) for *dricio*, and ignoring *monte*.

defend ourselves, but to attack them vigorously, and we overturned with our boats many of their almadie or canoes, for so they call them, we made a slaughter (*of them*), and they all flung themselves into the water to swim, leaving their canoes abandoned, with considerable loss on their side, they went swimming away to the shore: there died of them about 15 or 20, and many were left wounded: and of ours 5 were wounded, and all, by the grace of God, escaped (*death*): we captured two of the girls and two men:<sup>1</sup> and we proceeded to their houses, and entered therein, and in them all we found nothing else than two old women and a sick man: we took away from them many things, but of small value: and we would not burn their houses, because it seemed to us (*as though that would be*) a burden upon our conscience: and we returned to our boats with five prisoners: and betook ourselves to the ships, and put a pair of irons on the feet of each of the captives, except the little girls: and when the night came on, the two girls and one of the men fled away in the most subtle manner possible: and next day we decided to quit that harbour and go further onwards: we proceeded continuously skirting the coast, (*until*) we had sight of another tribe distant perhaps some 80 leagues from the former tribe: and we found them very different in speech and customs: we resolved to cast anchor, and went ashore with the boats, and we saw on the beach a great number of people amounting probably to 4000 souls: and when we had reached the shore, they did not stay for us, but betook themselves to flight through the forests, abandoning their things: we jumped on land, and took a pathway that led to the forest: and at the distance of a bow-shot we found their tents, where they had made very large fires, and two (*of them*) were cooking their victuals, and roasting several animals, and fish of many kinds: where we saw that they were roasting a certain animal which seemed to be a serpent, save that it had no wings,<sup>2</sup> and was in its appearance so loathsome that we marvelled much at its savageness: Thus went we on through their houses, or rather tents, and found many of those serpents alive, and they were tied by the feet and had a cord around their snouts, so that they could not open their mouths, as is done (*in Europe*) with mastiff-dogs so that they may not bite: they were of such savage aspect that none of us dared to take one away, thinking that they

<sup>1</sup> *Two* men: the Latin has *three*, which agrees better with the mention of five prisoners, a little lower down.

<sup>2</sup> *Alia*, wings or fins. Vespucci must have been thinking of the fabulous dragon.



were poisonous : they are of the bigness of a kid, and in length an ell and a half :<sup>1</sup> their feet are long and thick, and armed with big claws : they have a hard skin, and are of various colours : they have the muzzle and face of a serpent : and from their snouts there rises a crest like a saw which extends along the middle of the back as far as the tip<sup>2</sup> of the tail : in fine we deemed them to be serpents and venomous, and (*nevertheless, those people*) ate them : we found that they made bread out of little fishes which they took from the sea, first boiling them, (*then*) pounding them, and making thereof a paste, or bread, and they baked them on the embers : thus did they eat them : we tried it, and found that it was good : they had so many other kinds of eatables, and especially of fruits and roots, that it would be a large matter to describe them in detail : and seeing that the people did not return, we decided not to touch nor take away anything of theirs, so as better to reassure them : and we left in the tents for them many of our things, placed where they should see them, and returned by night to our ships : and the next day, when it was light, we saw on the beach an infinite number of people : and we landed : and although they appeared timorous towards us, they took courage nevertheless to hold converse with us, giving us whatever we asked of them : and shewing themselves very friendly towards us, they told us that those were their dwellings, and that they had come hither for the purpose of fishing : and they begged that we would visit their dwellings and villages, because they desired to receive us as friends : and they engaged in such friendship because of the two captured men whom we had with us, as these were their enemies : insomuch that, in view of such importunity on their part, holding a council, we determined that 28 of us Christians in good array should go with them, and in the firm resolve to die if it should be necessary : and after we had been here some three days, we went with them inland : and at three leagues from the coast we came to a village of many people and few houses, for there were no more than nine (*of these*) : where we were received with such and so many barbarous ceremonies that the pen suffices not to write them down : for there were dances, and songs, and lamentations mingled with rejoicing, and great quantities of food : and here we remained the night : . . . and after having been here that night and half the next

<sup>1</sup> *Braccia e mezo*. This animal was the iguana.

<sup>2</sup> *Sommità* in original, which might mean the root of the tail ; but the translation given is the correct one.

day, so great was the number of people who came wondering to behold us that they were beyond counting: and the most aged begged us to go with them to other villages which were further inland, making display of doing us the greatest honour: wherefore we decided to go: and it would be impossible to tell you how much honour they did us: and we went to several villages, so that we were nine days journeying, so that our Christians who had remained with the ships were already apprehensive concerning us: and when we were about 18 leagues in the interior of the land, we resolved to return to the ships: and on our way back, such was the number of people, as well men as women, that came with us as far as the sea, that it was a wondrous thing: and if any of us became weary of the march, they carried us in their nets very refreshingly: and in crossing the rivers, which are many and very large, they passed us over by skilful means so securely that we ran no danger whatever, and many of them came laden with the things which they had given us, which consisted in their sleeping-nets, and very rich feathers, many bows and arrows, innumerable popinjays<sup>1</sup> of divers colours: and others brought with them loads of their household goods, and of animals: but a greater marvel will I tell you, that, when we had to cross a river, he deemed himself lucky who was able to carry us on his back: and when we reached the sea, our boats having arrived, we entered into them: and so great was the struggle which they made to get into our boats, and to come to see our ships, that we marvelled (*thereat*): and in our boats we took as many of them as we could, and made our way to the ships, and so many (*others*) came swimming that we found ourselves embarrassed in seeing so many people in the ships, for there were over a thousand persons all naked and unarmed: they were amazed by our (*nautical*) gear and contrivances, and the size of the ships: and with them there occurred to us a very laughable affair, which was that we decided to fire off some of our great guns,<sup>2</sup> and when the explosion took place, most of them through fear cast themselves (*into the sea*) to swim, not otherwise than frogs on the margins of a pond, when they see something that frightens them, will jump into the water, just so did those people: and those who remained in the ships were so terrified that we regretted our action: however we reassured them by telling them that with those arms we slew our enemies: and when they had amused themselves in the ships the whole day, we told them to go away because we desired to depart that night, and

<sup>1</sup> *Pappagalli*, perroquets.

<sup>2</sup> *Artiglierie*.

so separating from us with much friendship and love, they went away to land. Amongst that people and in their land, I knew and beheld so many of their customs and ways of living, that I do not care to enlarge upon them: for Your Magnificence must know that in each of my voyages I have noted the most wonderful things, and I have indited it all in a volume after the manner of a geography: and I intitle it *LE QUATTRO GIORNATE*: in which work the things are comprised in detail, and as yet there is no copy of it given out, as it is necessary for me to revise it.<sup>1</sup> This land is very populous, and full of inhabitants, and of numberless rivers, (*and*) animals: few (*of which*) resemble ours, excepting lions, panthers, stags, pigs, goats, and deer:<sup>2</sup> and even these have some dissimilarities of form: they have no horses nor mules, nor, saving your reverence, asses nor dogs, nor any kind of sheep or oxen: but so numerous are the other animals which they have, and all are savage, and of none do they make use for their service, that they could not be counted. What shall we say of others (*such as*) birds? which are so numerous, and of so many kinds, and of such various-coloured plumages, that it is a marvel to behold them. The soil is very pleasant and fruitful, full of immense woods and forests: and it is always green, for the foliage never drops off. The fruits are so many that they are numberless and entirely different from ours. This land is within the torrid zone, close to or just under the parallel described by the Tropic of Cancer: where the pole of the horizon has an elevation of 23 degrees, at the extremity of the second climate.<sup>3</sup> Many tribes came to see us, and wondered at our faces and our whiteness: and they asked us whence we came: and we gave them to understand that we had come from heaven, and that we were going to see the world, and they believed it. In this land we placed baptismal fonts, and an infinite (*number of*) people were baptised, and they called us in their language Carabi, which means men of great wisdom. We took our departure from that port: and the province is called Lariab: and we navigated along the coast, always in sight of land, until we had run 870 leagues of it, still going in the direction of the maestrale (*north-west*) making in our course many halts, and holding intercourse with many peoples: and in several places

<sup>1</sup> *Conferirla.*

<sup>2</sup> In the text the colon follows "few," which alters the sense considerably, and makes the statement run thus, "Numberless rivers and few animals: they resemble ours," etc.; but the real intention is evidently better conveyed by adding the words in parentheses, and displacing the colon in question.

<sup>3</sup> That is, 23 degrees north latitude.

we obtained gold by barter but not much in quantity, for we had done enough in discovering the land and learning that they had gold. We had now been thirteen months on the voyage: and the vessels and the tackling were already much damaged, and the men worn out by fatigue: we decided by general council to haul our ships on land and examine them for the purpose of stanching leaks,<sup>1</sup> as they made much water, and of caulking and tarring them afresh, and (*then*) returning towards Spain: and when we came to this determination, we were close to a harbour the best in the world: into which we entered with our vessels: where we found an immense number of people: who received us with much friendliness: and on the shore we made a bastion<sup>2</sup> with our boats and with barrels and casks, and our artillery, which commanded every point:<sup>3</sup> and our ships having been unloaded and lightened,<sup>4</sup> we drew them upon land, and repaired them in everything that was needful: and the land's people gave us very great assistance: and continually furnished us with their victuals: so that in this port we tasted little of our own, which suited our game well:<sup>5</sup> for the stock of provisions which we had for our return-passage was little and of sorry kind: where (*i.e., there*) we remained 37 days: and went many times to their villages? where they paid us the greatest honour: and (*now*) desiring to depart upon our voyage, they made complaint to us how at certain times of the year there came from over the sea to this their land, a race of people very cruel, and enemies of theirs: and (*who*) by means of treachery or of violence slew many of them, and ate them: and some they made captives, and carried them away to their houses, or country: and how they could scarcely contrive to defend themselves from them, making signs to us that (*those*) were an island-people and lived out in the sea about a hundred leagues away: and so piteously did they tell us this that we believed them: and we promised to avenge them of so much wrong: and they remained overjoyed herewith: and many of them offered to come along with us, but we did not wish to take them for many reasons, save that we took seven of them, on condition that they should come (*i.e., return home*) afterwards in (*their own*) canoes because we did not desire to be obliged

<sup>1</sup> *Stancharle* (? *stagnarle*).

<sup>2</sup> Fort or barricade. The Latin misreads it "a new boat."

<sup>3</sup> *Che giocavano per tucto*.

<sup>4</sup> *Allogiate* is slurred over by the Latin and Varnhagen. I take it to be intended for *allegiate*, and this to be an old form, corresponding to the French *alléger*, of *allegierite* or *alleviate*: lightened, eased.

<sup>5</sup> *Che ci feciono buon giuoco*.

to take them back to their country: and they were contented: and so we departed from those people, leaving them very friendly towards us: and having repaired our ships, and sailing for seven days out to sea between north-east and east: and at the end of the seven days we came upon the islands, which were many, some (*of them*) inhabited, and others deserted: and we anchored at one of them: where we saw a numerous people who called it Iti: and having manned our boats with strong crews, and (*taken ammunition for*) three cannon-shots in each, we made for land: where we found (*assembled*) about <sup>1</sup> 400 men, and many women, and all naked like the former (*peoples*). They were of good bodily presence, and seemed right warlike men: for they were armed with their weapons, which are bows, arrows, and lances: and most of them had square wooden targets: and bore them in such wise that they did not impede the drawing of the bow: and when we had come with our boats to about a bowshot of the land, they all sprang into the water to shoot their arrows at us and to prevent us from leaping upon shore: and they all had their bodies painted of various colours, and (*were*) plumed with feathers: and the interpreters<sup>2</sup> who were with us told us that when (*those*) displayed themselves so painted and plumed, it was to betoken that they wanted to fight: and so much did they persist in preventing us from landing, that we were compelled to play with our artillery: and when they heard the explosion, and saw one of them fall dead, they all drew back to the land: wherefore, forming our council, we resolved that 42 of our men should spring on shore, and, if they waited for us, fight them: thus having leaped to land with our weapons, they advanced towards us, and we fought for about an hour, for we had but little advantage of them, except that our arbalasters and gunners killed some of them, and they wounded certain of our men: and this was because they did not stand to receive us within reach of lance-thrust or sword-blow: and so much vigour did we put forth at last, that we came to sword-play, and when they tasted our weapons, they betook themselves to flight through the mountains and the forests, and left us conquerors of the field with many of them dead and a good number wounded: and for that day we took no other pains to pursue them, because we were very weary, and we returned to our ships, with so much gladness on the part of the seven men who had come with us that they could not contain themselves (*for joy*): and when the next day arrived, we beheld coming across the land a great number of people, with

<sup>1</sup> *Alpie di 400.*

<sup>2</sup> *Le lingue*, a Portuguese idiom.

signals of battle, continually sounding horns, and various other instruments which they use in their wars: and all (*of them*) painted and feathered, so that it was a very strange sight to behold them: wherefore all the ships held council, and it was resolved that since this people desired hostility with us, we should proceed to encounter them and try by every means to make them friends: in case they would not have our friendship, that we should treat them as foes, and so many of them as we might be able to capture should all be our slaves: and having armed ourselves as best we could, we advanced towards the shore, and they sought not to hinder us from landing, I believe from fear of the cannons: and we jumped on land, 57 men in four squadrons, each one (*consisting of*) a captain and his company: and we came to blows with them: and after a long battle (*in which*) many of them (*were*) slain, we put them to flight, and pursued them to a village, having made about 250 of them captives, and we burnt the village, and returned to our ships with victory and 250 prisoners,<sup>1</sup> leaving many of them dead and wounded, and of ours there were no more than one killed, and 22 wounded, who all escaped (*i.e., recovered*), God be thanked. We arranged our departure, and seven men, of whom five were wounded, took an island-canoe, and with seven prisoners that we gave them, four women and three men, returned to their (*own*) country full of gladness, wondering at our strength: and we thereon made sail for Spain with 222 captive slaves: and reached the port of Calis (*Cadiz*) on the 15th day of October, 1498, where we were well received and sold our slaves. Such is what befell me, most noteworthy, in this my first voyage.

<sup>1</sup> Varnhagen thought we ought to read "25" (not 250), like the Latin version, and to correct the figures "222" lower down into "22" in both the text and the Latin. But he was in error, having omitted to observe that the figures "250" occur *twice*. He evidently looked more on the Latin than the text. Besides, a capture of only 25 savages would be very little indeed for the European force to make, whether we reckon it at 57 men or 228 men, as he and the Latin read it (four squadrons, each of 57 men, with its captain), especially when they had entered into hostilities with the express intention of making captives. (He afterwards corrected himself.)

GEOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY OF VESPUCCI'S FIRST VOYAGE BY THE  
ENGLISH TRANSLATOR OF VESPUCCI'S LETTER.

*First Voyage or Expedition of King Ferdinand (four ships, probably under the command of Vincente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis, with Juan de la Cosa as Pilot).*

1497.

May 10. Started from Cadiz.

May 20-28. Reached the Canary Islands, where they stayed for eight days.

July 4. Reached the coast of Honduras thirty-seven days later, at 16 degrees north latitude, as Vespucci says, but probably near Cape Gracias a Dios (or about 15 degrees north latitude), on a difficult coast, which he thought lay 75 degrees west of the Canaries. It is really not much over 67 degrees.

July 6. Advanced north-west, and harboured two days later in a safe anchorage (? near Cape Cameron, or somewhere in the Bay of Honduras). From Vespucci's long and elaborate description of the people and their customs, the fleet must have remained some considerable time on this coast.

? August 6. Advancing again north-west, as he thought (really north and by east), they coasted Yucatan, changing their course according to the configuration of the shore, and frequently landing, until they reached a harbour, in which there was a village seated, "like Venice," on the water. This must have been in

? Sept. 10. Campeachy Bay, a little north of Tabasco (about  $18\frac{1}{2}$  degrees north latitude). After some fighting with the Indians, they went onwards next day, coasting west and north-west for about 400 miles

? Sept. 30. [he says about 80 leagues, or 320 milés], and reached the province of Lariab (? Tampico, in Mexico), 23 degrees north latitude, where they found a friendly race of Indians, who were cooking and eating *iguanas* (which Vespucci describes as wingless serpents, and which the sailors supposed to be poisonous). The Spaniards baptised many of these people, and were themselves designated Carabi (which he says means *wise men*). Vespucci and others travelled into the interior, and from his details they must have been a month at this place.

? Nov. 1. Starting again north-west, they coasted the shore for 870 leagues [naturally, although he does not say so, changing the course according as the land trended], frequently touching on land, and at the

1498.

April 30. end of April [after having passed along the coasts of Mexico and Louisiana, they reached Cape Sable,

1498. *i.e., Cabo do fim de Abril*]. Turning the cape, they advanced northward, and anchored in a fine large bay, the utmost northern limit of their voyage. This was presumably the *Cabo del Mar Usiano* (probably Cape Hatteras, in North Carolina, 35 degrees north latitude), where they stopped thirty-seven days, refitting their vessels for the home voyage. The natives were very friendly, and asked the Spaniards to protect them from a tribe which frequently came from islands across the sea to plunder and slay. The Christians took seven of the Indians with them as guides to the islands, and sailed east and by north-east [*infra greco e levante. Quære*, error for *infra siroco e levante*, or east and by south-east?], for about 100 leagues across the ocean, reaching after seven days' sail, an archipelago partly inhabited, on the chief island of which, named Ity, they had severe fighting, which ended by their carrying away 250 prisoners. They then sent the seven Indians back, making them a present of seven prisoners, and sailed for Spain, reaching Cadiz on October 15, 1498.
- ? June 30.
- ? August 6.
- ? August 13.
- ? August 15.

ITV. — The island of Ity is a problem which Varnhagen has solved, but not very satisfactorily, by assuming that it referred to the Bermudas, and that the expedition sailed thither from Cape Cañaveral. This would explain the direction, but not the distance (of 100 leagues, equal to 400 miles), and we can hardly suppose that the Indian boatmen would have ventured much farther than 100 leagues across the ocean. The distance is reduced to about 200 leagues, but the direction is altered if we suppose that they started from Cape Hatteras; while it becomes too enormous, although the direction would then be right, if we assume that they went from Cape Cañaveral. However, the difficulty is cleared if we suppose that the word *greco* is, as suggested by Varnhagen, a typographical error for *siroco*, in which case we might take it for granted that Vespucci sailed from Cape Hatteras to the Bermudas, — twenty-four years earlier than the supposed first discovery of those islands. In any case, Vespucci's measurements and compass were at fault; but when we examine the map in the Strasburg Ptolemy of 1513, derived, like that in the Rome Ptolemy of 1508, from the *Charta marina Portugallensium* of 1504, it is impossible to resist the conviction that Cape Hatteras was the *Cabo del Mar Usiano* under which were inscribed the words "Hucusque naves Ferdinandi Regis Hispaniæ pervenerunt." The map seems, in fact, to derive in almost every way from Vespucci himself, its northern limit on the American side being evidently identical with the northern limit of his first voyage, and its South American coast, on the other hand, being plainly traced from the record of his second, third, and fourth voyages, with the only exception that it does not show his discovery of the island of South Georgia. What makes this more striking is the mixture of languages in the 1513 map, the point of Florida being marked with a Portuguese name (C. do fim de Abril), Cape St. Bonaventura with an Italian name, and the rest in Spanish chiefly, with a few in Latin. It appears very probable that the *Charta marina* was Vespucci's own map.



"The only intelligent modern treatise on the life and voyages of Americus Vesputius," says Mr. Fiske, in his *Discovery of America* (vol. ii. p. 26), "is Varnhagen's collection of monographs—*Amerigo Vesputii: son caractère, ses écrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations*, Lima, 1865; *Le premier voyage de Amerigo Vesputii définitivement expliqué dans ses détails*, Vienna, 1869; *Nouvelles recherches sur les derniers voyages du navigateur florentin, et le reste des documents et éclaircissements sur lui*, Vienna, 1869; *Postface aux trois livraisons sur Amerigo Vesputii*, Vienna, 1870; *Ainda Amerigo Vesputii: novos estudos e achegas especialmente em favor da interpretação dada á sua la viagem em 1497-98*, Vienna, 1874. These are usually bound together in one small folio volume. Sometimes the French monographs are found together without the Portuguese monograph. Varnhagen's book has made everything else antiquated, and no one who has not mastered it in all its details is entitled to speak about Vesputius. In the English language there is no good book on the subject. The defence by Lester and Foster (*Life and Voyages of Americus Vesputius*, New York, 1846) had some good points for its time, but is now utterly antiquated and worse than useless. The chapter by the late Sydney Howard Gay, in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii. chap. ii., is quite unworthy of its place in that excellent work, but its defects are to some extent atoned for by the editor's critical notes." The student is referred to these notes by Mr. Winsor for an account of all the literature concerning Vesputius.

It is true that there is no other person who played a part in the discovery and early exploration of the New World, concerning whose work we have been compelled to make so radical a change in our estimate by the results of modern investigation as in the case of Vesputius; and the early books are therefore all to be used guardedly. The book by Lester and Foster, referred to by Mr. Fiske, the value of which is now impaired by the new understanding of Vesputius's first voyage, is a conscientious and scholarly work, and still of great use for the sake of the translations it contains of Vesputius's letters both to Soderini and Lorenzo de' Medici (a cousin of Lorenzo the Magnificent) concerning his various voyages.

But, if we have no good special modern work on Vesputius in English, — it is to be hoped that some scholar will be prompted to translate Varnhagen at this time, — we can rejoice that Mr. Fiske himself has made his treatment of Vesputius, in his *Discovery of America* (vol. ii. pp. 23-164; see also remarks in preface), so full and thorough. This is perhaps the most original and most valuable portion of his whole work. It is the first popular and comprehensive presentation in English of the results of Varnhagen's researches; and, as Mr. Fiske himself rightly observes, the general argument of Varnhagen is in many points strongly re-enforced. It is impossible, after a careful reading of this argument, with Vesputius's account of his first voyage cleared from the absurd suspicions which became attached to it, and with the Cantino map in hand, to resist the conclusion that Vesputius first (1497) touched the mainland of the New World, and that on that first voyage he skirted not the "Pearl Coast" of South America, but the coast of the present United States; and it seems not improbable that "the finest harbor in the world" from which he set sail on his return voyage to Spain was what we know as Hampton Roads.

We feel, as we read of the discoveries of Americus Vesputius in this new light, that there is far better reason than used to appear why this western continent should bear the name *America*: a persistent justice has been unconsciously but fatally at work in it these four centuries. It was Vesputius who first used the term *New World* (*novus mundus*) with reference to this continent. This was in a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, in 1503. He

was speaking only of the new countries visited on his third voyage beyond the river La Piata. It was in 1507 that the first suggestion of the name *America* for this "new world" appeared in the little treatise by Waldseemüller, published at Saint-Dié. "But now," says Waldseemüller, "these parts [that is, Europe, Asia, and Africa] have been more extensively explored, and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vesputius (as will appear in what follows): wherefore I do not see what is rightly to hinder us from calling it Amerige or America, *i.e.*, the land of Americus, after its discoverer Americus, a man of sagacious mind, since both Europe and Asia have got their names from women. Its situation and the manners and customs of its people will be clearly understood from the twice two voyages of Americus which follow." The name *America* was at first applied only to that "new world" which lay in what we call South America. The process of its extension to the whole continent, by successive map-makers, as discovery went on, was a natural and easy one,—but one well worth the careful attention of the student, as it teaches many lessons necessary to remember in connection with those times.

Vesputius's letters to Soderini concerning his first four voyages were originally published in Italian at Florence in 1505-6; and various Latin editions followed. Mr. Quaritch, the London publisher, in 1885, published a fac-simile reproduction of the original Italian edition. Fifty copies of this reproduction were printed, and one of these is in the Boston Public Library. At the same time he published a careful English translation (by "M. K.") with valuable notes; and it is from this that the account of the first voyage given in the present leaflet is taken.

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# Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico.

FROM HIS SECOND LETTER TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

In order, most potent Sire, to convey to your Majesty a just conception of the great extent of this noble city of Temixtitan, and of the many rare and wonderful objects it contains; of the government and dominions of Mutezuma,\* the sovereign; of the religious rites and customs that prevail, and the order that exists in this as well as other cities appertaining to his realm: it would require the labor of many accomplished writers, and much time for the completion of the task. I shall not be able to relate an hundredth part of what could be told respecting these matters; but I will endeavor to describe, in the best manner in my power, what I have myself seen; and imperfectly as I may succeed in the attempt, I am fully aware that the account will appear so wonderful as to be deemed scarcely worthy of credit; since even we who have seen these things with our own eyes, are yet so amazed as to be unable to comprehend their reality. But your Majesty may be assured that if there is any fault in my relation, either in regard to the present subject, or to any other matters of which I shall give your Majesty an account, it will arise from too great brevity rather than extravagance or prolixity in the details; and it seems to me but just to my Prince and Sovereign to declare the truth in the clearest manner, without saying any thing that would detract from it, or add to it.

Before I begin to describe this great city and the others already mentioned, it may be well for the better understanding of the subject to say something of the configuration of Mex-

\* This is the way in which Cortes always spells the emperor's name.

ico,\* in which they are situated, it being the principal seat of Muteczuma's power. This Province is in the form of a circle, surrounded on all sides by lofty and rugged mountains; its level surface comprises an area of about seventy leagues in circumference, including two lakes, that overspread nearly the whole valley, being navigated by boats more than fifty leagues round. One of these lakes contains fresh, and the other, which is the larger of the two, salt water. On one side of the lakes, in the middle of the valley, a range of highlands divides them from one another, with the exception of a narrow strait which lies between the highlands and the lofty sierras. This strait is a bow-shot wide, and connects the two lakes; and by this means a trade is carried on between the cities and other settlements on the lakes in canoes without the necessity of travelling by land. As the salt lake rises and falls with its tides like the sea, during the time of high water it pours into the other lake with the rapidity of a powerful stream; and on the other hand, when the tide has ebbed, the water runs from the fresh into the salt lake.

This great city of Temixtitan [Mexico] is situated in this salt lake, and from the main land to the denser parts of it, by whichever route one chooses to enter, the distance is two leagues. There are four avenues or entrances to the city, all of which are formed by artificial causeways, two spears' length in width. The city is as large as Seville or Cordova; its streets, I speak of the principal ones, are very wide and straight; some of these, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. All the streets at intervals have openings, through which the water flows, crossing from one street to another; and at these openings, some of which are very wide, there are also very wide bridges, composed of large pieces of timber, of great strength and well put together; on many of these bridges ten horses can go abreast. Foreseeing that if the inhabitants of this city should prove treacherous, they would possess great advantages from the manner in which the city is constructed, since by removing the bridges at the entrances, and abandoning the place, they could leave us to perish by famine without our being able to reach the main land—as soon as I had entered it, I made great haste to build four brigantines, which were soon finished, and were large enough to take ashore three hundred men and the horses, whenever it should become necessary.

\* Cortes applies this name to the Province in which the city, called by him Temixtitan, more properly Tenochtitlan, but now Mexico, was situated.

This city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling. There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessaries of life, as for instance articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are also exposed for sale wrought and unwrought stone, bricks burnt and unburnt, timber hewn and unhewn, of different sorts. There is a street for game, where every variety of birds found in the country are sold, as fowls, partridges, quails, wild ducks, fly-catchers, widgeons, turtle-doves, pigeons, reed-birds, parrots, sparrows, eagles, hawks, owls, and kestrels; they sell likewise the skins of some birds of prey, with their feathers, head, beak, and claws. There are also sold rabbits, hares, deer, and little dogs, which are raised for eating. There is also an herb street, where may be obtained all sorts of roots and medicinal herbs that the country affords. There are apothecaries' shops, where prepared medicines, liquids, ointments, and plasters are sold; barbers' shops, where they wash and shave the head; and restaurateurs, that furnish food and drink at a certain price. There is also a class of men like those called in Castile porters, for carrying burthens. Wood and coal are seen in abundance, and brasiers of earthenware for burning coals; mats of various kinds for beds, others of a lighter sort for seats, and for halls and bedrooms. There are all kinds of green vegetables, especially onions, leeks, garlic, watercresses, nasturtium, borage, sorrel, artichokes, and golden thistle; fruits also of numerous descriptions, amongst which are cherries and plums, similar to those in Spain; honey and wax from bees, and from the stalks of maize, which are as sweet as the sugar-cane; honey is also extracted from the plant called maguey,\* which is superior to sweet or new wine; from the same plant they extract sugar and wine, which they also sell. Different kinds of cotton thread of all colors in skeins are exposed for sale in one quarter of the market, which has the appearance of the silk-market at Granada, although the former is supplied more abundantly. Painters' colors, as numerous as can be found in Spain, and as fine shades; deer-skins dressed and undressed, dyed different colors; earthen-

\* This is the plant known in this country under the name of the *Century Plant*, which is still much cultivated in Mexico for the purposes mentioned by Cortes. It usually flowers when eight or ten years old.

ware of a large size and excellent quality; large and small jars, jugs, pots, bricks, and an endless variety of vessels, all made of fine clay, and all or most of them glazed and painted; maize, or Indian corn, in the grain and in the form of bread, preferred in the grain for its flavor to that of the other islands and terra-firma; patés of birds and fish; great quantities of fish, fresh, salt, cooked and uncooked; the eggs of hens, geese, and of all the other birds I have mentioned, in great abundance, and cakes made of eggs; finally, every thing that can be found throughout the whole country is sold in the markets, comprising articles so numerous that to avoid prolixity, and because their names are not retained in my memory, or are unknown to me, I shall not attempt to enumerate them. Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. They sell every thing by number or measure; at least so far we have not observed them to sell any thing by weight. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience house, where ten or twelve persons, who are magistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished. In the same square there are other persons who go constantly about among the people observing what is sold, and the measures used in selling; and they have been seen to break measures that were not true.

This great city contains a large number of temples,\* or houses for their idols, very handsome edifices, which are situated in the different districts and the suburbs; in the principal ones religious persons of each particular sect are constantly residing, for whose use beside the houses containing the idols there are other convenient habitations. All these persons dress in black, and never cut or comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave it; and all the sons of the principal inhabitants, both nobles and respectable citizens, are placed in the temples and wear the same dress from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken out to be married; which occurs more frequently with the first-born who inherit estates than with the others. The priests are debarred from female society, nor is any woman permitted to enter the religious houses. They also abstain from eating certain kinds of food, more at some seasons of the year than others. Among these temples there is one which far surpasses all the rest, whose grandeur of architectural details no human

\*The original has the word *mezquitas*, mosques; but, as that term is applied in English exclusively to Mahometan places of worship, one of more general application is used in the translation.

tongue is able to describe ; for within its precincts, surrounded by a lofty wall, there is room enough for a town of five hundred families. Around the interior of this enclosure there are handsome edifices, containing large halls and corridors, in which the religious persons attached to the temple reside. There are full forty towers, which are lofty and well built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal church at Seville. The stone and wood of which they are constructed are so well wrought in every part, that nothing could be better done, for the interior of the chapels containing the idols consists of curious imagery, wrought in stone, with plaster ceilings, and wood-work carved in relief, and painted with figures of monsters and other objects. All these towers are the burial places of the nobles, and every chapel in them is dedicated to a particular idol, to which they pay their devotions.

There are three halls in this grand temple, which contain the principal idols ; these are of wonderful extent and height, and admirable workmanship, adorned with figures sculptured in stone and wood ; leading from the halls are chapels with very small doors, to which the light is not admitted, nor are any persons except the priests, and not all of them. In these chapels are the images of idols, although, as I have before said, many of them are also found on the outside ; the principal ones, in which the people have greatest faith and confidence, I precipitated from their pedestals, and cast them down the steps of the temple, purifying the chapels in which they had stood, as they were all polluted with human blood, shed in the sacrifices. In the place of these I put images of Our Lady and the Saints, which excited not a little feeling in Muteczuma and the inhabitants, who at first remonstrated, declaring that if my proceedings were known throughout the country, the people would rise against me ; for they believed that their idols bestowed on them all temporal good, and if they permitted them to be ill-treated, they would be angry and withhold their gifts, and by this means the people would be deprived of the fruits of the earth and perish with famine. I answered, through the interpreters, that they were deceived in expecting any favors from idols, the work of their own hands, formed of unclean things ; and that they must learn there was but one God, the universal Lord of all, who had created the heavens and earth, and all things else, and had made them and us ; that he was without beginning and immortal, and they were bound to adore and believe him, and no other creature or

thing. I said every thing to them I could to divert them from their idolatries, and draw them to a knowledge of God our Lord. Mutezuma replied, the others assenting to what he said, "That they had already informed me they were not the aborigines of the country, but that their ancestors had emigrated to it many years ago; and they fully believed that after so long an absence from their native land, they might have fallen into some errors; that I having more recently arrived must know better than themselves what they ought to believe; and that if I would instruct them in these matters, and make them understand the true faith, they would follow my directions, as being for the best." Afterwards, Mutezuma and many of the principal citizens remained with me until I had removed the idols, purified the chapels, and placed the images in them, manifesting apparent pleasure; and I forbade them sacrificing human beings to their idols, as they had been accustomed to do; because, besides being abhorrent in the sight of God, your sacred Majesty had prohibited it by law, and commanded to put to death whoever should take the life of another. Thus, from that time, they refrained from the practice, and during the whole period of my abode in that city, they were never seen to kill or sacrifice a human being.

The figures of the idols in which these people believe surpass in stature a person of more than the ordinary size; some of them are composed of a mass of seeds and leguminous plants, such as are used for food, ground and mixed together, and kneaded with the blood of human hearts taken from the breasts of living persons, from which a paste is formed in a sufficient quantity to form large statues. When these are completed they make them offerings of the hearts of other victims, which they sacrifice to them, and besmear their faces with the blood. For every thing they have an idol, consecrated by the use of the nations that in ancient times honored the same gods. Thus they have an idol that they petition for victory in war; another for success in their labors; and so for everything in which they seek or desire prosperity, they have their idols, which they honor and serve.

This noble city contains many fine and magnificent houses; which may be accounted for from the fact, that all the nobility of the country, who are the vassals of Mutezuma, have houses in the city, in which they reside a certain part of the year; and besides, there are numerous wealthy citizens who also possess fine houses. All these persons, in addition to the large and spacious apartments for ordinary purposes, have



others, both upper and lower, that contain conservatories of flowers. Along one of these causeways that lead into the city are laid two pipes, constructed of masonry, each of which is two paces in width, and about five feet in height. An abundant supply of excellent water, forming a volume equal in bulk to the human body, is conveyed by one of these pipes, and distributed about the city, where it is used by the inhabitants for drinking and other purposes. The other pipe, in the mean time, is kept empty until the former requires to be cleansed, when the water is let into it and continues to be used till the cleansing is finished. As the water is necessarily carried over bridges on account of the salt water crossing its route, reservoirs resembling canals are constructed on the bridges, through which the fresh water is conveyed. These reservoirs are of the breadth of the body of an ox, and of the same length as the bridges. The whole city is thus served with water, which they carry in canoes through all the streets for sale, taking it from the aqueduct in the following manner: the canoes pass under the bridges on which the reservoirs are placed, when men stationed above fill them with water, for which service they are paid. At all the entrances of the city, and in those parts where the canoes are discharged, that is, where the greatest quantity of provisions is brought in, huts are erected, and persons stationed as guards, who receive a *certum quid* of every thing that enters. I know not whether the sovereign receives this duty or the city, as I have not yet been informed; but I believe that it appertains to the sovereign, as in the markets of other provinces a tax is collected for the benefit of their cacique. In all the markets and public places of this city are seen daily many laborers and persons of various employments waiting for some one to hire them. The inhabitants of this city pay a greater regard to style in their mode of living, and are more attentive to elegance of dress and politeness of manners than those of the other provinces and cities; since, as the Cacique\* Mutezuma has his residence in the capital, and all the nobility, his vassals, are in the constant habit of meeting there, a general courtesy of demeanor necessarily prevails. But not to be prolix in describing what relates to the affairs of this great city, although it is with difficulty I re-

\* The title invariably given to Mutezuma (or Montezuma) in these Despatches is simply Señor, in its sense of Lord, or (to use an Indian word) Cacique; which is also given to the chiefs or governors of districts or provinces, whether independent or feudatories. The title of Emperador (Emperor), now generally applied to the Mexican ruler, is never conferred on him by Cortes, nor any other implying royalty, although in the beginning of this Despatch he assures Charles V. that the country is extensive enough to constitute an empire.

frain from proceeding, I will say no more than that the manners of the people, as shown in their intercourse with one another, are marked by as great an attention to the proprieties of life as in Spain, and good order is equally well observed; and considering that they are a barbarous people, without the knowledge of God; having no intercourse with civilized nations, these traits of character are worthy of admiration.

In regard to the domestic appointments of Muteczuma, and the wonderful grandeur and state that he maintains, there is so much to be told, that I assure your Highness I know not where to begin my relation, so as to be able to finish any part of it. For, as I have already stated, what can be more wonderful than that a barbarous monarch, as he is, should have every object found in his dominions imitated in gold, silver, precious stones, and feathers; the gold and silver being wrought so naturally as not to be surpassed by any smith in the world; the stone work executed with such perfection that it is difficult to conceive what instruments could have been used; and the feather work superior to the finest productions in wax or embroidery. The extent of Muteczuma's dominions has not been ascertained, since to whatever point he despatched his messengers, even two hundred leagues from his capital, his commands were obeyed, although some of his provinces were in the midst of countries with which he was at war. But as nearly as I have been able to learn, his territories are equal in extent to Spain itself, for he sent messengers to the inhabitants of a city called Cumatan (requiring them to become subjects of your Majesty), which is sixty leagues beyond that part of Putunchán watered by the river Grijalva, and two hundred and thirty leagues distant from the great city; and I sent some of our people a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues in the same direction. All the principal chiefs of these provinces, especially those in the vicinity of the capital, reside, as I have already stated, the greater part of the year in that great city, and all or most of them have their oldest sons in the service of Muteczuma. There are fortified places in all the provinces, garrisoned with his own men, where are also stationed his governors and collectors of the rents and tribute, rendered him by every province; and an account is kept of what each is obliged to pay, as they have characters and figures made on paper that are used for this purpose. Each province renders a tribute of its own peculiar productions, so that the sovereign receives a great variety of articles from different quarters. No prince was ever more feared by his subjects, both in his pres-

ence and absence. He possessed out of the city as well as within numerous villas, each of which had its peculiar sources of amusement, and all were constructed in the best possible manner for the use of a great prince and lord. Within the city his palaces were so wonderful that it is hardly possible to describe their beauty and extent; I can only say that in Spain there is nothing equal to them.

There was one palace somewhat inferior to the rest, attached to which was a beautiful garden with balconies extending over it, supported by marble columns, and having a floor formed of jasper elegantly inlaid. There were apartments in this palace sufficient to lodge two princes of the highest rank with their retinues. There were likewise belonging to it ten pools of water, in which were kept the different species of water birds found in this country, of which there is a great variety, all of which are domesticated; for the sea birds there were pools of salt water, and for the river birds, of fresh water. The water is let off at certain times to keep it pure, and is replenished by means of pipes. Each species of bird is supplied with the food natural to it, which it feeds upon when wild. Thus fish is given to the birds that usually eat it; worms, maize, and the finer seeds, to such as prefer them. And I assure your Highness, that to the birds accustomed to eat fish there is given the enormous quantity of ten arrobas\* every day, taken in the salt lake. The emperor has three hundred men whose sole employment is to take care of these birds; and there are others whose only business is to attend to the birds that are in bad health.

Over the pools for the birds there are corridors and galleries, to which Mutezcuma resorts, and from which he can look out and amuse himself with the sight of them. There is an apartment in the same palace in which are men, women and children, whose faces, bodies, hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes are white from their birth. The emperor has another very beautiful palace, with a large court-yard, paved with handsome flags, in the style of a chess-board. There are also cages, about nine feet in height and six paces square, each of which was half covered with a roof of tiles, and the other half had over it a wooden grate, skilfully made. Every cage contained a bird of prey, of all the species found in Spain, from the kestrel to the eagle, and many unknown there. There was a great number of each kind; and in the covered part of the cages there was a perch, and another on the outside of the grating, the former of which the birds used in the night time, and when it rained;

\*Two hundred and fifty pounds weight.

and the other enabled them to enjoy the sun and air. To all these birds fowls were daily given for food, and nothing else. There were in the same palace several large halls on the ground floor, filled with immense cages built of heavy pieces of timber, well put together, in all or most of which were kept lions, tigers, wolves, foxes, and a variety of animals of the cat kind, in great numbers, which were also fed on fowls. The care of these animals and birds was assigned to three hundred men. There was another palace that contained a number of men and women of monstrous size, and also dwarfs, and crooked and ill-formed persons, each of which had their separate apartments. These also had their respective keepers. As to the other remarkable things that the emperor had in his city for his amusement, I can only say that they were numerous and of various kinds.

He was served in the following manner. Every day as soon as it was light, six hundred nobles and men of rank were in attendance at the palace, who either sat, or walked about the halls and galleries, and passed their time in conversation, but without entering the apartment where his person was. The servants and attendants of these nobles remained in the courtyards, of which there were two or three of great extent, and in the adjoining street, which was also very spacious. They all remained in attendance from morning till night; and when his meals were served, the nobles were likewise served with equal profusion, and their servants and secretaries also had their allowance. Daily his larder and wine-cellar were open to all who wished to eat and drink. The meals were served by three or four hundred youths, who brought on an infinite variety of dishes; indeed, whenever he dined or supped, the table was loaded with every kind of flesh, fish, fruits, and vegetables that the country produced. As the climate is cold, they put a chafing-dish with live coals under every plate and dish, to keep them warm. The meals were served in a large hall, in which Muteczuma was accustomed to eat, and the dishes quite filled the room, which was covered with mats and kept very clean. He sat on a small cushion curiously wrought of leather. During the meals there were present, at a little distance from him, five or six elderly caciques, to whom he presented some of the food. And there was constantly in attendance one of the servants, who arranged and handed the dishes, and who received from others whatever was wanted for the supply of the table. Both at the beginning and end of every meal, they furnished water for the hands; and the napkins used on these occasions

were never used a second time ; this was the case also with the plates and dishes, which were not brought again, but new ones in place of them ; it was the same also with the chafing-dishes. He is also dressed every day in four different suits, entirely new, which he never wears a second time. None of the caciques who enter his palace have their feet covered, and when those for whom he sends enter his presence, they incline their heads and look down, bending their bodies ; and when they address him, they do not look him in the face ; this arises from excessive modesty and reverence. I am satisfied that it proceeds from respect, since certain caciques reproved the Spaniards for their boldness in addressing me, saying that it showed a want of becoming deference. Whenever Mutezuma appeared in public, which was seldom the case, all those who accompanied him, or whom he accidentally met in the streets, turned away without looking towards him, and others prostrated themselves until he had passed. One of the nobles always preceded him on these occasions, carrying three slender rods erect, which I suppose was to give notice of the approach of his person. And when they descended from the litters, he took one of them in his hand, and held it until he reached the place where he was going. So many and various were the ceremonies and customs observed by those in the service of Mutezuma, that more space than I can spare would be required for the details, as well as a better memory than I have to recollect them ; since no sultan or other infidel lord, of whom any knowledge now exists, ever had so much ceremonial in their courts.

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Cortes's own Letters or Despatches to the Emperor Charles V. furnish us the most interesting and important material for the study of the conquest of Mexico. These letters were written in the very midst of the events and scenes described, and were published (all at least after the First Letter, of which no trace has been found) as they were received in Spain. Of the First Letter Cortes speaks as follows in the opening of the Second : " By a ship that I despatched from this New Spain of your Sacred Majesty, on the 16th of July, in the year 1519, I transmitted to your Highness a very full and particular report of what had occurred from the time of my arrival in this country to that date, which I sent by the hands of Alonso Hernandez Puertocarrero and Francisco de Montejo, deputies of La Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz, the town I had founded in your Majesty's name. Since that time, from want of opportunity and being constantly engaged in making conquests and establishing peace, having no ships, nor any intelligence from the one I had sent, or the deputies, I have not been able till now to give your Majesty a further account of our operations." The Second Letter was

written Oct. 30, 1520, and printed at Seville in 1522. It describes the march from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, the meeting with Montezuma, the entrance into Mexico, and the expulsion after the battle in the city and the death of Montezuma. The account of the City of Mexico (or Temixtitan) given in the present leaflet occupies about one-tenth of this Second Letter. The Third Letter, dated May 15, 1522, is devoted chiefly to the siege and conquest of the city. The Fourth Letter describes the measures taken by Cortes to bring the whole country into subjection. The Fifth Letter contains an account of his expedition to Honduras. The Second, Third, and Fourth Letters have been translated into English by George Folsom, and published in a single volume entitled *The Despatches of Hernando Cortes*: it is from this translation that the chapter given in the present leaflet is taken. There is a translation of the Fifth Letter among the publications of the Hakluyt Society.

Besides the Letters of Cortes, we have as an original authority of the highest value the history of the Conquest by Bernal Diaz, who was with Cortes throughout. These *memoirs* have been translated into English by J. I. Lockhart. A work only second in value to this is the history by Gomara, who was the chaplain of Cortes after his return to Spain, and in close relations with him and his companions for many years. Prescott's notes upon these two writers, in the appendix to the second volume of his *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, may be read. Prescott's work and Sir Arthur Helps's *Life of Cortes* are the popular modern books upon the subject. Fiske devotes a chapter to the subject in his *Discovery of America* (vol. ii. chap. viii.), and there is no better brief account. The more thorough student will read the chapter by Winsor in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii.: the bibliographical notes appended to this are exhaustive, and the reproductions of old portraits, plans, etc., which accompany it are of great interest and value. All the works referred to contain valuable accounts of the ancient Mexican civilization.

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## Old South Leaflets.

GENERAL SERIES, No. 36.

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# The Death of De Soto.

FROM THE "NARRATIVE OF THE GENTLEMAN OF ELVAS."

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The next day being Wednesday, the 29<sup>th</sup> of March [1542], the Governor came to *Nilco*; he lodged with all his men in the cacique's town, which stood in a plain field, which was inhabited for the space of a quarter of a league: and within a league and half a league were other very great towns, wherein was great store of maize, of French beans, of walnuts, and prunes. This was the best inhabited country that was seen in *Florida*, and had most store of maize, except *Coça* and *Apalache*. There came to the camp an Indian accompanied with others, and in the cacique's name gave the Governor a mantle of martens' skins, and a cordon of pearls. The Governor gave him a few small margarites, which are certain beads much esteemed in *Peru*, and other things, wherewith he was very well contented. He promised to return within two days, but never came again: but on the contrary the Indians came by night in canoes, and carried away all the maize they could, and made them cabins on the other side of the river in the thickest of the wood, because they might flee if we should go to seek them. The Governor, seeing he came not at the time appointed, commanded an ambush to be laid about certain store-houses near the lake, whither the Indians came for maize: where they took two Indians, who told the Governor, that he which came to visit him was not the cacique, but was sent by him under pretence to spy whether the Christians were careless, and whether they determined to settle in that country or to go forward. Presently the Governor sent a captain with footmen and horsemen over the river; and in their passage they were descried of the Indians, and therefore he could take but ten or twelve men and women, with whom he returned to the camp. This river, which passed by *Nilco*, was that which passed by *Cayas* and *Autiamque*, and fell into *Rio*

*Grande*, or the Great River, which passed by *Pachaha* and *Aquixo* near unto the province of *Guachoya*: and the lord thereof came up the river in canoes to make war with him of *Nilco*. On his behalf there came an Indian to the Governor, and said unto him that he was his servant, and prayed him so to hold him, and that within two days he would come to kiss his lordship's hands: and at the time appointed he came with some of his principal Indians, which accompanied him, and with words of great offers and courtesy he gave the Governor a present of many mantles and deers' skins. The Governor gave him some other things in recompense, and honored him much. He asked what towns there were down the river. He answered that he knew none other but his own: and on the other side of the river the province of a cacique called *Quigalta*. So he took his leave of the Governor and went to his own town. Within a few days the Governor determined to go to *Guachoya*, to learn there whether the sea were near, or whether there were any habitation near, where he might relieve his company, while the brigantines were making, which he meant to send to the land of the Christians. As he passed the river *Nilco*, there came in canoes Indians of *Guachoya* up the stream, and when they saw him, supposing that he came to seek them to do them some hurt, they returned down the river, and informed the cacique thereof: who with all his people, spoiling the town of all that they could carry away, passed that night over to the other side of the *Rio Grande*, or the Great River. The Governor sent a captain with fifty men in six canoes down the river, and went himself by land with the rest. He came to *Guachoya* upon Sunday, the 17th of April. He lodged in the town of the cacique, which was enclosed about, and seated a crossbow shot distant from the river. Here the river is called *Tamaliseu*, and in *Nilco* *Tapatu*, and in *Coça Mico*, and in the port or mouth *Ri*.

As soon as the Governor came to *Guachoya*, he sent *John Danusco* with as many men as could go in the canoes up the river. For when they came down from *Nilco*, they saw on the other side of the river new cabins made. *John Danusco* went and brought the canoes laden with maize, French beans, prunes, and many loaves made of the substance of prunes. That day came an Indian to the Governor from the Cacique of *Guachoya*, and said that his lord would come the next day. The next day they saw many canoes come up the river, and on the other side of the Great River they assembled together in the space of an hour. They consulted whether they should come or not; and at length concluded to come, and crossed the river. In them



came the Cacique of *Guachoya*, and brought with him many Indians, with great store of fish, dogs, deers' skins, and mantles; and as soon as they landed, they went to the lodging of the Governor, and presented him their gifts, and the cacique uttered these words:—

“Mighty and excellent lord, I beseech your lordship to pardon me the error which I committed in absenting myself, and not tarrying in this town to have received and served your lordship; since, to obtain this opportunity of time was, and is as much as a great victory to me. But I feared that which I needed not to have feared, and so did that which was not reason to do. But as haste maketh waste, and I removed without deliberation; so, as soon as I thought on it, I determined not to follow the opinion of the foolish, which is to continue in their error; but to imitate the wise and discreet, in changing my counsel, and so I came to see what your lordship will command me to do, that I may serve you in all things that are in my power.”

The Governor received him with much joy, and gave him thanks for his present and offer. He asked him, whether he had any notice of the sea. He answered no, nor of any towns down the river on that side; save that two leagues from thence was one town of a principal Indian, a subject of his; and on the other side of the river, three days' journey from thence down the river, was the province of *Quigalta*, which was the greatest lord that was in that country! The Governor thought that the cacique lied unto him, to rid him out of his own towns, and sent *John Danusco* with eight horsemen down the river, to see what habitation there was, and to inform himself, if there were any notice of the sea. He travelled eight days, and at his return he said, that in all that time he was not able to go above fourteen or fifteen leagues, because of the great creeks that came out of the river, and groves of canes, and thick woods that were along the banks of the river, and that he had found no habitation. The Governor fell into great dumps to see how hard it was to get to the sea; and worse, because his men and horses every day diminished, being without succor to sustain themselves in the country: and with that thought he fell sick. But before he took his bed he sent an Indian to the Cacique of *Quigalta* to tell him that he was the child of the sun, and that all the way that he came all men obeyed and served him, that he requested him to accept of his friendship and come unto him, for he would be very glad to see him; and in sign of love and obedience to bring something

with him of that which in his country was most esteemed. The cacique answered by the same Indian :

“That whereas he said he was the child of the sun, if he would dry up the river he would believe him ; and touching the rest, that he was wont to visit none ; but rather that all those of whom he had notice did visit him, served, obeyed, and paid him tributes willingly or perforce ; therefore, if he desired to see him, it were best he should come thither ; that if he came in peace, he would receive him with special good will ; and if in war, in like manner he would attend him in the town where he was, and that for him or any other he would not shrink one foot back.”

By that time the Indian returned with this answer, the Governor had betaken himself to bed, being evil handled with fevers, and was much aggrieved that he was not in case to pass presently the river and to seek him, to see if he could abate that pride of his, considering the river went now very strongly in those parts ; for it was near half a league broad, and sixteen fathoms deep, and very furious, and ran with a great current ; and on both sides there were many Indians, and his power was not now so great, but that he had need to help himself rather by slights than by force. The Indians of *Guachoya* came every day with fish in such numbers, that the town was full of them. The cacique said, that on a certain night he of *Quigalta* would come to give battle to the Governor. Which the Governor imagined that he had devised, to drive him out of his country, and commanded him to be put in hold : and that night and all the rest, there was good watch kept. He asked him wherefore *Quigalta* came not ? He said that he came, but that he saw him prepared, and therefore durst not give the attempt : and he was earnest with him to send his captains over the river, and that he would aid him with many men to set upon *Quigalta*. The Governor told him that as soon as he was recovered, himself would seek him out. And seeing how many Indians came daily to the town, and what store of people was in that country, fearing they should all conspire together and plot some treason against him ; and because the town had some open gaps which were not made an end of inclosing, besides the gates which they went in and out by : because the Indians should not think he feared them, he let them all alone unrepaired ; and commanded the horsemen to be appointed to them, and to the gates : and all night the horsemen went the round ; and two and two of every squadron rode about, and visited the scouts that were without the town in their standings by the passages, and the crossbow-

men that kept the canoes in the river. And because the Indians should stand in fear of them, he determined to send a captain to *Nilco*, for those of *Guachoya* had told him that it was inhabited; that by using them cruelly, neither the one nor the other should presume to assail him; and he sent *Nuñez de Touar* with fifteen horsemen, and *John de Guzman* captain of the footmen, with his company in canoes up the river. The Cacique of *Guachoya* sent for many canoes and many warlike Indians to go with the Christians: and the captain of the Christians, called *Nuñez de Touar*, went by land with his horsemen, and two leagues before he came to *Nilco* he stayed for *John de Guzman*, and in that place they passed the river by night: the horsemen came first, and in the morning by break of day in sight of the town they lighted upon a spy; which as soon as he perceived the Christians, crying out amain fled to the town to give warning. *Nuñez de Touar* and his company made such speed, that before the Indians of the town could fully come out, they were upon them: it was champaign ground that was inhabited, which was about a quarter of a league. There were about five or six thousand people in the town; and, as many people came out of the houses, and fled from one house to another, and many Indians came flocking together from all parts, there was never a horseman that was not alone among many. The captain had commanded that they should not spare the life of any male. Their disorder was so great, that there was no Indian that shot an arrow at any Christian. The shrieks of women and children were so great, that they made the ears deaf of those that followed them. There were slain a hundred Indians, little more or less: and many were wounded with great wounds, whom they suffered to escape to strike a terror in the rest that were not there. There were some so cruel and butcherlike, that they killed old and young, and all that they met, though they made no resistance; and those which presumed of themselves for their valor, and were taken for such, broke through the Indians, bearing down many with their stirrups and breasts of their horses; and some they wounded with their lances, and so let them go: and when they saw any youth or woman they took them, and delivered them to the footmen. These men's sins by God's permission lighted on their own heads; who, because they would seem valiant, became cruel; showing themselves extreme cowards in the sight of all men when as most need of valor was required, and afterwards they came to a shameful death. Of the Indians of *Nilco* were taken prisoners fourscore women and children, and much spoil. The Indians

of *Guachoya* kept back before they came at the town, and stayed without, beholding the success of the Christians with the men of *Nilco*. And when they saw them put to flight, and the horsemen busy in killing of them, they hastened to the houses to rob, and filled their canoes with the spoil of the goods; and returned to *Guachoya* before the Christians; and wondering much at the sharp dealing which they had seen them use toward the Indians of *Nilco*, they told their cacique all that had passed with great astonishment.

The Governor felt in himself that the hour approached wherein he was to leave this present life, and called for the king's officers, captains, and principal persons, to whom he made a speech, saying:—

“That now he was to go to give an account before the presence of God of all his life past: and since it pleased him to take him in such a time, and that the time was come that he knew his death, that he his most unworthy servant did yield him many thanks therefor; and desired all that were present and absent (whom he confessed himself to be much beholding unto for their singular virtues, love and loyalty, which himself had well tried in the travels which they had suffered, which always in his mind he did hope to satisfy and reward, when it should please God to give him rest, with more prosperity of his estate), that they would pray to God for him, that for his mercy he would forgive him his sins, and receive his soul into eternal glory: and that they would quit and free him of the charge which he had over them, and ought unto them all, and that they would pardon him for some wrongs which they might have received of him. And to avoid some division, which upon his death might fall out upon the choice of his successor, he requested them to elect a principal person, and able to govern, of whom all should like well; and when he was elected, they should swear before him to obey him: and that he would thank them very much in so doing; because the grief that he had would somewhat be assuaged, and the pain that he felt, because he left them in so great confusion, to wit, in leaving them in a strange country, where they knew not where they were.”

*Baltasar de Gallegos* answered in the name of all the rest. And first of all comforting him, he set before his eyes how short the life of this world was, and with how many troubles and miseries it is accompanied, and how God showed him a singular favor which soonest left it: telling him many other things fit for such a time. And for the last point, that since it pleased God to take him to himself, although his death did justly grieve

them much, yet as well he, as all the rest, ought of necessity to conform themselves to the will of God. And touching the Governor which he commanded they should elect, he besought him, that it would please his lordship to name him which he thought fit, and him they would obey. And presently he named *Luy de Moscoso de Alvarado*, his captain-general. And presently he was sworn by all that were present, and elected for governor. The next day being the 21st of May, 1542, departed out of this life, the valorous, virtuous, and valiant Captain, *Don Fernando de Soto*, Governor of *Cuba*, and Adelantado of *Florida*: whom fortune advanced, as it useth to do others, that he might have the higher fall. He departed in such a place, and at such a time, as in his sickness he had but little comfort: and the danger wherein all his people were of perishing in that country, which appeared before their eyes, was cause sufficient why every one of them had need of comfort, and why they did not visit nor accompany him as they ought to have done. *Luy de Moscoso* determined to conceal his death from the Indians, because *Ferdinando de Soto* had made them believe that the Christians were immortal; and also because they took him to be hardy, wise, and valiant: and if they should know that he was dead, they would be bold to set upon the Christians, though they lived peaceably by them. In regard of their disposition, and because they were nothing constant, and believed all that was told them, the Adelantado made them believe, that he knew some things that passed in secret among themselves, without their knowledge, how, or in what manner he came by them: and that the figure which appeared in a glass, which he showed them, did tell him whatsoever they practiced and went about: and therefore neither in word nor deed durst they attempt anything that might be prejudicial unto him.

As soon as he was dead, *Luy de Moscoso* commanded to put him secretly in the house, where he remained three days; and moving him from thence, commanded him to be buried in the night at one of the gates of the town within the wall. And as the Indians had seen him sick, and missed him, so did they suspect what might be. And passing by the place where he was buried, seeing the earth moved, they looked and spake one to another. *Luy de Moscoso* understanding of it, commanded him to be taken up by night, and to cast a great deal of sand into the mantles, wherein he was wound up, wherein he was carried in a canoe, and thrown into the midst of the river. The Cacique of *Guachoya* inquired for him, demanding what was become of his brother and lord, the Governor. *Luy de Moscoso* told him

that he was gone to heaven, as many other times he did : and because he was to stay there certain days he had left him in his place. The cacique thought with himself that he was dead ; and commanded two young and well-proportioned Indians to be brought thither ; and said, that the use of that country was, when any lord died, to kill Indians to wait upon him, and serve him by the way, and for that purpose by his commandment were those come thither : and prayed *Luys de Moscoso* to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serve his lord and brother. *Luys de Moscoso* told him, that the Governor was not dead, but gone to heaven, and that of his own Christian soldiers he had taken such as he needed to serve him, and prayed him to command those Indians to be loosed, and not to use any such bad custom from thenceforth : straightway he commanded them to be loosed, and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not go ; saying, that he would not serve him, that without desert had judged him to death, but that he would serve him as long as he lived, which had saved his life.

*Luys de Moscoso* caused all the goods of the Governor to be sold at an outcry : to wit, two men slaves and two women slaves, and three horses, and seven hundred hogs. For every slave or horse, they gave two or three thousand ducats : which were to be paid at the first melting of gold or silver, or at the division of their portion of inheritance. And they entered into bonds, though in the country there was not wherewith, to pay it within a year after, and put in sureties for the same. Such as in *Spain* had no goods to bind, gave two hundred ducats for a hog, giving assurance after the same manner. Those which had any goods in *Spain* bought with more fear, and bought the less. From that time forward, most of the company had swine, and brought them up, and fed upon them ; and observed Fridays and Saturdays, and the evenings of feasts, which before they did not. For some times in two or three months they did eat no flesh, and whensoever they could come by it, they did eat it.

Some were glad of the death of *Don Ferdinando de Soto*, holding for certain that *Luys de Moscoso* (which was given to his ease), would rather desire to be among the Christians at rest, than to continue the labors of the war in subduing and discovering of countries ; whereof they were already weary, seeing the small profit that ensued thereof. The Governor commanded the captains and principal persons to meet to consult and determine what they should do. And being informed what peopled

habitation was round about, he understood that to the west the country was most inhabited, and that down the river beyond *Quigalta* was uninhabited, and had little store of food. He desired them all, that every one would give his opinion in writing, and set his hand to it: that they might resolve by general consent, whether they should go down the river, or enter into the main land. All were of opinion, that it was best to go by land toward the west, because *Nueva España* was that way; holding the voyage by sea more dangerous, and of greater hazard, because they could make no ship of any strength to abide a storm, neither had they master, nor pilot, compass, nor chart, neither knew they how far the sea was off, nor had any notice of it; nor whether the river did make any great turning into the land, or had any great fall from the rocks, where all of them might be cast away. And some which had seen the sea-chart did find, that from the place where they were by the sea-coast to *Nueva España* might be four hundred leagues, little more or less; and said, that though they went somewhat about by land in seeking a peopled country, if some great wilderness which they could not pass did hinder them, by spending that summer in travel, finding provision to pass the winter in some peopled country, that the next summer after they might come to some Christian land, and that it might fortune in their travel by land to find some rich country, where they might do themselves good. The Governor, although he desired to get out of *Florida* in shorter time, seeing the inconveniences they laid before him, in travelling by sea, determined to follow that which seemed good to them all. On Monday, the fifth day of June, he departed from *Guachoya*. The cacique gave him a guide to *Chaguete*, and stayed at home in his own town. They passed through a province called *Catalte*: and having passed a wilderness of six days' journey, the twentieth day of the month he came to *Chaguete*. The cacique of this province had visited the Governour *Don Ferdinando de Soto* at *Autiamque*, whither he brought him presents of skins, and mantles, and salt. And a day before *Luis de Moscoso* came to his town, we lost a Christian that was sick; which he suspected that the Indians had slain. He sent the cacique word, that he should command his people to seek him up, and sent him unto him, and that he would hold him, as he did, for his friend; and if he did not, that neither he, nor his, should escape his hands, and that he would set his country on fire. Presently the cacique came unto him, and brought a great present of mantles and skins, and the Christian that was lost, and made this speech following:

“Right excellent lord, I would not deserve that conceit which you had of me, for all the treasure of the world. What enforced me to go to visit and serve the excellent Lord Governor your father in *Autiamque*, which you should have remembered, where I offered myself with all loyalty, faith and love, during my life to serve and obey him? What then could be the cause, I having received favors of him, and neither you nor he having done me any wrong, that should move me to do the thing which I ought not? Believe this of me, that neither wrong, nor any worldly interest, was able to make me to have done it, nor shall be able to blind me. But as in this life it is a natural course, that after one pleasure many sorrows do follow: so by your indignation, fortune would moderate the joy, which my heart conceiveth with your presence; and that I should err, where I thought surest to have hit the mark; in harboring this Christian which was lost, and using him in such manner, as he may tell himself, thinking that herein I did you service, with purpose to deliver him unto you in *Chaguante*, and to serve you to the uttermost of my power. If I deserve punishment for this, I will receive it at your hands, as from my lord, as if it were a favor. For the love which I did bear to the excellent Governor, and which I bear to you, hath no limit. And like as you give me chastisement, so will you also show me favor. And that which now I crave of you is this, to declare your will unto me, and those things wherein I may be able to do you the most and best service.”

The Governor answered him, that because he did not find him in that town, he was incensed against him, thinking he had absented himself, as others had done: but seeing he now knew his loyalty and love, he would always hold him as a brother, and favor him with all his affairs. The cacique went with him to the town where he resided, which was a day's journey from thence.

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The passage given in the present leaflet is taken from what is usually referred to in English as the *Narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas*. This is an account of the expedition of De Soto, written by one of the Spaniards who accompanied him, and first printed in 1557 at Evora. The Gentleman of Elvas is supposed by some to be Alvaro Fernandez; but this is a matter of doubt. The first English translation—which is that used for the present leaflet—was made by Hakluyt, who printed it in London in 1609, under the title *Virginia richly valued by the Description of the Mainland of Florida, her next Neighbor*, and again in 1611 as *The worthy and famous Historie of the Travailles, Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida*. The 1611 edition was reprinted by the Hakluyt Society in 1851, edited by William B. Rye, and is



included in Force's *Tracts* (vol. iv.) and in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (vol. ii.). In 1866 Mr. Buckingham Smith published translations of the narratives of the Gentleman of Elvas and of Biedma, in the fifth volume of the Bradford Club Series, under the title of *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida, as told by a Knight of Elvas and in a Relation* [presented 1544] by *Luys Hernandez de Biedma*.

This briefer original Spanish account by Biedma long remained in manuscript in the archives at Seville, and was first published in a French version in 1841; and from this William B. Rye translated it for the volume already referred to published by the Hakluyt Society in 1851, which included Hakluyt's version of the Elvas narrative. An abridgment of this also appears in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (vol. ii.).

A third original account of De Soto's expedition is the *Florida del Ynca* of La Vega, written forty years after De Soto's death. It is based upon conversations with a Spanish noble who had accompanied De Soto, and the written reports of two common soldiers; but its spirit of exaggeration has brought it into discredit with many historical scholars. An English version of it is embodied in Bernard Shipp's *History of Hernando de Soto and Florida*.

Still another account of the expedition is the official report which Rodrigo Ranjel, the secretary of De Soto, based upon his diary kept on the march; but this account is incomplete, and there is no English version of it. There is a letter of De Soto, dated July 9, 1539, describing his voyage and landing, which was translated and published by Buckingham Smith in 1854. A version of this letter may also be found in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, vol. ii.

Further information concerning the works upon De Soto and the other explorers of Florida may be found in the notes appended by John Gilmary Shea to his valuable chapter on *Ancient Florida*, in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii. The question of De Soto's route is here fully discussed, with the aid of valuable old maps.

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## OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS, GENERAL SERIES.

These Leaflets, issued by the Directors of the Old South Studies in History, are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of sixteen pages, and are sold at the low price of five cents a copy, or three dollars per hundred. The Old South work is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people in American history and politics; and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such Leaflets as these. The aim is to bring important original documents within easy reach of everybody. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. There are at present 28 leaflets in this general series, and others will rapidly follow. The following are the titles of those now ready:

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's

Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787. 14. The Constitution of Ohio.\* 15. Washington's Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. 16. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. 17. Verrazano's Voyage, 1524. 18. The Swiss Constitution.\* 19. The Bill of Rights, 1689. 20. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. 21. Eliot's Brief Narrative of Work among the Indians, 1670. 22. Wheelock's Narrative of the Founding of his Indian School, 1762. 23. The Petition of Rights, 1628. 24. The Grand Remonstrance. 25. The Scottish National Covenants. 26. The Agreement of the People. 27. The Instrument of Government. 28.



## Old South Leaflets.

GENERAL SERIES, No. 37.

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# The Voyages of the Cabots.

FROM HAKLUYT'S "PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES AND  
DISCOVERIES OF THE ENGLISH NATION."

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The Letters patents of King Henry the seventh granted vnto Iohn Cabot and his three sonnes, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius for the discouerie of new and vnknown lands.

HENry, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Be it knownen that we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents do giue and grant for vs and our heires, to our wel-beloued Iohn Cabot citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian, and Santius, sonnes of the sayd Iohn, and to the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, full and free authority, leaue, and power to saile to all parts, countreys, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, vnder our banners and ensignes, with fise ships of what burthen or quantity soeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will haue with them in the sayd ships, vpon their owne proper costs and charges, to seeke out, discover, and finde whatsoever isles, countreys, regions or prouinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soeuer they be, which before this time haue bene vnknownen to all Christians: we haue granted to them, and also to euery of them, the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, and haue giuen them licence to set vp our banners and ensignes in euery village, towne, castle, isle, or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes, or their heires and assignes may subdue, occupy and possesse all such townes,

cities, castles and isles of them found, which they can subdue, occupy and possesse, as our vassals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iurisdiction of the same villages, townes, castles, & firme land so found. Yet so that the aforesayd Iohn, and his sonnes and heires, and their deputies, be holden and bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of such nauigation, for euery their voyage, as often as they shall arriue at our port of Bristoll (at the which port they shall be bound and holden onely to arriue) all maner of necessary costs and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine so gotten. We giuing and granting vnto them and to their heires and deputies, that they shall be free from all paying of customes of all and singular such merchandize as they shall bring with them from those places so newly found. And moreover, we haue giuen and granted to them, their heires and deputies, that all the firme lands, isles, villages, townes, castles and places whatsoever they be that they shall chance to finde, may not of any other of our subiects be frequented or visited without the licence of the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes, and their deputies, vnder paine of forfeiture aswell of their shippes as of all and singuler goods of all them that shall presume to saile to those places so found. Willing, and most straightly commanding all and singuler our subiects aswell on land as on sea, to giue good assistance to the aforesayd Iohn and his sonnes and deputies, and that as well in arming and furnishing their ships or vessels, as in prouision of food, and in buying of victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be prouided necessary for the sayd nauigation, they do giue them all their helpe and faour. In witnesse whereof we haue caused to be made these our Letters patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the fift day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.

*Billa signata anno 13 Henrici septimi.*

THE king vpon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to Iohn Cabot to take sixe English ships in any hauen or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all necessary furniture, and to take also into the said ships all such masters, mariners, and subiects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.

An extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams, concerning his discouery of the West Indies, which is to be seene in her Maiesties priue gal-

lerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1497 Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out from Bristoll) discouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of Iune, about fve of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of S. Iohn vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discouered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island vse to weare beasts skinnes, and haue them in as great estimation as we haue our finest garments. In their warres they vse bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soile is barren in some places, & yeeldeth little fruit, but it is full of white beares, and stagges farre greater than ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also aboute a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Sauages call baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed hauks, but they are so blacke that they are very like to rauens, as also their partridges, and egles, which are in like sort blacke.

A discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his discouery of part of the West India out of England in the time of king Henry the seuenth, vsed to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and reported by the sayd Legate in this sort.

DOe you not vnderstand sayd he (speaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to passe to India toward the Northwest, as did of late a citizen of Venice, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to nauigations, and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present he hath not his like in Spaine, insomuch that for his vertues he is preferred aboute all other pilots that saile to the West Indies, who may not passe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. And when we sayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, saying, that being certaine yeres in the city of Siuil, and desirous to haue some knowledge of the nauigations of the Spanyards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian borne named Sebastian Cabot, who had the charge of those things, being an expert

man in that science, and one that coulede make Cardes for the Sea with his owne hand, and by this report, seeking his acquaintance, hee found him a very gentle person, who intertained him friendly, and shewed him many things, and among other a large Mappe of the world, with certaine particuler Navigations, as well of the Portugals, as of the Spaniards, and that he spake further vnto him to this effect.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuerthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus Genuese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of king Henry the 7. who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more diuine than humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the Northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the King to be aduertised of my deuse, who immediately commanded two Caruels to bee furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to saile toward the Northwest, not thinking to finde any other land than that of Cathay, & from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, sayling along by the coast to see if I could finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande still continent to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the Equinoc-tiall (euer with intent to finde the saide passage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is nowe called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage.

Whereupon I went into Spaine to the Catholique king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertised what I had done, intertained me, and at their charges furnished certaine ships,

wherewith they caused me to saile to discover the coastes of Brazile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this present Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of siluer, into the which I sailed and followed it into the firme land, more than sixe score leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running dayly to our ships. Into this Riuer runne so many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible.

After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit, and waxing olde, I giue myselfe to rest from such trauels, because there are nowe many yong and lustie Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I doe reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.

The foresaide Baptista Ramusius in his preface to the thirde volume of the Nauigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot.

IN the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Vararzana, Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iaques Cartier, a Briton, who sailed vnto the land situate in 50. degrees of latitude to the North, which is called New France, which landes hitherto are not thoroughly knowen, whether they doe ioyn with the firme lande of Florida and Noua Hispania, or whether they bee separated and diuided all by the Sea as Ilands: and whether that by that way one may goe by Sea vnto the country of Cathaia. As many yeeres past it was written vnto mee by Sebastian Cabota our Countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Nauigation, and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this lande of New France, at the charges of King Henry the seuenth king of England: and he aduertised mee, that hauing sailed a long time West and by North, beyond those Ilands vnto the Latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11 day of Iune finding still the open Sea without any maner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and would haue done it, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and Mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserue this great enterprise for some great prince to discover this voyage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the most easy and shortest of all other ways

hitherto found out. And surely this enterprise would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all these great troubles and warres which dayly are used in Europe among the miserable Christian people.

Another testimonie of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot to the West and Northwest, taken out of the sixth Chapter of the third Decade of Peter Martyr of Angleria.

THEse North Seas haue bene searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents carried with them into England, hauing occasion to resort thither for trade of marchandise, as is the maner of the Venetians to leaue no part of the world vnsearched to obtaine riches. Hee therefore furnished two ships in England at his owne charges, and first with 300 men directed his course so farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of Iuly he found monstrous heapes of ice swimming on the sea, and in maner continuall day light, yet saw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus seeing such heapes of yce before him, hee was enforced to turne his sailes and follow the West, so coasting still by the shore, that hee was thereby brought so farre into the South, by reason of the land bending so much Southwards, that it was there almost equal in latitude, with the sea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the Northpole eleuate in maner in the same degree. He sailed likewise in this tract so farre towards the West, that hee had the Island of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the same degree of longitude. As hee traueiled by the coastes of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he saith that hee found the like course of the waters toward the West, but the same to runne more softly and gently than the swift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southwards. Wherefore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought also of necessitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto vnknown, there should be certaine great open places whereby the waters should thus continually passe from the East vnto the West: which waters I suppose to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the uncessant mouing and impulsion of the heauens, and not to bee swallowed vp and cast vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some haue imagined, because they see the seas by increase and decrease to ebbe and flowe. Sebastian Cabot himselfe named those lands Baccalaos, because that in



the Seas thereabout hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitants call Baccalaos) that they sometimes stayed his shippes. He found also the people of those regions couered with beastes skinned, yet not without the vse of reason. He also saith there is great plentie of Beares in those regions which vse to eate fish: for plunging themselves in y<sup>e</sup> water, where they perceiue a multitude of these fishes to lie, they fasten their clawes in their scales, and so draw them to land and eate them, so (as he saith) the Beares being thus satisfied with fish, are not noisome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of these Regions he saw great plentie of Copper among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vse familiarly, and delight to haue him sometimes keepe mee company in mine owne house. For being called out of England by the commandement of the Catholique King of Castile, after the death of King Henry the seuenth of that name King of England, he was made one of our council and Assistants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ships dayly to be furnished for him to discover this hid secret of Nature.

The testimonie of Francis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard, in the fourth Chapter of the second Booke of his generall history of the West Indies concerning the first discoverie of a great part of the West Indies, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by Sebastian Cabota out of England.

HE which brought most certaine newes of the countrey & people of Baccalaos, saith Gomara, was Sebastian Cabote a Venetian, which rigged vp two ships at the cost of K. Henry the 7. of England, hauing great desire to traffique for the spices as the Portingals did. He carried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Island from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill he found himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of Iuly it was so cold, and the ice so great, that hee durst not passe any further: that the days were very long, in a maner without any night, and for that short night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the West, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he sayled along the coast vnto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

A note of Sebastian Cabots first discoverie of part of the Indies taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabians

Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of M. Iohn Stow a diligent preseruer of Antiquities.

IN the 13. yeere of K. Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himselfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Ilands of the same, as by a Sea card and other demonstrations reasonable he shewed) the King caused to man and victuall a ship at Bristow, to search for an Island, which he said hee knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities: Which shippe thus manned and victualled at the kings cost, diuers Marchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chiefe patron the said Venetian. And in the company of the said ship, sailed also out of Bristow three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and grosse marchandizes, as course cloth, caps, laces, points & other trifles. And so departed from Bristow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

Of three Sauages which Cabot brought home and presented vnto the King in the foureteenth yere of his reigne, mentioned by the foresaid Robert Fabian.

THIS yeere also were brought vnto the king three men taken in the Newfound Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: These were clothed in beasts skins, & did eat raw flesh, and spake such speach that no man could vnderstand them, and in their demeanour like to bruite beastes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I saw two apparelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discerne from Englishmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for speach, I heard none of them vtter one word.

A briefe extract concerning the discouerie of Newfound-land, taken out of the booke of M. Robert Thorne, to Doctor Leigh, &c.

I Reason, that as some sicknesses are hereditarie, so this inclination or desire of this discouery I inherited from my father, which with another marchant of Bristol named Hugh Eliot, were the discouerers of the Newfound-lands; of the which there is no doubt (as nowe plainly appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, but the lands of the West Indies, from whence all the golde cometh, had bene ours; for all is one coast as by the Card appeareth, and is aforesaid.

The large pension granted by K. Edward the 6. to Sebastian Cabota, constituting him grand Pilot of England.

EDward the sixt by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting. Know yee that we, in consideration of the good and acceptable seruice done, and to be done, vnto vs by our beloued seruant Sebastian Cabota, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and by the aduice and counsel of our most honourable vnclē Edward duke of Somerset gouernour of our person, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and subjects, and of the rest of our Counsaile, haue giuen & granted, and by these presents do giue and graunt to the said Sebastian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yerely reuenue of one hundreth, three-score & sixe pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence sterling, to haue, enioy, and yerely receiue the aforesaid annuitie, or yerely reuenue, to the foresaid Sebastian Cabota during his natural life, out of our Treasurie at the receipt of our Exchequer at Westminster, at the hands of our Treasurers & paymasters, there remayning for the time being, at the feasts of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, S. Michael y<sup>e</sup> Archangel, & the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paid by equal portions.

And further, of our more speciall grace, and by the aduise and consent aforesaide wee doe giue, and by these presents doe graunt vnto the aforesaide Sebastian Cabota, so many, and so great summes of money as the saide annuitie or yeerely reuenue of an hundreth, three-score and sixe pounds, thirteene shillings 4. pence, doeth amount and rise vnto from the feast of S. Michael the Archangel last past vnto this present time, to be had and receiued by the aforesaid Sebastian Cabota, and his assignees out of our aforesaid Treasurie, at the handes of our aforesaide Treasurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing else therefore to be yeilded, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or successours, forasmuch as herein expresse mention is made to the contrary.

In wisse whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witnesse the King at Westminster the sixt day of Ianuarie, in the second yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lord 1548.

“Sometimes in Wagner’s musical dramas the introduction of a few notes from some leading melody foretells the inevitable catastrophe toward which the action is moving, as when in Lohengrin’s bridal chamber the well-known sound of the distant Grail motive steals suddenly upon the ear, and the heart of the rapt listener is smitten with a sense of impending doom. So in the drama of maritime discovery, as glimpses of new worlds were beginning to reward the enterprising crowns of Spain and Portugal, for a moment there came from the North a few brief notes fraught with ominous portent. The power for whom destiny had reserved the world empire of which these Southern nations — so noble in aim, so mistaken in policy — were dreaming stretched forth her hand in quiet disregard of papal bulls, and laid it upon the western shore of the ocean. It was only for a moment, and long years were to pass before the consequences were developed. But in truth the first fateful note that heralded the coming English supremacy was sounded when John Cabot’s tiny craft sailed out from the Bristol channel on a bright May morning of 1497.”—JOHN FISKE, *The Discovery of America*.

The slight contemporary mention, which is all that we have of the voyages of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498, does not enable us to determine with precision the parts of the North American coast that were visited. We know that a chart of the first voyage was made; for both the Spanish envoys, Puebla and Ayala, writing between August 24, 1497, and July 25, 1498, mentioned having seen such a chart, and from an inspection of it they concluded that the distance run did not exceed 400 leagues. The Venetian merchant, Pasqualigo, gave the distance more correctly as 700 leagues, and added that Cabot followed the coast of the “territory of the Grand Khan” for 300 leagues, and in returning saw two islands to starboard. An early tradition fixed upon the coast of Labrador as the region first visited, and until lately this has been the prevailing opinion.

The chart seen by the Spanish ministers in London is unfortunately lost. But a map engraved in Germany or Flanders in 1544 or later, and said to be after a drawing by Sebastian Cabot, has at the north of what we call the island of Cape Breton the legend “*prima tierra vista*,” i.e. “*first land seen*”; and in this connection there is a marginal inscription, Spanish and Latin, saying, “This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of our Saviour Jesus Christ M. cccc. xciii\* on the 24th day of June in the morning, which country they called *prima tierra vista*, and a large island near by they named St. John because they discovered it on the same day.” Starting from this information, it has been supposed that the navigators, passing this St. John, which we call Prince Edward Island, coasted around the Gulf of St. Lawrence and passed out through the Strait of Belle Isle. The two islands seen on the starboard would then be points on the northern

\* This date is wrong. The first two letters after xc should be joined together at the bottom, making a v.

coast of Newfoundland, and a considerable part of Pasqualigo's 300 leagues of coasting would thus be accounted for. But inasmuch as the "Matthew" had returned to Bristol by the first of August, it may be doubted whether so long a route could have been traversed within five weeks.

If we could be sure that the map of 1544 in its present shape and with all its legends emanated from Sebastian Cabot, and was drawn with the aid of charts made at the time of discovery, its authority would be very high indeed. But there are some reasons for supposing it to have been amended or "touched up" by the engraver; and it is evidently compiled from charts made later than 1536, for it shows the results of Jacques Cartier's explorations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Its statement as to the first landfall is, moreover, in conflict with the testimony of the merchant Robert Thorne, of Bristol, in 1527, and with that of two maps made at Seville in 1527 and 1529, according to which the "*prima tierra vista*" was somewhere on the coast of Labrador. It must be remembered, too, that John Cabot was instructed to take northerly and westerly courses, not southerly; and an important despatch from Raimondo de Soncino, in London, to the Duke of Milan, dated December 18, 1497, describes his course in accordance with these instructions. It is perfectly definite and altogether probable. According to this account Cabot sailed from Bristol in a small ship, manned by eighteen persons, and, having cleared the western shores of Ireland, turned northward, after a few days headed for Asia, and stood mainly west till he reached "Terra Firma," where he planted the royal standard, and forthwith returned to England. In other words, he followed the common custom in those days of first running to a chosen parallel, and then following that parallel to the point of destination. Such a course could hardly have landed him anywhere save on the coast of Labrador. Supposing his return voyage simply to have reversed this course, running southeasterly to the latitude of the English channel and then sailing due east, he may easily have coasted 300 leagues with land to starboard before finally bearing away from Cape Race. This view is in harmony with the fact that on the desolate coasts passed he saw no Indians or other human beings. He noticed the abundance of cod-fish, however, in the waters about Newfoundland, and declared that the English would no longer need to go to Iceland for their fish. Our informant adds that Master John, being foreign-born and poor, would have been set down as a liar, had not his crew, who were mostly Bristol men, confirmed everything he said.—FISKE.

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John Cabot, like Columbus a native of Genoa, moved to England with his family from Venice, which had been his home for fifteen years, about 1490, and settled at Bristol. He may have been among those who were influenced at that time by the arguments of Bartholomew Columbus. Excited by the news of the first voyage of Columbus, he sailed from Bristol with a crew of eighteen men, probably accompanied by his son Sebastian,

in a ship named the *Matthew* or *Matthews*, early in May, 1497, and discovered what he supposed to be the Chinese coast, but what was the coast of Labrador or Newfoundland, on the 24th of June. This was the first discovery of America by any navigators sailing under English authority. It has been supposed that John Cabot died on a second expedition, which sailed from Bristol the next year, leaving the command to his son Sebastian, who may have conducted a third expedition in 1501 or 1503.

There is much that is obscure concerning the Cabots and their voyages. The best modern work upon the subject is HARRISSE'S *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, published in Paris in 1882, but not yet translated into English. BIDDLE'S *Sebastian Cabot* should be consulted by the student. MR. FISKE'S account, in his *Discovery of America*, is brief, but clear and critical. The most important discussion in English of the voyages of the Cabots is that by CHARLES DEANE, in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iii. The bibliographical notes accompanying this are very thorough, forming a complete guide to everything that is to be learned concerning the Cabots.

The volume by RICHARD HAKLUYT on *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, containing the principal early notices of the Cabots, reprinted in the present leaflet, was published in London in 1589, several of the same notices having previously appeared in his *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America*, published in 1582. In RICHARD EDEN'S *Decades of the Newe World*, published in 1555, there had, however, appeared accounts of the Cabot voyages, the first in English which have come down to us. RICHARD EDEN knew Sebastian Cabot, who was living in England at the time he wrote. Most of the early accounts of the Cabots, with careful historical notes, may be found in KERR'S *Voyages and Travels*, vol. vi. All of these old accounts are to be read with great care, and the student should refer to the narratives of MR. DEANE and MR. FISKE for corrections of many of their palpable mistakes. Thus the discourse to BUTRIGARIUS ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, given by RAMUSIO, places the death of John Cabot in 1496, and makes Sebastian himself conduct the first expedition in that year. It also makes the purpose of the voyage of 1498 the discovery of a "north-west passage" to Asia, whereas the idea of a north-west passage through or around America to Asia did not enter men's minds for a quarter of a century after that. The passage which HAKLUYT cites from STOW'S *Chronicles* does not mention John Cabot, as HAKLUYT makes it, but begins: "This year one Sebastian Gabato, a Genoa's son, born in Bristow," etc. Here, however, the change by HAKLUYT is in the interest of truth.

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## Old South Leaflets.

GENERAL SERIES, NO. 38.

# Funeral Oration on Washington.

BY MAJOR GENERAL HENRY LEE.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 26,  
1799.

IN obedience to your will, I rise, your humble organ, with the hope of executing a part of the system of public mourning which you have been pleased to adopt, commemorative of the death of the most illustrious and most beloved personage this country has ever produced; and which, while it transmits to posterity your sense of the awful event, faintly represents your knowledge of the consummate excellence you so cordially honour.

Desperate, indeed, is any attempt on earth to meet correspondently this dispensation of Heaven; for, while with pious resignation we submit to the will of an all-gracious Providence, we can never cease lamenting, in our finite view of Omnipotent Wisdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world shakes to its centre; when every moment gives birth to strange and momentous changes; when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any share in the slaughter of the human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to risk the doleful casualties of war; what limit is there to the extent of our loss? None within the reach of my words to express; none which your feelings will not disavow.

The founder of our federate republic — our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more! O that this were but questionable! Hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonizing hearts its balmy dew. But, alas! there is no hope

for us; our Washington is removed forever! Possessing the stoutest frame and purest mind, he had passed nearly to his sixty-eighth year in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himself, a slight cold, disregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppressive on Saturday, and, defying every medical interposition, before the morning of Sunday put an end to the best of men. An end, did I say? His fame survives! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He survives in our hearts—in the growing knowledge of our children—in the affection of the good throughout the world. And when our monuments shall be done away; when nations now existing shall be no more; when even our young and far-spreading empire shall have perished; still will our Washington's glory unfaded shine, and die not, until love of virtue cease on earth, or earth itself sinks into chaos!

How, my fellow-citizens, shall I single to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth? Where shall I begin, in opening to your view a character throughout sublime? Shall I speak of his warlike achievements, all springing from obedience to his country's will, all directed to his country's good?

Will you go with me to the banks of the Monongahela, to see your youthful Washington supporting, in the dismal hour of Indian victory, the ill-fated Braddock, and saving, by his judgment and by his valour, the remains of a defeated army, pressed by the conquering savage foe? or when, oppressed America nobly resolving to risk her all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of Congress to the command of her armies? Will you follow him to the high grounds of Boston, where, to an undisciplined, courageous and virtuous yeomanry, his presence gave the stability of system, and infused the invincibility of love of country? Or shall I carry you to the painful scenes of Long-Island, York-Island and New-Jersey, when, combating superior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by chiefs high in the roll of fame, he stood the bulwark of our safety, undismayed by disaster, unchanged by change of fortune? Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep gloom, unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks—himself unmoved? Dreadful was the night. It was about this time of winter. The storm raged. The Delaware, rolling furiously with floating ice, forbade the approach of man. Washington, self-collected, viewed the tremendous scene. His



country called. Unappalled by surrounding dangers, he passed to the hostile shore; he fought; he conquered. The morning sun cheered the American world. Our country rose on the event; and her dauntless Chief, pursuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton what his vast soul had conceived on the shores of Delaware.

Thence to the strong grounds of Morristown he led his small but gallant band; and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whose matchless force was measurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hostile legions, conducted by a chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valour on the ever memorable heights of Abraham, where fell Wolfe, Montcalm, and since, our much lamented Montgomery; all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his masterly conduct, our fathers, ourselves, animated by his resistless example, rallied around our country's standard, and continued to follow her beloved Chief through the various and trying scenes to which the destinies of our Union led.

Who is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine, the fields of Germantown, or the plains of Monmouth? Every where present, wants of every kind obstructing, numerous and valiant armies encountering, himself a host, he assuaged our sufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering republic. Shall I display to you the spread of the fire of his soul, by rehearsing the praises of the hero of Saratoga, and his much loved compeer of the Carolinas? No; our Washington wears not borrowed glory. To Gates, to Greene, he gave without reserve the applause due to their eminent merit; and long may the chiefs of Saratoga and of Eutaw receive the grateful respect of a grateful people.

Moving in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his most distant satellites; and combining the physical and moral force of all within his sphere, with irresistible weight he took his course, commiserating folly, disdaining vice, dismaying treason, and invigorating despondency; until the auspicious hour arrived, when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to submission the since conqueror of India; thus finishing his long career of military glory with a lustre corresponding to his great name, and, in this his last act of war, affixing the seal of fate to our nation's birth.

To the horrid din of battle sweet peace succeeded; and our virtuous Chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment

tempting personal aggrandizement, hushed the discontents of growing sedition, and, surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a ploughshare; teaching an admiring world that to be truly great you must be truly good.

Were I to stop here, the picture would be incomplete, and the task imposed unfinished. Great as was our Washington in war, and as much as did that greatness contribute to produce the American republic, it is not in war alone his pre-eminence stands conspicuous. His various talents, combining all the capacities of a statesman with those of a soldier, fitted him alike to guide the councils and the armies of our nation. Scarcely had he rested from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was still sounding in our ears, when he, who had been our shield and our sword, was called forth to act a less splendid, but more important part.

Possessing a clear and penetrating mind, a strong and sound judgment, calmness and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmness and perseverance in resolutions maturely formed; drawing information from all; acting from himself, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotism; his own superiority and the public confidence alike marked him as the man designed by Heaven to lead in the great political as well as military events which have distinguished the era of his life.

The finger of an over-ruling Providence, pointing at Washington, was neither mistaken nor unobserved, when, to realize the vast hopes to which our revolution had given birth, a change of political system became indispensable.

How novel, how grand the spectacle! Independent States stretched over an immense territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their union as the rock of their safety; deciding, by frank comparison of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reason, a common government, through whose commanding protection, liberty and order, with their long train of blessings, should be safe to themselves, and the sure inheritance of their posterity.

This arduous task devolved on citizens selected by the people, from knowledge of their wisdom and confidence in their virtue. In this august assembly of sages and of patriots, Washington of course was found; and, as if acknowledged to be most wise where all were wise, with one voice he was declared their Chief. How well he merited this rare distinction, how faithful were the labours of himself and his compatriots, the

work of their hands, and our union, strength and prosperity, the fruits of that work, best attest.

But to have essentially aided in presenting to his country this consummation of her hopes, neither satisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor those duties which the possession of those talents imposed. Heaven had not infused into his mind such an uncommon share of its ethereal spirit to remain unemployed, nor bestowed on him his genius unaccompanied with the corresponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a Constitution, was shewing only, without realizing, the general happiness. This great work remained to be done; and America, steadfast in her preference, with one voice summoned her beloved Washington, unpractised as he was in the duties of civil administration, to execute this last act in the completion of the national felicity. Obedient to her call, he assumed the high office with that self-distrust peculiar to his innate modesty, the constant attendant of pre-eminent virtue. What was the burst of joy through our anxious land on this exhilarating event is known to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonstrations of their gratitude; and this high-wrought, delightful scene was heightened in its effect by the singular contest between the zeal of the bestowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honours bestowed.

Commencing his administration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wise principles announced by himself, as the basis of his political life? He best understood the indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and individual felicity. Watching with an equal and comprehensive eye over this great assemblage of communities and interests, he laid the foundations of our national policy in the unerring, immutable principles of morality, based on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of a free government by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the respect of the world.

“O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint!”

Leading through the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting interests, seconded by succeeding Houses of Congress, enlightened and patriotic, he sur-

mounted all original obstruction, and brightened the path of our national felicity.

The presidential term expiring, his solicitude to exchange exaltation for humility returned with a force increased with increase of age; and he had prepared his Farewell Address to his countrymen, proclaiming his intention, when the united interposition of all around him, enforced by the eventful prospects of the epoch, produced a further sacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of President followed; and Washington, by the unanimous vote of the nation, was called to resume the Chief Magistracy. What a wonderful fixture of confidence! Which attracts most our admiration, a people so correct, or a citizen combining an assemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and stifling even envy itself? Such a nation ought to be happy; such a Chief must be for ever revered.

War, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out; and the terrible conflict, deluging Europe with blood, began to shed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the first, out-stretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant Wayne, the American eagle soared triumphant through distant forests. Peace followed victory; and the melioration of the condition of the enemy followed peace. Godlike virtue! which uplifts even the subdued savage.

To the second he opposed himself. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the stake. Soon did his penetrating mind discern and seize the only course, continuing to us all the felicity enjoyed. He issued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole subsequent conduct was sanctioned by the approbation of both Houses of Congress, and by the approving voice of the people.

To this sublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intrusion, unshaken by domestic turbulence.

“Justum et tenacem propositi virum,  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis tyranni,  
Mente quatit solida.”

Maintaining his pacific system at the expense of no duty, America, faithful to herself, and unstained in her honour, continued to enjoy the delights of peace, while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter under the accumulated miseries of an unexampled war; miseries in which our happy country must have shared, had not our pre-eminent Washington been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

Pursuing steadfastly his course, he held safe the public happiness, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal discord, till the revolving period of a third election approached, when he executed his interrupted, but inextinguishable desire of returning to the humble walks of private life.

The promulgation of his fixed resolution stopped the anxious wishes of an affectionate people from adding a third unanimous testimonial of their unabated confidence in the man so long enthroned in their hearts. When before was affection like this exhibited on earth? Turn over the records of ancient Greece; review the annals of mighty Rome; examine the volumes of modern Europe — you search in vain. America and her Washington only afford the dignified exemplification.

The illustrious personage called by the national voice in succession to the arduous office of guiding a free people had new difficulties to encounter. The amicable effort of settling our difficulties with France, begun by Washington, and pursued by his successor in virtue as in station, proving abortive, America took measures of self-defence. No sooner was the public mind roused by a prospect of danger, than every eye was turned to the friend of all, though secluded from public view, and grey in public service. The virtuous veteran, following his plough, received the unexpected summons with mingled emotions of indignation at the unmerited ill treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to risk his all in her defence.

The annunciation of these feelings in his affecting letter to the President, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life. Pious, just, humane, temperate and sincere; uniform, dignified and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example lasting.

To his equals he was condescending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections exemplarily tender. Correct throughout, vice shuddered in his presence, and virtue always felt his fostering hand. The purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

His last scene comported with the whole tenor of his life. Although in extreme pain, not a sigh, not a groan escaped him; and with undisturbed serenity he closed his well-spent life. Such was the man America has lost! Such was the man for whom our nation mourns!

Methinks I see his august image, and hear, falling from his venerable lips, these deep sinking words :

“Cease, Sons of America, lamenting our separation. Go on, and confirm by your wisdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers. Reverence religion; diffuse knowledge throughout your land; patronize the arts and sciences; let liberty and order be inseparable companions; control party spirit, the bane of free government; observe good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations; shut up every avenue to foreign influence; contract rather than extend national connexion; rely on yourselves only: be American in thought and deed. Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the constant object of my terrestrial labours: thus will you preserve undisturbed to the latest posterity the felicity of a people to me most dear; and thus will you supply (if my happiness is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliss high Heaven bestows.”

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So short was Washington's illness that, at the seat of government, the intelligence of his death preceded that of his indisposition. It was first communicated by a passenger in the stage to an acquaintance whom he met in the street, and the report quickly reached the house of representatives which was then in session. The utmost dismay and affliction was displayed for a few minutes; after which a member stated in his place the melancholy information which had been received. This information he said was not certain, but there was too much reason to believe it true.

“After receiving intelligence,” he added, “of a national calamity so heavy and afflicting, the house of representatives can be but ill fitted for public business.” He therefore moved an adjournment. Both houses adjourned until the next day.

On the succeeding day, as soon as the orders were read, the same member addressed the chair in the following terms :

“The melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more! the hero, the patriot, and the sage of America — the man on whom, in times of danger, every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed — lives now only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people.

“If, sir, it had even not been usual openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom heaven has selected as its instruments for dispensing good to man, yet, such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings,

would call, with one voice, for a public manifestation of that sorrow which is so deep and so universal.

“More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide spreading empire, and to give to the western world independence and freedom.

“Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare, and sink the soldier into the citizen.

“When the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those patriots who formed for us a constitution, which, by preserving the union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings which our revolution had promised to bestow.

“In obedience to the general voice of his country calling him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and, in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination, pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute, more than any other could contribute, to the establishment of that system of policy, which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honour, and our independence.

“Having been twice unanimously chosen the chief magistrate of a free people, we have seen him, at a time when his re-election with universal suffrage could not be doubted, afford to the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high station to the peaceful walks of private life.

“However the public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate with respect to others, with respect to him, they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

“Let us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels. For this purpose I hold in my hand some resolutions which I take the liberty of offering to the house.”

The resolutions,<sup>1</sup> after a preamble stating the death of General Washington, were in the following terms :

“Resolved, that this house will wait on the President in condolence of this mournful event.

“Resolved, that the speaker’s chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the house wear black during the session.

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<sup>1</sup> These resolutions were prepared by General Lee, who happening not to be in his place when the melancholy intelligence was received and first mentioned in the house, placed them in the hands of the member who moved them.

“ Resolved, that a committee, in conjunction with one from the senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens.”<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after the passage of these resolutions, a written message was received from the President, accompanying a letter from Mr. Lear, which he said, “ will inform you that it had pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life our excellent fellow-citizen, George Washington, by the purity of his life, and a long series of services to his country, rendered illustrious through the world. It remains for an affectionate and grateful people, in whose hearts he can never die, to pay suitable honour to his memory.”

To the speaker and members of the house of representatives who waited on him in pursuance of the resolution which had been mentioned, he expressed the same deep-felt and affectionate respect “ for the most illustrious and beloved personage America had ever produced.”

The senate, on this melancholy occasion, addressed to the President the following letter :

“ The senate of the United States respectfully take leave, sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of General George Washington.

“ This event, so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be peculiarly heavy to you who have long been associated with him in *deeds of patriotism*. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The Almighty disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to Him who ‘ maketh darkness his pavilion.’

“ With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been preëminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied ; but *his* fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of *his* virtues. It reprovèd the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed — and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory ; he has traveled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honour ; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it ; where malice cannot blast it. Favoured

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<sup>1</sup> *Countrymen* is the word given, instead of *fellow-citizen*, in Benton’s *Abridgment of Congressional Debates*, and in Gales and Seaton’s *Annals of Congress*. It is also the word used by General Lee in his eulogy. This is the first use of this famous expression. — *Editor*.



of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

“Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example — his spirit is in heaven.

“Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage; let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labours and his example *are their inheritance.*”

To this address the President returned the following answer: “I receive, with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret for the loss our country has sustained in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

“In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event; you will permit me to say that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities. I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy.

“Among all our original associates in that memorable *league of this continent* in 1774, which first expressed the Sovereign will of a Free Nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother; yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes to mingle their sorrows with mine on this common calamity to the world.

“The life of our Washington cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of *royalty* could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest *citizen*, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. *Malice* could never blast his honour, and *Envy* made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself he had lived long enough to life and to glory — for his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal; for me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men, and the results of their councils and actions as well as over their lives nothing remains for me but *humble resignation.*

“His example is now complete; and it will teach wisdom and virtue

to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians."

The joint committee which had been appointed to devise the mode by which the nation should express its feelings on this melancholy occasion, reported the following resolutions :

"That a marble monument be erected by the United States at the city of Washington, and that the family of General Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it; and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

"That there be a funeral procession from congress hall to the German Lutheran church, in memory of General Washington, on Thursday, the 26th instant, and that an oration be prepared at the request of congress, to be delivered before both houses on that day; and that the president of the senate, and speaker of the house of representatives, be desired to request one of the members of congress to prepare and deliver the same.

"That it be recommended to the people of the United States to wear crape on the left arm as a mourning for thirty days.

"That the President of the United States be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect congress will ever bear to her person and character, of their condolence on the late affecting dispensation of Providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General Washington in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

"That the President be requested to issue his proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States the recommendation contained in the third resolution."

These resolutions passed both houses unanimously, and those which would admit of immediate execution were carried into effect. The whole nation appeared in mourning. The funeral procession was grand and solemn, and the eloquent oration, which was delivered on the occasion by General Lee, was heard with profound attention and with deep interest.

Throughout the United States similar marks of affliction were exhibited. In every part of the continent funeral orations were delivered, and the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression of the nation's grief. — *Marshall's Life of Washington.*

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# De Vaca's Journey to New Mexico

1535-63.

FROM CABEZA DE VACA'S RELATION.

We told these people that we desired to go where the sun sets; and they said inhabitants in that direction were remote. We commanded them to send and make known our coming; but they strove to excuse themselves the best they could, the people being their enemies, and they did not wish to go to them. Not daring to disobey, however, they sent two women, one of their own, the other a captive from that people; for the women can negotiate even though there be war. We followed them, and stopped at a place where we agreed to wait. They tarried five days; and the Indians said they could not have found anybody.

We told them to conduct us towards the north; and they answered, as before, that except afar off there were no people in that direction, and nothing to eat, nor could water be found. Notwithstanding all this, we persisted, and said we desired to go in that course. They still tried to excuse themselves in the best manner possible. At this we became offended, and one night I went out to sleep in the woods apart from them; but directly they came to where I was, and remained all night without sleep, talking to me in great fear, telling me how terrified they were, beseeching us to be no longer angry, and said that they would lead us in the direction it was our wish to go, though they knew they should die on the way.

Whilst we still feigned to be displeased lest their fright should leave them, a remarkable circumstance happened, which was that on the same day many of the Indians became ill, and the next day eight men died. Abroad in the country, wheresoever this became known, there was such dread that

it seemed as if the inhabitants would die of fear at sight of us. They besought us not to remain angered, nor require that more of them should die. They believed we caused their death by only willing it, when in truth it gave us so much pain that it could not be greater; for, beyond their loss, we feared they might all die, or abandon us of fright, and that other people thenceforward would do the same, seeing what had come to these. We prayed to God, our Lord, to relieve them; and from that time the sick began to get better.

We witnessed one thing with great admiration, that the parents, brothers, and wives of those who died had great sympathy for them in their suffering; but, when dead, they showed no feeling, neither did they weep nor speak among themselves, make any signs, nor dare approach the bodies until we commanded these to be taken to burial.

While we were among these people, which was more than fifteen days, we saw no one speak to another, nor did we see an infant smile: the only one that cried they took off to a distance, and with the sharp teeth of a rat they scratched it from the shoulders down nearly to the end of the legs. Seeing this cruelty, and offended at it, I asked why they did so: they said for chastisement, because the child had wept in my presence. These terrors they imparted to all those who had lately come to know us, that they might give us whatever they had; for they knew we kept nothing, and would relinquish all to them. This people were the most obedient we had found in all the land, the best conditioned, and, in general, comely.

The sick having recovered, and three days having passed since we came to the place, the women whom we sent away returned, and said they had found very few people; nearly all had gone for cattle, being then in the season. We ordered the convalescent to remain and the well to go with us, and that at the end of two days' journey those women should go with two of our number to fetch up the people, and bring them on the road to receive us. Consequently, the next morning the most robust started with us.

At the end of three days' travel we stopped, and the next day Alonzo del Castillo set out with Estevanico the negro, taking the two women as guides. She that was the captive led them to the river which ran between some ridges, where was a town at which her father lived; and these habitations were the first seen, having the appearance and structure of houses.

Here Castillo and Estevanico arrived, and, after talking with the Indians, Castillo returned at the end of three days to the

spot where he had left us, and brought five or six of the people. He told us he had found fixed dwellings of civilization, that the inhabitants lived on beans and pumpkins, and that he had seen maize. This news the most of anything delighted us, and for it we gave infinite thanks to our Lord. Castillo told us the negro was coming with all the population to wait for us in the road not far off. Accordingly we left, and, having travelled a league and a half, we met the negro and the people coming to receive us. They gave us beans, many pumpkins, calabashes, blankets of cowhide and other things. As this people and those who came with us were enemies, and spoke not each other's language, we discharged the latter, giving them what we received, and we departed with the others. Six leagues from there, as the night set in we arrived at the houses, where great festivities were made over us. We remained one day, and the next set out with these Indians. They took us to the settled habitations of others, who lived upon the same food.

From that place onward was another usage. Those who knew of our approach did not come out to receive us on the road as the others had done, but we found them in their houses, and they had made others for our reception. They were all seated with their faces turned to the wall, their heads down, the hair brought before their eyes, and their property placed in a heap in the middle of the house. From this place they began to give us many blankets of skin; and they had nothing they did not bestow. They have the finest persons of any people we saw, of the greatest activity and strength, who best understood us and intelligently answered our inquiries. We called them the Cow nation, because most of the cattle killed are slaughtered in their neighborhood, and along up that river for over fifty leagues they destroy great numbers.

They go entirely naked after the manner of the first we saw. The women are dressed with deer skin, and some few men, mostly the aged, who are incapable of fighting. The country is very populous. We asked how it was they did not plant maize. They answered it was that they might not lose what they should put in the ground; that the rains had failed for two years in succession, and the seasons were so dry the seed had everywhere been taken by the moles, and they could not venture to plant again until after water had fallen copiously. They begged us to tell the sky to rain, and to pray for it, and we said we would do so. We also desired to know whence they got the maize, and they told us from where the sun goes down; there it grew throughout the region, and the nearest was by that path.

Since they did not wish to go thither, we asked by what direction we might best proceed, and bade them inform us concerning the way; they said the path was along up by that river towards the north, for otherwise in a journey of seventeen days we should find nothing to eat, except a fruit they call chacan, that is ground between stones, and even then it could with difficulty be eaten for its dryness and pungency,—which was true. They showed it to us there, and we could not eat it. They informed us also that, whilst we travelled by the river upward, we should all the way pass through a people that were their enemies, who spoke their tongue, and, though they had nothing to give us to eat, they would receive us with the best good will, and present us with mantles of cotton, hides, and other articles of their wealth. Still it appeared to them we ought by no means to take that course.

Doubting what it would be best to do, and which way we should choose for suitableness and support, we remained two days with these Indians, who gave us beans and pumpkins for our subsistence. Their method of cooking is so new that for its strangeness I desire to speak of it; thus it may be seen and remarked how curious and diversified are the contrivances and ingenuity of the human family. Not having discovered the use of pipkins, to boil what they would eat, they fill the half of a large calabash with water, and throw on the fire many stones of such as are most convenient and readily take the heat. When hot, they are taken up with tongs of sticks and dropped into the calabash until the water in it boils from the fervor of the stones. Then whatever is to be cooked is put in, and until it is done they continue taking out cooled stones and throwing in hot ones. Thus they boil their food.

#### OF OUR TAKING THE WAY TO THE MAIZE.

Two days being spent while we tarried, we resolved to go in search of the maize. We did not wish to follow the path leading to where the cattle are, because it is towards the north, and for us very circuitous, since we ever held it certain that going towards the sunset we must find what we desired.

Thus we took our way, and traversed all the country until coming out at the South sea. Nor was the dread we had of the sharp hunger through which we should have to pass (as in verity we did, throughout the seventeen days' journey of which the natives spoke) sufficient to hinder us. During all that time, in ascending by the river, they gave us many coverings of cow-

hide ; but we did not eat of the fruit. Our sustenance each day was about a handful of deer-suet, which we had a long time been used to saving for such trials. Thus we passed the entire journey of seventeen days, and at the close we crossed the river and travelled other seventeen days.

As the sun went down, upon some plains that lie between chains of very great mountains, we found a people who for the third part of the year eat nothing but the powder of straw, and, that being the season when we passed, we also had to eat of it, until reaching permanent habitations, where was abundance of maize brought together. They gave us a large quantity in grain and flour, pumpkins, beans, and shawls of cotton. With all these we loaded our guides, who went back the happiest creatures on earth. We gave thanks to God, our Lord, for having brought us where we had found so much food.

Some houses are of earth, the rest all of cane mats. From this point we marched through more than a hundred leagues of country, and continually found settled domicils, with plenty of maize and beans. The people gave us many deer and cotton shawls better than those of New Spain, many beads and certain corals found on the South sea, and fine turquoises that come from the North. Indeed they gave us every thing they had. To me they gave five emeralds made into arrow-heads, which they use at their singing and dancing. They appeared to be very precious. I asked whence they got these ; and they said the stones were brought from some lofty mountains that stand towards the north, where were populous towns and very large houses, and that they were purchased with plumes and the feathers of parrots.

Among this people the women are treated with more decorum than in any part of the Indias we had visited. They wear a shirt of cotton that falls as low as the knee, and over it half sleeves with skirts reaching to the ground, made of dressed deer skin. It opens in front and is brought close with straps of leather. They soap this with a certain root that cleanses well, by which they are enabled to keep it becomingly. Shoes are worn. The people all came to us that we should touch and bless them, they being very urgent, which we could accomplish only with great labor, for sick and well all wished to go with a benediction.

These Indians ever accompanied us until they delivered us to others ; and all held full faith in our coming from heaven. While travelling, we went without food all day until night, and we ate so little as to astonish them. We never felt exhaustion,

neither were we in fact at all weary, so inured were we to hardship. We possessed great influence and authority: to preserve both, we seldom talked with them. The negro was in constant conversation; he informed himself about the ways we wished to take, of the towns there were, and the matters we desired to know.

We passed through many and dissimilar tongues. Our Lord granted us favor with the people who spoke them, for they always understood us, and we them. We questioned them, and received their answers by signs, just as if they spoke our language and we theirs; for, although we knew six languages, we could not everywhere avail ourselves of them, there being a thousand differences.

Throughout all these countries the people who were at war immediately made friends, that they might come to meet us, and bring what they possessed. In this way we left all the land at peace, and we taught all the inhabitants by signs, which they understood, that in heaven was a Man we called God, who had created the sky and the earth; him we worshipped and had for our master; that we did what he commanded and from his hand came all good; and would they do as we did, all would be well with them. So ready of apprehension we found them that, could we have had the use of language by which to make ourselves perfectly understood, we should have left them all Christians. Thus much we gave them to understand the best we could. And afterward, when the sun rose, they opened their hands together with loud shouting towards the heavens, and then drew them down all over their bodies. They did the same again when the sun went down. They are a people of good condition and substance, capable in any pursuit.

#### THE INDIANS GIVE US THE HEARTS OF DEER.

In the town where the emeralds were presented to us the people gave Dorantes over six hundred open hearts of deer. They ever keep a good supply of them for food, and we called the place Pueblo de los Corazones. It is the entrance into many provinces on the South sea. They who go to look for them, and do not enter there, will be lost. On the coast is no maize: the inhabitants eat the powder of rush and of straw, and fish that is caught in the sea from rafts, not having canoes. With grass and straw the women cover their nudity. They are a timid and dejected people.

We think that near the coast by way of those towns through



which we came are more than a thousand leagues of inhabited country, plentiful of subsistence. Three times the year it is planted with maize and beans. Deer are of three kinds; one the size of the young steer of Spain. There are innumerable houses, such as are called bahíos. They have poison from a certain tree the size of the apple. For effect no more is necessary than to pluck the fruit and moisten the arrow with it, or, if there be no fruit, to break a twig and with the milk do the like. The tree is abundant and so deadly that, if the leaves be bruised and steeped in some neighboring water, the deer and other animals drinking it soon burst.

We were in this town three days. A day's journey farther was another town, at which the rain fell heavily while we were there, and the river became so swollen we could not cross it, which detained us fifteen days. In this time Castillo saw the buckle of a sword-belt on the neck of an Indian and stitched to it the nail of a horseshoe. He took them, and we asked the native what they were: he answered that they came from heaven. We questioned him further, as to who had brought them thence: they all responded that certain men who wore beards like us had come from heaven and arrived at that river, bringing horses, lances, and swords, and that they had lanced two Indians. In a manner of the utmost indifference we could feign, we asked them what had become of those men. They answered us that they had gone to sea, putting their lances beneath the water, and going themselves also under the water; afterwards that they were seen on the surface going towards the sunset. For this we gave many thanks to God our Lord. We had before despaired of ever hearing more of Christians. Even yet we were left in great doubt and anxiety, thinking those people were merely persons who had come by sea on discoveries. However, as we had now such exact information, we made greater speed, and, as we advanced on our way, the news of the Christians continually grew. We told the natives that we were going in search of that people, to order them not to kill nor make slaves of them, nor take them from their lands, nor do other injustice. Of this the Indians were very glad.

We passed through many territories and found them all vacant: their inhabitants wandered fleeing among the mountains, without daring to have houses or till the earth for fear of Christians. The sight was one of infinite pain to us, a land very fertile and beautiful, abounding in springs and streams, the hamlets deserted and burned, the people thin and weak, all fleeing or in concealment. As they did not plant, they appeased

their keen hunger by eating roots and the bark of trees. We bore a share in the famine along the whole way; for poorly could these unfortunates provide for us, themselves being so reduced they looked as though they would willingly die. They brought shawls of those they had concealed because of the Christians, presenting them to us; and they related how the Christians at other times had come through the land, destroying and burning the towns, carrying away half the men, and all the women and the boys, while those who had been able to escape were wandering about fugitives. We found them so alarmed they dared not remain anywhere. They would not nor could they till the earth, but preferred to die rather than live in dread of such cruel usage as they received. Although these showed themselves greatly delighted with us, we feared that on our arrival among those who held the frontier, and fought against the Christians, they would treat us badly, and revenge upon us the conduct of their enemies; but, when God our Lord was pleased to bring us there, they began to dread and respect us as the others had done, and even somewhat more, at which we no little wondered. Thence it may at once be seen that, to bring all these people to be Christians and to the obedience of the Imperial Majesty, they must be won by kindness, which is a way certain, and no other is.

They took us to a town on the edge of a range of mountains, to which the ascent is over difficult crags. We found many people there collected out of fear of the Christians. They received us well, and presented us all they had. They gave us more than two thousand back-loads of maize, which we gave to the distressed and hungered beings who guided us to that place. The next day we despatched four messengers through the country, as we were accustomed to do, that they should call together all the rest of the Indians at a town distant three days' march. We set out the day after with all the people. The tracks of the Christians and marks where they slept were continually seen. At mid-day we met our messengers, who told us they had found no Indians, that they were roving and hiding in the forests, fleeing that the Christians might not kill nor make them slaves; the night before they had observed the Christians from behind trees, and discovered what they were about, carrying away many people in chains.

Those who came with us were alarmed at this intelligence; some returned to spread the news over the land that the Christians were coming; and many more would have followed, had we not forbidden it and told them to cast aside their fear, when

they reassured themselves and were well content. At the time we had Indians with us belonging a hundred leagues behind, and we were in no condition to discharge them, that they might return to their homes. To encourage them, we stayed there that night; the day after we marched and slept on the road. The following day those whom we had sent forward as messengers guided us to the place where they had seen Christians. We arrived in the afternoon, and saw at once that they told the truth. We perceived that the persons were mounted, by the stakes to which the horses had been tied.

From this spot, called the river Petutan, to the river to which Diego de Guzmán came, where we heard of Christians, may be as many as eighty leagues; thence to the town where the rains overtook us, twelve leagues, and that is twelve leagues from the South sea. Throughout this region, wheresoever the mountains extend, we saw clear traces of gold and lead, iron, copper, and other metals. Where the settled habitations are, the climate is hot; even in January the weather is very warm. Thence toward the meridian, the country unoccupied to the North sea is unhappy and sterile. There we underwent great and incredible hunger. Those who inhabit and wander over it are a race of evil inclination and most cruel customs. The people of the fixed residences and those beyond regard silver and gold with indifference, nor can they conceive of any use for them.

#### WE SEE TRACES OF CHRISTIANS.

When we saw sure signs of Christians, and heard how near we were to them, we gave thanks to God our Lord for having chosen to bring us out of a captivity so melancholy and wretched. The delight we felt let each one conjecture, when he shall remember the length of time we were in that country, the suffering and perils we underwent. That night I entreated my companions that one of them should go back three days' journey after the Christians who were moving about over the country, where we had given assurance of protection. Neither of them received this proposal well, excusing themselves because of weariness and exhaustion; and although either might have done better than I, being more youthful and athletic, yet seeing their unwillingness, the next morning I took the negro with eleven Indians, and, following the Christians by their trail, I travelled ten leagues, passing three villages, at which they had slept.

The day after I overtook four of them on horseback, who

were astonished at the sight of me, so strangely habited as I was, and in company with Indians. They stood staring at me a length of time, so confounded that they neither hailed me nor drew near to make an inquiry. I bade them take me to their chief: accordingly we went together half a league to the place where was Diego de Alcaraz, their captain.

After we had conversed, he stated to me that he was completely undone; he had not been able in a long time to take any Indians; he knew not which way to turn, and his men had well begun to experience hunger and fatigue. I told him of Castillo and Dorantes, who were behind, ten leagues off, with a multitude that conducted us. He thereupon sent three cavalry to them, with fifty of the Indians who accompanied him. The negro returned to guide them, while I remained. I asked the Christians to give me a certificate of the year, month, and day I arrived there, and of the manner of my coming, which they accordingly did. From this river to the town of the Christians, named San Miguel, within the government of the province called New Galicia, are thirty leagues.

#### OF SENDING FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

Five days having elapsed, Andrés Dorantes and Alonzo del Castillo arrived with those who had been sent after them. They brought more than six hundred persons of that community, whom the Christians had driven into the forests, and who had wandered in concealment over the land. Those who accompanied us so far had drawn them out, and given them to the Christians, who thereupon dismissed all the others they had brought with them. Upon their coming to where I was, Alcaraz begged that we would summon the people of the towns on the margin of the river, who straggled about under cover of the woods, and order them to fetch us something to eat. This last was unnecessary, the Indians being ever diligent to bring us all they could. Directly we sent our messengers to call them, when there came six hundred souls, bringing us all the maize in their possession. They fetched it in certain pots, closed with clay, which they had concealed in the earth. They brought us whatever else they had; but we, wishing only to have the provision, gave the rest to the Christians, that they might divide among themselves. After this we had many high words with them; for they wished to make slaves of the Indians we brought.

In consequence of the dispute, we left at our departure many bows of Turkish shape we had along with us and many pouches.

The five arrows with the points of emerald were forgotten among others, and we lost them. We gave the Christians a store of robes of cowhide and other things we brought. We found it difficult to induce the Indians to return to their dwellings, to feel no apprehension and plant maize. They were willing to do nothing until they had gone with us and delivered us into the hands of other Indians, as had been the custom; for, if they returned without doing so, they were afraid they should die, and, going with us, they feared neither Christians nor lances. Our countrymen became jealous at this, and caused their interpreter to tell the Indians that we were of them, and for a long time we had been lost; that they were the lords of the land who must be obeyed and served, while we were persons of mean condition and small force. The Indians cared little or nothing for what was told them; and conversing among themselves said the Christians lied: that we had come whence the sun rises, and they whence it goes down; we healed the sick, they killed the sound; that we had come naked and barefooted, while they had arrived in clothing and on horses with lances; that we were not covetous of anything, but all that was given to us we directly turned to give, remaining with nothing; that the others had the only purpose to rob whomsoever they found, bestowing nothing on any one.

In this way they spoke of all matters respecting us, which they enhanced by contrast with matters concerning the others, delivering their response through the interpreter of the Spaniards. To other Indians they made this known by means of one among them through whom they understood us. Those who speak that tongue we discriminately call Primahaitu, which is like saying Vasconyados. We found it in use over more than four hundred leagues of our travel, without another over that whole extent. Even to the last, I could not convince the Indians that we were of the Christians; and only with great effort and solicitation we got them to go back to their residences. We ordered them to put away apprehension, establish their towns, plant and cultivate the soil.

From abandonment the country had already grown up thickly in trees. It is, no doubt, the best in all these Indias, the most prolific and plenteous in provisions. Three times in the year it is planted. It produces great variety of fruit, has beautiful rivers, with many other good waters. There are ores with clear traces of gold and silver. The people are well disposed: they serve such Christians as are their friends, with great good will. They are comely, much more so than the Mexicans. Indeed, the land needs no circumstance to make it blessed.

The Indians, at taking their leave, told us they would do what we commanded, and would build their towns, if the Christians would suffer them; and this I say and affirm most positively, that, if they have not done so, it is the fault of the Christians.

After we had dismissed the Indians in peace, and thanked them for the toil they had supported with us, the Christians with subtlety sent us on our way under charge of Zeburos, an Alcalde, attended by two men. They took us through forests and solitudes, to hinder us from intercourse with the natives, that we might neither witness nor have knowledge of the act they would commit. It is but an instance of how frequently men are mistaken in their aims; we set about to preserve the liberty of the Indians and thought we had secured it, but the contrary appeared; for the Christians had arranged to go and spring upon those we had sent away in peace and confidence. They executed their plan as they had designed, taking us through the woods, wherein for two days we were lost, without water and without way. Seven of our men died of thirst, and we all thought to have perished. Many friendly to the Christians in their company were unable to reach the place where we got water the second night, until the noon of next day. We travelled twenty-five leagues, little more or less, and reached a town of friendly Indians. The Alcalde left us there, and went on three leagues farther to a town called Culiçan where was Melchior Diaz, principal Alcalde and Captain of the Province.

THE CHIEF ALCALDE RECEIVES US KINDLY THE NIGHT  
WE ARRIVE.

The Alcalde Mayor knew of the expedition, and, hearing of our return, he immediately left that night and came to where we were. He wept with us, giving praises to God our Lord for having extended over us so great care. He comforted and entertained us hospitably. In behalf of the Governor, Nuño de Guzmán and himself, he tendered all that he had, and the service in his power. He showed much regret for the seizure, and the injustice we had received from Alcaraz and others. We were sure, had he been present, what was done to the Indians and to us would never have occurred.

The night being passed, we set out the next day for Anhacan. The chief Alcalde besought us to tarry there, since by so doing we could be of eminent service to God and your Majesty; the deserted land was without tillage and everywhere badly wasted, the Indians were fleeing and concealing themselves in the

thickets, unwilling to occupy their towns ; we were to send and call them, commanding them in behalf of God and the King, to return to live in the vales and cultivate the soil.

To us this appeared difficult to effect. We had brought no native of our own, nor of those who accompanied us according to custom, intelligent in these affairs. At last we made the attempt with two captives, brought from that country, who were with the Christians we first overtook. They had seen the people who conducted us, and learned from them the great authority and command we carried and exercised throughout those parts, the wonders we had worked, the sick we had cured, and the many things besides we had done. We ordered that they, with others of the town, should go together to summon the hostile natives among the mountains and of the river Petachan, where we had found the Christians, and say to them they must come to us, that we wished to speak with them. For the protection of the messengers, and as a token to the others of our will, we gave them a gourd of those we were accustomed to bear in our hands, which had been our principal insignia and evidence of rank, and with this they went away.

The Indians were gone seven days, and returned with three chiefs of those revolted among the ridges, who brought with them fifteen men, and presented us beads, turquoises, and feathers. The messengers said they had not found the people of the river where we appeared, the Christians having again made them run away into the mountains. Melchior Diaz told the interpreter to speak to the natives for us ; to say to them we came in the name of God, who is in heaven ; that we had travelled about the world many years, telling all the people we found that they should believe in God and serve him ; for he was the master of all things on the earth, benefiting and rewarding the virtuous, and to the bad giving perpetual punishment of fire ; that, when the good die, he takes them to heaven, where none ever die, nor feel cold, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor any inconvenience whatsoever, but the greatest enjoyment possible to conceive ; that those who will not believe in him, nor obey his commands, he casts beneath the earth into the company of demons, and into a great fire which is never to go out, but always torment ; that, over this, if they desired to be Christians and serve God in the way we required, the Christians would cherish them as brothers and behave towards them very kindly ; that we would command they give no offence nor take them from their territories, but be their great friends. If the Indians did not do this, the Christians would treat them very hardly, carrying them away as slaves into other lands.

They answered through the interpreter that they would be true Christians and serve God. Being asked to whom they sacrifice and offer worship, from whom they ask rain for their corn-fields and health for themselves, they answered of a man that is in heaven. We inquired of them his name, and they told us Aguar; and they believed he created the whole world, and the things in it. We returned to question them as to how they knew this; they answered their fathers and grandfathers had told them, that from distant time had come their knowledge, and they knew the rain and all good things were sent to them by him. We told them that the name of him of whom they spoke we called Dios; and if they would call him so, and would worship him as we directed, they would find their welfare. They responded that they well understood, and would do as we said. We ordered them to come down from the mountains in confidence and peace, inhabit the whole country and construct their houses: among these they should build one for God, at its entrance place a cross like that which we had there present; and, when Christians came among them, they should go out to receive them with crosses in their hands, without bows or any arms, and take them to their dwellings, giving of what they have to eat, and the Christians would do them no injury, but be their friends; and the Indians told us they would do as we had commanded.

The Captain having given them shawls and entertained them, they returned, taking the two captives who had been used as emissaries. This occurrence took place before the Notary, in the presence of many witnesses.

#### OF BUILDING CHURCHES IN THAT LAND.

As soon as these Indians went back, all those of that province who were friendly to the Christians, and had heard of us, came to visit us, bringing beads and feathers. We commanded them to build churches and put crosses in them: to that time none had been raised; and we made them bring their principal men to be baptized.

Then the Captain made a covenant with God, not to invade nor consent to invasion, nor to enslave any of that country and people, to whom we had guaranteed safety; that this he would enforce and defend until your Majesty and the Governor Nuño de Guzmán, or the Viceroy in your name, should direct what would be most for the service of God and your Highness.

When the children had been baptized, we departed for the



town of San Miguel. So soon as we arrived, April 1, 1536, came Indians, who told us many people had come down from the mountains and were living in the vales; that they had made churches and crosses, doing all we had required. Each day we heard how these things were advancing to a full improvement.

Fifteen days of our residence having passed, Alcaraz got back with the Christians from the incursion, and they related to the Captain the manner in which the Indians had come down and peopled the plain; that the towns were inhabited which had been tenantless and deserted, the residents, coming out to receive them with crosses in their hands, had taken them to their houses, giving of what they had, and the Christians had slept among them over night. They were surprised at a thing so novel; but, as the natives said they had been assured of safety, it was ordered that they should not be harmed, and the Christians took friendly leave of them.

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Among all the thrilling adventures of the early Spanish explorers of America, none was more remarkable than the journey of Cabeza de Vaca, in 1535-36, from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, through the present states of Texas and New Mexico, to the province of Culiacan in Mexico.

The success of Cortes in Mexico fired the minds of many Spanish adventurers; and among those affected by visions of empires farther north was Panfilo de Narvaez, who had been defeated by Cortes, whom he was sent to supersede. Charles V. gave him a patent covering the country on the Gulf of Mexico from Rio de Palmas to Florida. Sailing from Spain in 1527, he reached the Florida coast, at the present Apalache Bay, after severe losses, with four vessels and four hundred men, in April, 1528. With three hundred men, Narvaez struck inland, ordering the vessels to follow the coast westward. After great sufferings during three months, Narvaez and his men returned to the coast, but found no signs of the vessels. Two months were spent in building five boats, in which the survivors embarked and coasted along westward, landing occasionally for food and water, but finding the natives fierce. On the 31st of October they came to "a broad river, pouring into the Gulf such a volume of water that it freshened the brine so that they were able to drink it." But the current was too much for their small boats. Narvaez and many others were lost. Three boats were thrown on the coast of western Louisiana or eastern Texas. Many of the men fell victims to the savages or to disease and starvation. Some were enslaved by the Indians. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the treasurer of the expedition, was held six years among the Mariames, finally escaping with two companions, Castillo and Dorantes, and a negro slave, Estevan. After spending eight months with a tribe further inland, they pushed on, northward and westward, surmounting incredible hardships, finally coming upon some Spanish explorers on the river Petatlan, and on the 1st of April, 1536, reaching the town of San Miguel in Sinaloa, in the north-western part of Mexico.

Returning to Spain, De Vaca published a *Relacion* of his travels and adventures, at Zamora, in 1542; and this was several times reprinted in Spain. An Italian translation was included by Ramusio in his *Collection* in 1559. There was an early English paraphrase by Purchas; but the first critical and complete English rendering was that by Mr. Buckingham Smith in 1851. A revised edition, with valuable notes, was published in 1871; and from this the present leaflet is made up, taken from chapters xxx.—xxxvi. of the *Relation*.

De Vaca and his companions were the first Europeans to tread the soil of New Mexico. Their accounts of having fallen in with civilized peoples and "populous towns with very large houses," confirming, as they seemed to, the information brought to Guzman six years before by the Indian from the north, were largely the incentives to the expeditions of Coronado and the other Spaniards, who scoured Arizona and New Mexico in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola. Estevan, the Barbary negro, who had come with De Vaca on his long wanderings, accompanied the first expedition set on foot by Mendoza in 1539, under Fray Marcos. See Coronado's Letter to Mendoza and the accompanying notes, Old South Leaflet, No. 20. See the chapter on Ancient Florida, by John G. Shea, and the bibliographical notes to the same, in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii., and the chapter on the Early Explorations of New Mexico, by Henry W. Haynes, in the same volume. "Notwithstanding the vivid interest that will always attach to De Vaca's thrilling story of adventure and suffering," says Mr. Haynes, "the indications given in it of the routes by which he journeyed, and of the places and peoples he visited, are practically of far too vague a character to enable them to be satisfactorily identified, even if we feel warranted in placing implicit confidence in the author's veracity." H. H. Bancroft, in his volume on the North Mexican States,—vol. x. of his *History of the Pacific States*,—gives a map (p. 67) of De Vaca's route as he conceives it. There is much in this volume, as well as in vol. xii. of the same work, on Arizona and New Mexico, which should be referred to by the student of the Spanish occupation of the South-west. In Prince's valuable *Historical Sketches of New Mexico* there is a chapter on De Vaca, with (p. 89) a careful attempt to trace his route. Davis's *Conquest of New Mexico* tells the story of all the early explorers, including De Vaca, based on the original documents, of which he gives a useful list in his preface. Frank W. Blackmar's *Spanish Institutions of the South-west* is one of the valuable Johns Hopkins publications. Chapter x., on the Spanish Occupation of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, is especially worthy of attention in this connection. Bandelier, in this latest time, has given most critical attention to the Spanish writings upon the exploration of the South-west; and his various contributions to the Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, as well as to the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, will be consulted by the careful student. There is a *Story of New Mexico* for young people, by H. O. Ladd, in the "Story of the States" series; and Henry Kingsley devotes a chapter to De Vaca in his *Tales of Old Travel*.

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## Old South Leaflets.

GENERAL SERIES, No. 40.

# Description of Ohio.

BY MANASSEH CUTLER.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE MAP WHICH DELINEATES THAT PART OF THE FEDERAL LANDS COMPREHENDED BETWEEN PENNSYLVANIA WEST LINE, THE RIVERS OHIO AND SCIOTO, AND LAKE ERIE; CONFIRMED TO THE UNITED STATES BY SUNDRY TRIBES OF INDIANS, IN THE TREATIES OF 1784 AND 1786, AND NOW READY FOR SETTLEMENT. SALEM: PRINTED BY DABNEY AND CUSHING, MDCCLXXXVII.

NEW YORK, October 28, 1787.

*Having attentively perused the following pamphlet, describing part of the western territory of the United States, I do certify, that the facts therein related, respecting the fertility of the soil, productions, and general advantages of settlement, etc., are judicious, just, and true, and correspond with observations made by me during my residence of upward of ten years in that country.*

THOMAS HUTCHINS,

*Geographer of the United States.*

AN EXPLANATION, ETC.

The great river Ohio is formed by the confluence of Monongahela and the Alleghany, in the State of Pennsylvania, about 290 miles west of the city of Philadelphia, and about 20 miles east of the western line of that State. In the common traveling road, the former distance is computed at 320 miles; and, by the windings and oblique direction of the Ohio, the latter is reckoned about 42. These two sources of the Ohio are large, navigable streams; the former, flowing from the south-east, leaves but 30 miles portage from the navigable waters of the Potomac, in Virginia; the latter opens a passage from the north-east, and rises not far from the head-waters of the Sus-

quehanna. The State of Pennsylvania has already adopted the plan of opening a navigation from the Alleghany River to the city of Philadelphia, through the Susquehanna and the Delaware. In this route there will be a portage of only 24 miles.

On the junction of these rivers, or at the head of the Ohio, stands Fort Pitt, which gives name to the town of Pittsburgh, a flourishing settlement in the vicinity of the fortress. From this place, the Ohio takes a south-western course of 1,188 miles, including its various windings, and discharges itself into the Mississippi, having passed a prodigious length of delightful and fertile country, and received the tribute of a large number of navigable streams. The Muskingum, the Hockhocking, the Scioto, the Miami, and the Wabash from the north-west, the Kenhawa, the Kentucky, the Buffaloe, the Shawanee, and the Cherokee from the south-east, all navigable from 100 to 900 miles, discharge themselves into the Ohio; and yet the Ohio itself forms but an inconsiderable part of that vast variety of congregated streams which visit the ocean through the channel of the Mississippi.

The Ohio, from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi, divides the State of Virginia from the Federal lands, or the lands which do not fall within the limits of any particular State. These extend westward to the Mississippi and northward to the boundary of the United States, excepting only the Connecticut reserve, which is a narrow strip of land, bordering on the south of Lake Erie, and stretching 120 miles west of the western limit of Pennsylvania. But a small proportion of these lands is as yet purchased of the natives, and to be disposed of by Congress. Beginning on the meridian line, which forms the western boundary of Pennsylvania, they have surveyed and laid off seven ranges of townships. As a north and south line strikes the Ohio in a very oblique direction, the termination of the seventh range falls upon that river 9 miles above the Muskingum, which is the first large river that falls into the Ohio. It forms this junction at 172 miles below Fort Pitt, including the windings of the Ohio, though in a direct line it is but 90 miles. The lands in which the Indian title is extinguished, and which are now purchasing under the United States, are bounded as before described on the east, by the Great Miami on the west, by the Ohio on the south, and extend near to the head-waters of the Muskingum and Scioto on the north. The Muskingum is a gentle river, confined by banks so high as to prevent its overflowing. It is

250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable by large batteaux and barges to the Three Legs; and, by small ones, to the lake at its head. From thence, by a portage of about one mile, a communication is opened to Lake Erie, through the Cayahoga, which is a stream of great utility, navigable the whole length, without any obstruction from falls. From Lake Erie, the avenue is well known to the Hudson, in the State of New York. The most considerable portage in this route is at the fall of Niagara, which interrupts the communication between the Lakes Erie and Ontario. From the latter, you pass through the river Oswego, the Oneyda Lake, Wood's Creek, and find a short portage into the Mohawk, and another, occasioned by a fall near the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson, at Albany.

The Hockhocking resembles the Muskingum, though somewhat inferior in size. It is navigable for large boats about 70 miles, and for small ones much farther. On the banks of this very useful stream are found inexhaustible quarries of free-stone, large beds of iron ore, and some rich mines of lead. Coal mines and salt springs are frequent in the neighborhood of this stream, as they are in every part of the western territory. The salt that may be obtained from these springs will afford an inexhaustible store of that necessary article. Beds of white and blue clay, of an excellent quality, are likewise found here, suitable for the manufacture of glass, crockery, and other earthenwares. Red bole and many other useful fossils have been observed on the branches of this river.

The Scioto is a larger river than either of the preceding, and opens a more extensive navigation. It is passable for large barges for 200 miles, with a portage of only 4 miles to the Sandusky, a good, navigable stream, that falls into the Lake Erie. Through the Sandusky and Scioto lies the most common pass from Canada to the Ohio and Mississippi, one of the most extensive and useful communications that are to be found in any country.

Prodigious extensions of territory are here connected; and, from the rapidity with which the western parts of Canada, Lake Erie, and the Kentucky countries are settling, we may anticipate an immense intercourse between them. The lands on the borders of these middle streams, from this circumstance alone, aside from their natural fertility, must be rendered vastly valuable. There is no doubt but flour, corn, flax, hemp, etc., raised for exportation in that great country between the Lakes Huron and Ontario, will find an easier outlet through

Lake Erie and these rivers than in any other direction. The Ohio merchant can give a higher price than those of Quebec for these commodities, as they may be transported from the former to Florida and the West India Islands with less expense, risk, and insurance than the latter; while the expense from the place of growth to the Ohio will not be one-fourth of what it would be to Quebec, and much less than even to the Oneida Lake. The stream of Scioto is gentle, nowhere broken by falls. At some places, in the spring of the year, it overflows its banks, providing for large natural rice plantations. Salt springs, coal mines, white and blue clay and freestone, abound in the country adjoining this river. The undistinguishing terms of admiration, that are commonly used in speaking of the natural fertility of the country on the western waters of the United States, would render it difficult, without accurate attention in the surveys, to ascribe a preference to any particular part, or to give a just description of the territory under consideration, without the hazard of being suspected of exaggeration. But in this we have the united opinion of the Geographer, the Surveyors, and every traveler that has been intimately acquainted with the country, and marked every natural object with the most scrupulous exactness,—that no part of the federal territory unites so many advantages, in point of health, fertility, variety of production, and foreign intercourse, as that tract which stretches from the Muskingum to the Scioto and the Great Miami Rivers.

Colonel Gordon, in his journal, speaking of a much larger range of country, in which this is included and makes unquestionably the finest part, has the following observation: “The country on the Ohio is everywhere pleasant, with large level spots of rich land, and remarkably healthy. One general remark of this nature will serve for the whole tract of the globe comprehended between the western skirts of the Alleghany mountains; thence running south-westerly to the distance of 500 miles to the Ohio falls; then crossing them north-erly to the heads of the rivers that empty themselves into the Ohio; then east along the ridge that separates the lakes and Ohio’s streams to French creek. This country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be the most healthy, the most pleasant, the most commodious and most fertile spot on earth, known to the European people.”

The lands that feed the various streams above mentioned, which fall into the Ohio, are now more accurately known, and may be described with confidence and precision. They are

interspersed with all the variety of soil which conduces to pleasantness of situation, and lays the foundation for the wealth of an agricultural and manufacturing people. Large level bottoms, or natural meadows, from 20 to 50 miles in circuit, are every-where found bordering the rivers and variegating the country in the interior parts. These afford as rich a soil as can be imagined, and may be reduced to proper cultivation with very little labor. It is said that in many of these bottoms a man may clear an acre a day, fit for planting with Indian corn; there being no under-wood, and the trees growing high and large, but not thick together, need nothing but girdling. The prevailing growth of timber and the more useful trees are maple or sugar-tree, sycamore, black and white mulberry, black and white walnut, butternut, chestnut, white, black, Spanish, and chestnut oaks, hickory, cherry, buckwood, honey locust, elm, horse chestnut, cucumber tree, lynn tree, gum tree, iron wood, ash, aspin, sassafras, crab-apple tree, pawpaw or custard apple, a variety of plum trees, wine-bark spice, and leather-wood bushes. General Parsons measured a black-walnut tree, near the Muskingum, whose circumference, at 5 feet from the ground, was 22 feet. A sycamore, near the same place, measured 44 feet in circumference, at some distance from the ground. White and black oak, and chestnut, with most of the above-mentioned timbers, grow large and plenty upon the high grounds. Both the high and low lands produce vast quantities of natural grapes of various kinds, of which the settlers universally may make a sufficiency for their own consumption of rich red wine. It is asserted in the old settlement of St. Vincent's, where they have had opportunity to try it, that age will render this wine preferable to most of the European wines. Cotton is the natural production of this country, and grows in great perfection.

The sugar maple is a most valuable tree for an inland country. Any number of inhabitants may be forever supplied with a sufficiency of sugar by preserving a few trees for the use of each family. A tree will yield about ten pounds of sugar a year, and the labor is very trifling. The sap is extracted in the months of February and March, and granulated, by the simple operation of boiling, to a sugar equal in flavor and whiteness to the best Muscovado.

Springs of excellent water abound in every part of this territory; and small and large streams, for mills and other purposes, are actually interspersed, as if by art, that there be no deficiency in any of the conveniences of life.

Very little waste land is to be found in any part of the tract of country comprehended in the map which accompanies this. There are no swamps, and, though the hills are frequent, they are gentle and swelling, nowhere high nor incapable of tillage, They are of a deep, rich soil, covered with a heavy growth of timber, and well adapted to the production of wheat, rye, indigo, tobacco, etc.

The communications between this country and the sea will be principally in the four following directions :

1. The route through the Scioto and Muskingum to Lake Erie, and so to the river Hudson, which has been already described.

2. The passage up the Ohio and Monongahela to the portage above mentioned, which leads to the navigable waters of the Potomac. This portage is 30 miles, and will probably be rendered much less by the execution of the plans now on foot for opening the navigation of those waters.

3. The great Kenhawa, which falls into the Ohio from the Virginia shore between the Hockhocking and the Scioto, opens an extensive navigation from the south-east, and leaves but 18 miles portage from the navigable waters of James River, in Virginia. This communication, for the country between Muskingum and Scioto, will probably be more used than any other for the exportation of manufactures and other light, valuable articles, and especially for the importation of foreign commodities, which may be brought from the Chesapeake to the Ohio much cheaper than they are now carried from Philadelphia to Carlisle and the other thick-settled back counties of Pennsylvania.

4. But the current down the Ohio and the Mississippi, for heavy articles that suit the Florida and West India markets, such as corn, flour, beef, lumber, etc., will be more frequently loaded than any streams on earth. The distance from the Scioto to the Mississippi is 800 miles; from thence to the sea it is 900. This whole course is easily run in 15 days, and the passage up those rivers is not so difficult as has usually been represented. It is found by late experiments that sails are used to great advantage against the current of the Ohio, and it is worthy of observation that, in all probability, steamboats will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive river navigation.

Such is the state of facts relative to the natural advantages of the territory described in the annexed map. As far as observations in passing the rivers and the transitory remarks of



travelers will justify an opinion, the lands further down, and in other parts of the unappropriated country, are not equal, in point of soil and other local advantages, to the tract which is here described. This, however, can not be accurately determined, as the present situation of these countries will not admit of that minute inspection which has been bestowed on the one under consideration.

It is a happy circumstance that the Ohio Company are about to commence the settlement of this country in so regular and judicious a manner. It will serve as a wise model for the future settlement of all the federal lands; at the same time that, by beginning so near the western limit of Pennsylvania, it will be a continuation of the old settlements, leaving no vacant lands exposed to be seized by such lawless banditti as usually infest the frontiers of countries distant from the seat of government.

The design of Congress and of the settlers is that the settlements shall proceed regularly down the Ohio and northward to Lake Erie. And it is probable that not many years will elapse before the whole country above Miami will be brought to that degree of cultivation which will exhibit all its latent beauties, and justify those descriptions of travelers which have so often made it the garden of the world, the seat of wealth, and the center of a great empire.

To the philosopher and the politician, on viewing this delightful part of the federal territory, under the prospect of an immediate and systematic settlement, the following observations will naturally occur.

*First.* The toils of agriculture will here be rewarded with a greater variety of valuable productions than in any part of America. The advantages of almost every climate are here blended together; every considerable commodity, that is cultivated in any part of the United States, is here produced in the greatest plenty and perfection. The high dry lands are of a deep, rich soil, producing in abundance wheat, rye, Indian corn, buckwheat, oats, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, indigo, silk, wine, and cotton. The tobacco is of a quality superior to that of Virginia; and the crops of wheat are larger than in any other part of America. The common growth of Indian corn is from 60 to 80 bushels to the acre. The low lands are well suited to the production of nearly all the above articles, except wheat.

Where the large bottoms are interspersed with small streams, they are well adapted to the growth of rice, which may be pro-

duced in any quantities. The borders of the large streams do not generally admit of this crop, as very few of them overflow their banks. But the scarcity of natural rice swamps is amply compensated by the remarkable healthfulness of the whole country, it being entirely free from stagnant waters. It is found, in this country, that stagnant waters are by no means necessary to the growth of the rice; the common rich bottoms produce this crop in as great perfection as the best rice swamps of the Southern States. Hops are the natural production of this country, as are peaches, plums, pears, apples, melons, and almost every fruit of the temperate zone.

No country is better stocked with wild game of every kind. Innumerable herds of deer, elk, buffaloe, and bear, are sheltered in the groves, and fed in the extensive bottoms that every-where abound—an unquestionable proof of the great fertility of the soil. Turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, teal, pheasants, partridges, etc., are, from observation, believed to be in greater plenty here than the tame poultry are in any part of the old settlements of America.

The rivers are well stored with fish of various kinds, and many of them of an excellent quality. They are generally large, though of different sizes. The cat-fish, which is the largest, and of a delicious flavor, weighs from 30 to 80 pounds. Provisions will, for many years, find a ready market on any of these rivers; as settlers are constantly coming in from all parts of the world, and must be supplied by purchase, for one year at least, with many articles.

*Second.* From its situation and productions, no country is so well calculated for the establishment of manufactures of various kinds. Provisions will be forever plenty and cheap. The raw materials for fabricating most of the articles of clothing and dress are and will be the luxuriant production of this country. Though silk, cotton, and flax are valuable in themselves, yet, by being wrought into the various articles of use and ornament, the expense of transportation is proportionably lessened. The United States, and perhaps other countries, will be supplied from these interior parts of America.

Ship-building will be a capital branch of business on the Ohio and its confluent streams. The Ohio, when at the lowest, admits of four fathom of water, from the mouth of the Muskingum to its confluence with the Mississippi, except at the rapids, which, at such times, interrupt the navigation for about one mile. The descent in that distance is only 15 feet; and the channel, which is 250 yards wide, has at no time less than

5 feet of water. In freshes the water rises 30 feet; and boats are not only rowed against the stream, but ascend the rapids by means of their sails only. It is the opinion of the Geographer, and others who have viewed the spot, that, by cutting a canal a little more than half a mile on the south side of the river, which is low meadow ground, the rapids may be avoided, and the navigation made free at all seasons of the year. Hemp, timber, and iron will be plenty and good; and the high freshes, from February to April, and frequently in October and November, will bear a vessel of any burden over the rapids, in their present state, and out to sea.

The following observations, by an English engineer who had explored the western country, were addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough in the year 1770, when Secretary of State for the North American department — at a time when we were British colonies, and our country considered only as the handmaid to Great Britain, in furnishing raw materials for their manufactures.

“No part of North America will require less encouragement for the production of naval stores and raw materials for manufactories in Europe, and for supplying the West India islands with lumber, provisions, etc., than the country of the Ohio, and for the following reasons:

“1. The lands are excellent, the climate temperate; the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry trees, abound everywhere; hemp, hops, and rye grow spontaneously in the valleys and low lands; lead and iron ore are plenty in the hills; salt springs are innumerable; and no soil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton than that of the Ohio.

“2. The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other, by which, and a short land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now, be sent cheaper to the sea-port town of Alexandria, on the River Potowmac — where General Braddock’s transports landed his troops — than any kind of merchandise is sent from Northampton to London.

“3. The river Ohio is, at all seasons of the year, navigable with large boats; and from the month of February to April large ships may be built on the Ohio and sent to sea, laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, potash, etc.

“4. Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles can be sent down the stream of Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the West India Islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia to those islands.

“5. Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles may be sent down the stream of Ohio to the sea, at least 50 per cent. cheaper than these articles were ever carried by a land carriage of only 60 miles in Pennsylvania, where wagonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

“6. The expense of transporting European manufactures from the sea to the Ohio will not be so much as is now paid, and ever must

be paid, to a great part of the counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever the farmers or merchants of Ohio shall properly understand the business of transportation, they will build schooners, sloops, etc., on the Ohio, suitable for the West India or European markets; or, by having black walnut, cherry tree, oak, etc., properly sawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts, in the manner that is now done in Pennsylvania, and thereon stow their hemp, iron, tobacco, etc., and proceed with them to New Orleans.

“It may not, perhaps, be amiss to observe, that large quantities of flour are made in the western counties of Pennsylvania, and sent, by an expensive land carriage, to the city of Philadelphia; and from thence shipped to South Carolina and East and West Florida, there being little or no wheat raised in these provinces. The River Ohio seems kindly designed, by nature, as the channel through which the two Floridas may be supplied with flour, not only for their own consumption, but also for carrying on an extensive commerce with Jamaica and the Spanish settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Millstones, in abundance, are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio; and the country is every-where well watered with large and constant springs and streams for grist and other mills. The passage from Philadelphia to Pensacola is seldom made in less than a month; and 60 shillings sterling per ton freight (consisting of 16 barrels) is usually paid for flour, etc., thither. Boats, carrying 500 or 1,000 barrels of flour, may go in about the same time from Pittsburgh as from Philadelphia to Pensacola, and for half the above freight. The Ohio merchants could deliver flour, etc., there in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charges of insurance, etc., as from thence to Pensacola. This is not mere speculation; for it is a fact that about the year 1746 there was a scarcity of provisions at New Orleans, and the French settlements at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither, in one winter, upward of eight hundred thousand weight of flour.”

If, instead of furnishing other nations with raw materials, companies of manufacturers from Europe could be introduced and established in this inviting situation, under the superintendence of men of property, it would occasion an immense addition of men and wealth to these new settlements, and serve as a beneficial example of economy to many parts of the United States.

*Third.* In the late ordinance of Congress for disposing of the western lands, as far down as the River Scioto, the provision that is made for schools and the endowment of an university looks with a most favorable aspect upon the settlement, and furnishes the presentiment that, by a proper attention to the subject of education, under these advantages, the field of science may be greatly enlarged, and the acquisition of useful knowledge placed upon a more respectable footing here than in any other part of the world. Besides the opportunity of opening a new and unexplored region for the range of natural history, botany, and the medical science, there will be one advantage which no other part of the earth can boast, and which probably will never again occur — that, in order to begin *right*, there

will be no *wrong* habits to combat, and no inveterate systems to overturn—there is no rubbish to remove, before you can lay the foundation. The first settlement will embosom many men of the most liberal minds—well versed in the world, in business, and every useful science. Could the necessary apparatus be procured, and funds immediately established, for founding a university on a liberal plan, that professors might be active in their various researches and employments—even now, in the infancy of the settlement, a proper use might be made of an advantage which will never be repeated.

Many political benefits would immediately result to the United States from such an early institution in that part of the country. The people in the Kentucky and Illinois countries are rapidly increasing. Their distance from the old States will prevent their sending their children thither for instruction; from the want of which they are in danger of losing all their habits of government, and allegiance to the United States. But, on seeing examples of government, science, and regular industry follow them into the neighborhood of their own country, they would favor their children with these advantages, and revive the ideas of order, citizenship, and the useful sciences. This attention, from these neighboring people, would increase the wealth and population of the new proposed settlement.

*Fourth.* In the ordinance of Congress, for the government of the territory north-west of the Ohio, it is provided that, after the said territory acquires a certain degree of population, it shall be divided into States. The Eastern State that is thus provided to be made is bounded on the Great Miami on the west and by the Pennsylvania line on the east. The centre of this State will fall between the Scioto and the Hockhocking. At the mouth of one of these rivers will probably be the seat of government for the State. And, if we may indulge the sublime contemplation of beholding the whole territory of the United States settled by an enlightened people, and continued under one extended government, on the river Ohio, and not far from this spot, will be the seat of empire for the whole dominion. This is central to the whole; it will best accommodate every part; it is the most pleasant, and probably the most healthful. Altho' it is an object of importance that Congress should soon fix on a seat of government, yet, in the present state of the country, it is presumed, it will not be thought best that such a seat be considered as immovably fixed. To take the range of the Alleghany Mountains from north to south, it is probable twenty years will not elapse before there will be more people on the western than on the eastern waters of the United States. The settlers ought even now to have it in view, that government will forever accommodate them as much as their brethren on the east. This may be necessary to prevent their forming schemes of independence, seeking other connections, and providing for their separate convenience. As it is the most exalted and benevolent object of legislation that ever was aimed at, to unite such an amazingly extensive people, and make them happy, under one jurisdiction, every act of Congress under the new Constitution, by looking forward to this object, will, we trust, inculcate and famil-

iarize the idea. They will, no doubt, at an early period, make a reservation or purchase of a suitable tract of land for a federal town that will be central to the whole, and give some public intimation of such intention to transfer the seat of government, on the occurrence of certain events, such as comparative population, etc. This would render such transfer easily practicable, by preventing the occasion of uneasiness in the old states, while it would not appear to be the result of danger, or the prospect of revolt, in the new.

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“We are accustomed to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787.” So said Daniel Webster; and Senator Hoar said in his centennial address at Marietta: “The Ordinance of 1787 belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three title-deeds of American constitutional liberty.” The Ordinance of 1787 is printed in the *Old South Leaflets*, No. 13; and the notes which are there appended give a careful history and analysis of this great law, which forever prohibited slavery from the North-west. Every student is advised to procure and carefully study that leaflet. The part taken by Massachusetts men — Rufus King, Nathan Dane, Rufus Putnam, and others — in securing the passage of the Ordinance was very conspicuous. No man did more to secure its passage in proper form, or to secure the settlement of Ohio and the West by the best men, with the best institutions, than Rev. Manasseh Cutler, the famous minister of Ipswich, Mass. Mr. Cutler had been a chaplain in the army during the war. He was one of the ablest scientific men of his time, second only to Franklin in America. From 1801 till 1805 he was a member of Congress from Massachusetts. It was he who drafted the Ordinance of 1787 for Nathan Dane in its amended form, inserting the great clauses relating to religion, education, and slavery; and it is right to say that his influence was greater than that of any other in effecting its adoption — making its adoption a condition of the purchase of federal lands by the Ohio Company in Massachusetts, which was proposing settlements in the West. Upon its adoption he published at Salem the description of the Western country reprinted in the present leaflet, commending that country to the people of New England. This tract is notable as one of the first important papers urging emigration from New England to the West, which, then beginning, has gone on so steadily for a century, affecting the character of the whole country. The closing portions of the tract, touching the social and political aspects of the new West, are especially commended to the attention of the student. Dr. Cutler himself visited Marietta in 1788.

See the *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler*, especially Chap. VIII. of Vol. I., on the Influence of Dr. Cutler in the Formation of the Ordinance of 1787, and the history of the Ordinance, Vol. II., Appendix D. This life of Dr. Cutler altogether is an invaluable picture of the times, as Dr. Cutler was the friend and correspondent of the most important and interesting men in America and in close touch with all significant political and scientific movements.

See, also, in addition to the books mentioned in the Leaflet on the Ordinance of 1787, the new histories of Ohio and Indiana in the “American



# Washington's Tour to the Ohio.

FROM HIS JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE OHIO RIVER IN 1770.

*October 17th.*—Dr. Craik and myself, with Captain Crawford and others, arrived at Fort Pitt, distant from the Crossing forty-three and a half measured miles. In riding this distance we passed over a great deal of exceedingly fine land, (chiefly white-oak,) especially from Seveigley's Creek to Turtle Creek, but the whole broken; resembling, (as I think all the lands in this country do,) the Loudoun lands for hills. We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Mr. Semple's who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. These houses, which are built of logs, and ranged into streets, are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders, &c. The fort is built on the point between the rivers Allegany and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is five-sided and regular, two of which next the land are of brick; the others stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Captain Edmonson.

*18th.*—Dined in the Fort with Colonel Croghan and the officers of the garrison; supped there also, meeting with great civility from the gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Colonel Croghan the next day at his seat, about four miles up the Alleghany.

*19th.*—Received a message from Colonel Croghan, that the White Mingo and other chiefs of the Six Nations had something to say to me, and desiring that I should be at his house about eleven (where they were to meet), I went up and received a

speech, with a string of wampum from the White Mingo, to the following effect.

“That I was a person whom some of them remember to have seen, when I was sent on an embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of, they were come to bid me welcome to this country, and to desire that the people of Virginia would consider them as friends and brothers, linked together in one chain; that I would inform the governor, that it was their wish to live in peace and harmony with the white people, and that though there had been some unhappy differences between them and the people upon our frontiers, they were all made up, and they hoped forgotten; and concluded with saying, that their brothers of Virginia did not come among them and trade as the inhabitants of the other provinces did, from whence they were afraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an eye as they could wish.”

To this I answered, (after thanking them for their friendly welcome,) that all the injuries and affronts, that had passed on either side, were now totally forgotten, and that I was sure nothing was more wished and desired by the people of Virginia, than to live in the strictest friendship with them; that the Virginians were a people not so much engaged in trade as the Pennsylvanians, &ca., which was the reason of their not being so frequently among them; but that it was possible they might for the time to come have stricter connexions with them, and that I would acquaint the governor with their desires.

After dinner at Colonel Croghan's we returned to Pittsburg, Colonel Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the way down the river, having engaged an Indian called the Pheasant, and one Joseph Nicholson an interpreter, to attend us the whole voyage; also a young Indian warrior.

*20th.*—We embarked in a large canoe, with sufficient store of provisions and necessaries, and the following persons, (besides Dr. Craik and myself,) to wit:—Captain Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan, and Daniel Rendon, a boy of Captain Crawford's, and the Indians, who were in a canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our horses and boys back to Captain Crawford's, with orders to meet us there again the 14th day of November. Colonel Croghan, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Mr. Magee, set out with us. At two we dined at Mr. Magee's, and encamped ten miles below, and four above the Logstown. We passed several large islands, which appeared to [be] very good, as the bottoms also did on each side of the river alternately; the hills



on one side being opposite to the bottoms on the other, which seem generally to be about three or four hundred yards wide, and so *vice versa*.

21st.—Left our encampment about six o'clock, and breakfasted at the Logstown, where we parted with Colonel Croghan and company about nine o'clock. At eleven we came to the mouth of the Big Beaver Creek, opposite to which is a good situation for a house, and above it, on the same side, (that is the west,) there appears to be a body of fine land. About five miles lower down, on the east side, comes in Raccoon Creek, at the mouth of which and up it appears to be a body of good land also. All the land between this creek and the Monongahela, and for fifteen miles back, is claimed by Colonel Croghan under a purchase from the Indians, (and which sale he says is confirmed by his Majesty.) On this creek, where the branches thereof interlock with the waters of Shirtees Creek, there is, according to Colonel Croghan's account, a body of fine, rich, level land. This tract he wants to sell, and offers it at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, with an exemption of quit-rents for twenty years; after which, to be subject to the payment of four shillings and two pence sterling per hundred; provided he can sell it in ten-thousand-acre lots. Note: the unsettled state of this country renders any purchase dangerous. From Raccoon Creek to Little Beaver Creek appears to me to be little short of ten miles, and about three miles below this we encamped; after hiding a barrel of biscuit in an island (in sight) to lighten our canoe.

22d.—As it began to snow about midnight, and continued pretty steadily at it, it was about half after seven before we left our encampment. At the distance of about eight miles we came to the mouth of Yellow Creek, (to the west) opposite to, or rather below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good land, and the ascent to the hills apparently gradual. There is another pretty large bottom of very good land about two or three miles above this. About eleven or twelve miles from this, and just above what is called the Long Island (which though so distinguished is not very remarkable for length, breadth, or goodness), comes in on the east side the river a small creek, or run, the name of which I could not learn; and a mile or two below the island, on the west side, comes in Big Stony Creek (not larger in appearance than the other), on neither of which does there seem to be any large bottoms or bodies of good land. About seven miles from the last mentioned creek, twenty-eight from our last encampment, and about

seventy-five from Pittsburg, we came to the Mingo Town, situate on the west side the river, a little above the Cross Creeks. This place contains about twenty cabins, and seventy inhabitants of the Six Nations. Had we set off early, and kept constantly at it, we might have reached lower than this place to-day; as the water in many places run pretty swift, in general more so than yesterday. The river from Fort Pitt to the Logstown has some ugly rifts and shoals, which we found somewhat difficult to pass, whether from our inexperience of the channel, or not, I cannot undertake to say. From the Logstown to the mouth of Little Beaver Creek is much the same kind of water; that is, rapid in some places, gliding gently along in others, and quite still in many. The water from Little Beaver Creek to the Mingo Town, in general, is swifter than we found it the preceding day, and without any shallows; there being some one part or another always deep, which is a natural consequence, as the river in all the distance from Fort Pitt to this town has not widened at all, nor doth the bottoms appear to be any larger. The hills which come close to the river opposite to each bottom are steep; and on the side in view, in many places, rocky and cragged; but said to abound in good land on the tops. These are not a range of hills, but broken and cut in two, as if there were frequent watercourses running through, (which however we did not perceive to be the case, consequently they must be small if any.) The river along down abounds in wild geese, and several kinds of ducks, but in no great quantity. We killed five wild turkeys to-day. Upon our arrival at the Mingo Town, we received the disagreeable news of two traders being killed at a town called the Grape-Vine Town, thirty-eight miles below this; which caused us to hesitate whether we should proceed, or wait for further intelligence.

23<sup>d</sup>.—Several imperfect accounts coming in, agreeing that only one person was killed, and the Indians not supposing it to be done by their people, we resolved to pursue our passage, till we could get some more distinct account of this transaction. Accordingly about two o'clock we set out with the two Indians, who were to accompany us, in our canoe, and in about four miles came to the mouth of a creek called Sculp Creek on the east side, at the mouth of which is a bottom of very good land, as I am told there likewise is up it. The Cross Creeks, (as they are called,) are not large; that on the west side is biggest. At the Mingo Town we found and left sixty & odd warriors of the Six Nations, going to the Cherokee country to proceed to war against the Catawbias. About ten miles below the town,

we came to two other cross creeks; that on the west side largest, but not big, and called by Nicholson, French Creek. About three miles, or a little better below this, at the lower point of some islands, which stand contiguous to each other, we were told by the Indians with us that three men from Virginia (by Virginians they mean all the people settled upon Redstone, &c.) had marked the land from hence all the way to Redstone; that there was a body of exceeding fine land lying about this place, and up opposite to the Mingo Town, as also down to the mouth of Fishing Creek. At this place we encamped.

24<sup>th</sup>.— We left our encampment before sunrise, and about six miles below it we came to the mouth of a pretty smart creek, coming in to the eastward, called by the Indians Split Island Creek, from its running in against an island. On this creek there is the appearance of good land a distance up it. Six miles below this again we came to another creek on the west side, called by Nicholson, Wheeling; and about a mile lower down appears to be another small water coming in on the east side, which I remark, because of the scarcity of them, and to show how badly furnished this country is with mill-seats. Two or three miles below this again is another run on the west side, up which is a near way by land to the Mingo Town; and about four miles lower, comes in another on the east, at which place is a path leading to the settlement at Redstone. About a mile and a half below this again, comes in the Pipe Creek, so called by the Indians from a stone, which is found here, out of which they make pipes. Opposite to this, that is, on the east side, is a bottom of exceeding rich land; but as it seems to lie low, I am apprehensive that it is subject to be overflowed. This bottom ends where the effects of a hurricane appear, by the destruction and havoc among the trees. Two or three miles below the Pipe Creek is a pretty large creek on the west side, called by Nicholson Fox-Grape-Vine, by others Captema Creek, on which, eight miles up, is the town called the Grape-Vine Town; and at the mouth of it is the place where it was said the traders lived, and the one was killed. To this place we came about three o'clock in the afternoon, and finding nobody there, we agreed to camp; that Nicholson and one of the Indians might go up to the town, and inquire into the truth of the report concerning the murder.

25<sup>th</sup>.— About seven o'clock, Nicholson and the Indian returned; they found nobody at the town but two old Indian women (the men being a hunting); from these they learnt that the trader was not killed, but drowned in attempting to ford the

Ohio; and that only one boy, belonging to the traders, was in these parts; the trader, (father to him) being gone for horses to take home their skins. About half an hour after seven we set out from our encampment; around which and up the creek is a body of fine land. In our passage down to this we see innumerable quantities of turkeys, and many deer watering and browsing on the shore-side, some of which we killed. Neither yesterday nor the day before did we pass any rifts, or very rapid water, the river gliding gently along; nor did we perceive any alteration in the general face of the country, except that the bottoms seemed to be getting a little longer and wider, as the bends of the river grew larger.

About five miles from the Vine Creek comes in a very large creek to the eastward, called by the Indians Cut Creek, from a town or tribe of Indians, which they say was cut off entirely in a very bloody battle between them and the Six Nations. This creek empties just at the lower end of an island, and is seventy or eighty yards wide; and I fancy it is the creek commonly called by the people of Red-stone &c Wheeling. It extends, according to the Indians' account, a great way, and interlocks with the branches of Split-Island Creek; abounding in very fine bottoms, and exceeding good land. Just below this, on the west side, comes in a small run; and about five miles below it, on the west side also, another middling large creek empties, called by the Indians Broken-Timber Creek; so named from the timber that is destroyed on it by a hurricane; on the head of this was a town of the Delawares, which is now left. Two miles lower down, on the same side, is another creek smaller than the last, and bearing, (according to the Indians,) the same name. Opposite to these two creeks, (on the east side,) appears to be a large bottom of good land. About two miles below the last mentioned creek, on the east side, and at the end of the bottom aforementioned, comes in a small creek or large run. Seven miles from this comes in Muddy Creek, on the east side of the river, a pretty large creek, and heads up against and with some of the waters of Monongahela, (according to the Indians' account,) and contains some bottoms of very good land; but in general the hills are steep, and country broken about it. At the mouth of this creek is the largest flat I have seen upon the river; the bottom extending two or three miles up the river above it, and a mile below; tho it does not seem to be of the richest kind and yet is exceeding good upon the whole, if it be not too low and subject to freshets. About half way in the long reach we encamped,

opposite to the beginning of a bottom on the east side of the river. At this place we threw out some lines at night and found a catfish, of the size of our largest river cats, hooked to it in the morning, though it was of the smallest kind here. We found no rifts in this day's passage, but pretty swift water in some places, and still in others. We found the bottoms increased in size, both as to length and breadth, and the river more choked up with fallen trees, and the bottom of the river next the shores rather more muddy, but in general stony, as it has been all the way down.

26th.—Left our encampment at half an hour after six o'clock, and passed a small run on the west side about four miles lower. At the lower end of the long reach, and for some distance up it, on the east side, is a large bottom, but low, and covered with beech near the river-shore, which is no indication of good land. The long reach is a straight course of the river for about eighteen or twenty miles, which appears the more extraordinary as the Ohio in general is remarkably crooked. There are several islands in this reach, some containing an hundred or more acres of land; but all I apprehend liable to be overflowed.

At the end of this reach we found one Martin and Lindsay, two traders, and from them learnt, that the person drowned was one Philips, attempting, in company with Rogers, another Indian trader, to swim the river with their horses at an improper place; Rogers himself narrowly escaping. Five miles lower down comes in a large creek from the east, right against an island of good land, at least a mile or two in length. At the mouth of this creek (the name of which I could not learn, except that it was called by some Bull's Creek, from one Bull that hunted on it) is a bottom of good land, though rather too much mixed with beech. Opposite to this island the Indians showed us a buffalo's path, the tracks of which we see. Five or six miles below the last mentioned creek we came to the Three Islands before which we observed a small run on each side coming in. Below these islands is a large body of flat land, with a watercourse running through it on the east side, and the hills back neither so high nor steep in appearance, as they are up the river. On the other hand, the bottoms do not appear so rich, though much longer and wider. The bottom last mentioned is upon a straight reach of the river, I suppose six or eight miles in length, at the lower end of which on the east side comes in a pretty large run from the size of the mouth. About this, above, below and back, there seems to be a very large body of flat land with some little risings in it.

About twelve miles below the Three Islands we encamped, just above the mouth of a creek, which appears pretty large at the mouth, and just above an island. All the lands from a little below the creek, which I have distinguished by the name of Bull Creek, appear to be level, with some small hillocks intermixed, as far as we could see into the country. We met with no rifts to-day, but some pretty strong water; upon the whole tolerable gentle. The sides of the river were a good deal incommoded with old trees, which impeded our passage a little. This day proved clear and pleasant; the only day since the 18th that it did not rain or snow, or threaten the one or other.

27th.—Left our encampment a quarter before seven; and after passing the creek near which we lay, and another much the same size and on the same side, (west) also an island about two miles in length, (but not wide,) we came to the mouth of Muskingum, distant from our encampment about four miles. This river is about one hundred and fifty yards wide at the mouth; it runs out in a gentle current and clear stream, and is navigable a great way into the country for canoes. From Muskingum to the Little Kanhawa is about thirteen miles. This is about as wide at the mouth as the Muskingum, but the water much deeper. It runs up towards the inhabitants of Monongahela, and, according to the Indians' account, forks about forty or fifty miles up it, and the ridge between the two prongs leads directly to the settlement. To this fork, and above, the water is navigable for canoes. On the upper side of this river there appears to be a bottom of exceeding rich land, and the country from hence quite up to the Three Islands level and in appearance fine. The Ohio running round it in the nature of a horse-shoe forms a neck of flat land, which, added to that running up the second long reach (aforementioned,) cannot contain less than fifty thousand acres in view.

About six or seven miles below the mouth of the Little Kenhawa, we came to a small creek on the west side, which the Indians called Little Hockhocking; but before we did this, we passed another small creek on the same side near the mouth of that river, and a cluster of islands afterwards. The lands for two or three miles below the mouth of the Kenhawa on both sides of the Ohio appear broken and indifferent; but opposite to the Little Hockhocking there is a bottom of exceeding good land, through which there runs a small watercourse. I suppose there may be, of this bottom and flat land together, two or three thousand acres. The lower end of this bottom is opposite to

a small island, which I dare say little of it is to be seen when the river is high. About eight miles below Little Hockhocking we encamped opposite to the mouth of the Great Hockhocking, which, though so called, is not a large water; though the Indians say canoes can go up it forty or fifty miles. Since we left the Little Kenhawa the lands appear neither so level nor so good. The bends of the river and bottoms are longer, indeed, but not so rich as in the upper part of the river.

28th.—Left our encampment about seven o'clock. Two miles below, a small run comes in, on the east side, through a piece of land that has a very good appearance, the bottom beginning above our encampment, and continuing in appearance wide for four miles down, to a place where there comes in a small run, and to the hills, where we found Kiashuta and his hunting party encamped. Here we were under a necessity of paying our compliments, as this person was one of the Six Nation chiefs, and the head of them upon this river. In the person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance, he being one of the Indians that went to the French in 1753. He expressed a satisfaction at seeing me, and treated us with great kindness, giving us a quarter of very fine buffalo. He insisted upon our spending that night with him, and, in order to retard us as little as possible, moves his camp down the river about 6 miles just below the mouth of the creek, the name of which I could not learn, it not being large. At this place we all encamped. After much counselling the over night, they all came to my fire the next morning with great formality; when Kiashuta, rehearsing what had passed between me and the Sachems at Colonel Croghan's, thanked me for saying, that peace and friendship were the wish of the people of Virginia, (with them) and for recommending it to the traders to deal with them upon a fair and equitable footing; and then again expressed their desire of having a trade opened with Virginia, and that the governor thereof might not only be made acquainted therewith, but of their friendly disposition towards the white people. This I promised to do.

29th.—The tedious ceremony, which the Indians observe in their counselling and speeches, detained us till nine o'clock. Opposite to the creek, just below which we encamped, is a pretty long bottom, and I believe tolerably wide; but about eight or nine miles below the aforementioned creek, and just below a pavement of rocks on the west side, comes in a creek, with fallen timber at the mouth, on which the Indians say there are wide bottoms and good land. The river bottoms above,

for some distance, are very good, and continue for near half a mile below the creek. The pavement of rocks is only to be seen at low water. About a mile or a little better below the mouth of the creek there is another pavement of rocks on the east side, in a kind of sedgy ground. On this creek many buffaloes are according to the Indians' account. Six miles below this comes in a small creek on the west side, at the end of a small, naked island, and just above another pavement of rocks. This creek comes thro a bottom of fine land, and opposite to it, (on the east side of the river,) appears to be a large bottom of very fine land also. At this place begins what they call the Great Bend. Five miles below, this, again on the east side, comes in (about 200 yards above a little stream or gut) another creek, which is just below an island, on the upper point of which are some dead standing trees, and a parcel of white-bodied sycamores; in the mouth of this creek lies a sycamore blown down by the wind. From hence an east line may be run three or four miles; thence a north line till it strikes the river, which I apprehend would include about three or four thousand acres of exceeding valuable land. At the mouth of this creek which is three or four miles above two islands (at the lower end of the last is a rapid, and the point of the bend) is the warrior's path to the Cherokee country. For two miles and a half below this the Ohio runs a north-east course, and finishes what they call the Great Bend. Two miles and a half below this we encamped. . . .

*November 1st.*—A little before eight o'clock we set off with our canoe up the river, to discover what kinds of lands lay upon the Kenhawa. The land on both sides this river just at the mouth is very fine; but on the east side, when you get towards the hills, (which I judge to be about six or seven hundred yards from the river,) it appears to be wet, and better adapted for meadow than tillage. This bottom continues up the east side for about two miles; and by going up the Ohio a good tract might be got of bottom land, including the old Shawnee Town, which is about three miles up the Ohio, just above the mouth of a creek, where the aforementioned bottom ends on the east side the Kenhawa, which extends up it at least fifty miles by the Indians' account and of great width (to be ascertained as we come down); in many places very rich, in others somewhat wet and pondy; fit for meadow, but upon the whole exceeding valuable, as the land after you get out of the rich bottom is very good for grain, tho' not rich. We judged we went up this river about ten miles to-day. On the



east side appear to be the same good bottoms, but small, neither long nor wide, and the hills back of them rather steep and poor.

2<sup>d</sup>.—We proceeded up the river with the canoe about four miles farther, and then encamped, and went a hunting; killed five buffaloes and wounded some others, three deer, &c. This country abounds in buffaloes and wild game of all kinds; as also in all kinds of wild fowl, there being in the bottoms a great many small, grassy ponds, or lakes, which are full of swans, geese, and ducks of different kinds. Some of our people went up the river four or five miles higher, and found the same kind of bottom on the west side; and we were told by the Indians, that it continued to the falls, which they judged to be fifty or sixty miles higher up. . . .

17<sup>th</sup>.—There is very little difference in the general width of the river from Fort Pitt to the Kenhawa; but in the depth I believe the odds are considerably in favor of the lower parts, as we found no shallows below the Mingo Town, except in one or two places where the river was broad, and there, I do not know but there might have been a deep channel in some part of it. Every here and there are islands, some larger and some smaller, which, operating in the nature of locks, or steps, occasion pretty still water above, but for the most part strong and rapid water alongside of them. However there is none of these so swift but that a vessel may be rowed or set up with poles. When the river is in its natural state, large canoes, that will carry five or six thousand weight or more, may be worked against stream by four hands, twenty or twenty-five miles a day; and down, a good deal more. The Indians, who are very dexterous (even their women) in the management of canoes, have their hunting-camps and cabins all along the river, for the convenience of transporting their skins by water to market. In the fall, so soon as the hunting-season comes on, they set out with their families for this purpose; and in hunting will move their camps from place to place, till by the spring they get two or three hundred or more miles from their towns; then beaver catch it in their way up, which frequently brings them into the month of May, when the women are employed in planting, the men at market, and in idleness, till the Fall again, when they pursue the same course. During the summer months they live a poor and perishing life.

The Indians who reside upon the Ohio, (the upper parts of it at least,) are composed of Shawnees, Delawares, and some of the Mingoës, who, getting but little part of the consideration

that was given for the lands eastward of the Ohio, view the settlement of the people upon this river with an uneasy and jealous eye, and do not scruple to say, that they must be compensated for their right if the people settle thereon, notwithstanding the cession of the Six Nations thereto. On the other hand, the people from Virginia and elsewhere are exploring and marking all the lands that are valuable, not only on Redstone and other waters of the Monongahela, but along down the Ohio as low as the Little Kenhawa; and by next summer I suppose will get to the Great Kenhawa at least. How difficult it may be to contend with these people afterwards is easy to be judged, from every day's experience of lands actually settled, supposing these to be made; than which nothing is more probable, if the Indians permit them, from the disposition of the people at present.

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Washington's interest in the West began when he was hardly out of boyhood, and was employed to survey lands for Lord Fairfax among the Alleghanies. In 1749 his brothers, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, became members and Lawrence the chief manager of the Ohio Company, formed in Virginia that year for the colonization of the Ohio country,—the first scheme for the settlement of the West by Englishmen. His *Journal of a Tour to the Ohio in 1753*, published after his visit to the French posts on the Alleghany, and his letters at the time, show how deeply he realized the importance of the struggle between France and England for the possession of the great West. No other Virginian took so important a part in that struggle. At the close of the French war he received 5,000 acres on the Ohio, his claim as an officer for services in the war; and he possessed himself of other claims to so large an extent that at one time he controlled over 60,000 acres on the Ohio, at the outbreak of the Revolution being probably the largest owner of western lands in America. See the *Washington-Crawford Letters Concerning Western Lands*, edited by C. W. Butterfield. Crawford was the surveyor employed by Washington on the Ohio. Washington's *Journal of his own tour to the Ohio in 1770*, to inspect these lands,—about half of which is published in the present leaflet,—is remarkable for its careful studies of the condition and prospects of this part of the western country. This journey down the Ohio took him past the mouth of the Muskingum and the place where Rufus Putnam and the men from New England, less than twenty years later, were to found Marietta. Earlier in this same year, 1770, Washington had corresponded with Jefferson about the opening up of the Potomac and a connection with the Ohio, as "the channel of conveyance of the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire"; and this was the first subject of his thought upon the close of the Revolution. He explored the Mohawk route to the West. He explored the head waters of the Potomac and the Ohio, travelling nearly 700 miles on horseback, making careful maps. He wrote a remarkable letter to Benjamin Harrison, the governor of Virginia, urging the opening of lines of communication with the West. See this letter and the historical notes in *Old South Leaflet, No. 16*. He became the president of the Potomac Company, organized in 1785 for establishing connections with the West. See Pickell's *A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington* for a full account of this, and Washington's letters to Jefferson, Lee, and others on the importance of opening up the West and binding the sections of the country firmly together, which latter point he strongly emphasized in his Farewell Address. For his interest in the Ordinance of 1787 and his services in behalf of Gen. Rufus Putnam and the Ohio Company in the settlement of Marietta and the organization of the North-west territory, see the *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler* and the *St. Clair Papers*. The whole history of Washington's interest in the opening of the West forms one of the most important chapters of his life.



# The North-west Territory and Western Reserve

BY JAMES A. GARFIELD.

*Address before the Historical Society of Geauga County, Ohio,  
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From the historian's standpoint, our country is peculiarly and exceptionally fortunate. The origin of nearly all great nations, ancient and modern, is shrouded in fable or traditional legend. The story of the founding of Rome by the wolf-nursed brothers, Romulus and Remus, has long been classed among the myths of history; and the more modern story of Hengist and Horsa leading the Saxons to England is almost equally legendary. The origin of Paris can never be known. Its foundation was laid long before Gaul had written records. But the settlement, civilization, and political institutions of our country can be traced from their first hour by the clear light of history. It is true that over this continent hangs an impenetrable veil of tradition, mystery, and silence. But it is the tradition of races fast passing away; the mystery of a still earlier race, which flourished and perished long before its discovery by the Europeans. The story of the Mound-builders can never be told. The fate of the Indian tribes will soon be a half-forgotten tale. But the history of European civilization and institutions on this continent can be traced with precision and fullness, unless we become forgetful of the past, and neglect to save and perpetuate its precious memorials.

In discussing the scope of historical study in reference to our country, I will call attention to a few general facts concerning its discovery and settlement.

*First.*—The Romantic Period of Discovery on this Continent.

There can scarcely be found in the realms of romance anything more fascinating than the records of discovery and ad-

venture during the two centuries that followed the landing of Columbus on the soil of the New World. The greed for gold; the passion for adventure; the spirit of chivalry; the enthusiasm and fanaticism of religion,—all conspired to throw into America the hardiest and most daring spirits of Europe, and made the vast wilderness of the New World the theatre of the most stirring achievements that history has recorded.

Early in the sixteenth century, Spain, turning from the conquest of Granada and her triumph over the Moors, followed her golden dreams of the New World with the same spirit that in an earlier day animated her Crusaders. In 1528 Ponce de Leon began his search for the fountain of perpetual youth, the tradition of which he had learned among the natives of the West Indies. He discovered the low-lying coasts of Florida, and explored its interior. Instead of the fountain of youth, he found his grave among its everglades.

A few years later De Soto, who had accompanied Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, landed in Florida with a gallant array of knights and nobles, and commenced his explorations through the western wilderness. In 1541 he reached the banks of the Mississippi River, and, crossing it, pushed his discoveries westward over the great plains; but, finding neither the gold nor the South Sea of his dreams, he returned to be buried in the waters of the great river he had discovered.

While England was more leisurely exploring the bays and rivers of the Atlantic coast, and searching for gold and peltry, the chevaliers and priests of France were chasing their dreams in the North, searching for a passage to China, and the realms of Far Cathay, and telling the mystery of the Cross to the Indian tribes of the far West. Coasting northward, her bold navigators discovered the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and in 1525 Cartier sailed up its broad current to the rocky heights of Quebec, and to the rapids above Montreal, which were afterwards named La Chine, in derision of the belief that the adventurers were about to find China.

In 1609 Champlain pushed above the rapids, and discovered the beautiful lake that bears his name. In 1615 Priest La Caron pushed northward and westward through the wilderness, and discovered Lake Huron.

In 1635 the Jesuit missionaries founded the Mission St. Mary. In 1654 another priest had entered the wilderness of Northern New York, and found the salt springs of Onondaga. In 1659–1660 French traders and priests passed the winter on Lake Superior, and established missions along its shores.

Among the earlier discoverers, no name shines out with more brilliancy than that of the Chevalier La Salle. The story of his explorations can scarcely be equalled in romantic interest by any of the stirring tales of the Crusaders. Born of a proud and wealthy family in the north of France, he was destined for the service of the Church and of the Jesuit Order. But his restless spirit, fired with the love of adventure, broke away from the ecclesiastical restraints to confront the dangers of the New World, and to extend the empire of Louis XIV. From the best evidence accessible, it appears that he was the first white man that saw the Ohio River. At twenty-six years of age, we find him with a small party, near the western extremity of Lake Ontario, boldly entering the domain of the dreaded Iroquois, travelling southward and westward through the wintry wilderness until he reached a branch of the Ohio, probably the Alleghany. He followed it to the main stream, and descended that, until in the winter of 1669 and 1670 he reached the Falls of the Ohio, near the present site of Louisville. His companions refusing to go further, he returned to Quebec, and prepared for still greater undertakings.

In the mean time the Jesuit missionaries had been pushing their discoveries on the Northern Lake. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette started from Green Bay, dragging their canoes up the rapids of Fox River; crossed Lake Winnebago; found Indian guides to conduct them to the waters of the Wisconsin; descended that stream to the westward, and on the 16th of June reached the Mississippi near the spot where now stands the city of Prairie du Chien. To-morrow will be the two hundredth anniversary of that discovery. One hundred and thirty-two years before that time De Soto had seen the same river more than a thousand miles below; but during that interval it is not known that any white man had looked upon its waters.

Turning southward, these brave priests descended the great river, amid the awful solitudes. The stories of demons and monsters of the wilderness which abounded among the Indian tribes did not deter them from pushing their discoveries. They continued their journey southward to the mouth of the Arkansas River, telling as best they could the story of the Cross to the wild tribes along the shores. Returning from the Kaskaskias and travelling thence to Lake Michigan, they reached Green Bay at the end of September, 1673, having on their journey paddled their canoes more than twenty-five hundred miles. Marquette remained to establish missions among

the Indians, and to die, three years later, on the western shore of Lake Michigan, while Joliet returned to Quebec to report his discoveries.

In the mean time Count Frontenac, a noble of France, had been made Governor of Canada, and found in La Salle a fit counsellor and assistant in his vast schemes of discovery. La Salle was sent to France, to enlist the Court and the Ministers of Louis; and in 1677-1678 returned to Canada, with full power under Frontenac to carry forward his grand enterprises. He had developed three great purposes: first, to realize the old plan of Champlain, the finding of a pathway to China across the American Continent; second, to occupy and develop the regions of the Northern Lakes; and, third, to descend the Mississippi and establish a fortified post at its mouth, thus securing an outlet for the trade of the interior and checking the progress of Spain on the Gulf of Mexico.

In pursuance of this plan, we find La Salle and his companions, in January, 1679, dragging their cannon and materials for ship-building around the Falls of Niagara, and laying the keel of a vessel two leagues above the cataract, at the mouth of Cayuga Creek. She was a schooner of forty-five tons' burden, and was named "The Griffin." On the 7th of August, 1679, with an armament of five cannon, and a crew and company of thirty-four men, she started on her voyage up Lake Erie, the first sail ever spread over the waters of our lake. On the fourth day she entered Detroit River; and, after encountering a terrible storm on Lake Huron, passed the straits and reached Green Bay early in September. A few weeks later she started back for Niagara, laden with furs, and was never heard from.

While awaiting the supplies which "The Griffin" was expected to bring, La Salle explored Lake Michigan to its southern extremity, ascended the St. Joseph, crossed the portage to the Kankakee, descended the Illinois, and, landing at an Indian village on the site of the present village of Utica, Ill., celebrated mass on New Year's Day, 1680. Before the winter was ended he became certain that "The Griffin" was lost. But, undaunted by his disasters, on the 3d of March, with five companions, he began the incredible feat of making the journey to Quebec on foot, in the dead of winter. This he accomplished. He reorganized his expedition, conquered every difficulty, and on the 21st of December, 1681, with a party of fifty-four Frenchmen and friendly Indians, set out for the present site of Chicago, and by way of the Illinois River reached the Mississippi Feb. 6, 1682. He descended its stream, and on the 9th of

April, 1682, standing on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, solemnly proclaimed to his companions and to the wilderness that, in the name of Louis the Great, he took possession of the Great Valley watered by the Mississippi River. He set up a column, and inscribed upon it the arms of France, and named the country Louisiana. Upon this act rested the claim of France to the vast region stretching from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains, from the Rio Grande and the Gulf to the farthest springs of the Missouri.

I will not follow further the career of the great explorers. Enough has been said to exhibit the spirit and character of their work. I would I were able to inspire the young men of this country with a desire to read the history of these stirring days of discovery that opened up to Europe the mysteries of this New World.

As Irving has well said of their work: "It was poetry put into action; it was the knight-errantry of the Old World carried into the depths of the American wilderness. The personal adventures; the feats of individual prowess; the picturesque descriptions of steel-clad cavaliers, with lance and helm and prancing steed, glittering through the wilderness of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and the prairies of the Far West,—would seem to us mere fictions of romance, did they not come to us in the matter-of-fact narratives of those who were eye-witnesses, and who recorded minute memoranda of every incident."

*Second.*—The Struggle for National Dominion.

I next invite your attention to the less stirring but not less important struggle for the possession of the New World, which succeeded the period of discovery.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century North America was claimed mainly by three great powers. Spain held possession of Mexico, and a belt reaching eastward to the Atlantic, and northward to the southern line of Georgia, except a portion near the mouth of the Mississippi held by the French. England held from the Spanish line on the south to the Northern Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and westward to the Alleghanies. France held all north of the lakes and west of the Alleghanies, and southward to the possessions of Spain. Some of the boundary lines were but vaguely defined, others were disputed; but the general outlines were as stated.

Besides the struggle for national possession, the religious element entered largely into the contest. It was a struggle between the Catholic and Protestant faiths. The Protestant colonies of England were enveloped on three sides by the vigor-

ous and perfectly organized Catholic powers of France and Spain.

Indeed, at an early date, by the Bull of Pope Alexander VI. all America had been given to the Spaniards. But France, with a zeal equal to that of Spain, had entered the list to contest for the prize. So far as the religious struggle was concerned, the efforts of France and Spain were resisted only by the Protestants of the Atlantic coast.

The main chain of the Alleghanies was supposed to be impassable until 1714, when Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, led an expedition to discover a pass to the great valley beyond. He found one somewhere near the western boundary of Virginia and by it descended to the Ohio. On his return he established the "Transmontane Order," or "Knights of the Golden Horse-shoe." On the sandy plains of Eastern Virginia horse-shoes were rarely used, but, in climbing the mountains, he had found them necessary, and, on creating his companions knights of this new Order, he gave to each a golden horse-shoe, inscribed with the motto,—

*"Sic jurat transcendere montes."*

He represented to the British Ministry the great importance of planting settlements in the western valley; and, with the foresight of a statesman, pointed out the danger of allowing the French the undisputed possession of that rich region.

The progress of England had been slower, but more certain than that of her great rival. While the French were establishing trading-posts at points widely remote from each other, along the lakes and the Mississippi, and in the wilderness of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the English were slowly but firmly planting their settlements on the Atlantic slope, and preparing to contest for the rich prize of the Great West. They possessed one great advantage over their French rivals. They had cultivated the friendship of the Iroquois Confederacy, the most powerful combination of Indian tribes known to the New World. That Confederacy held possession of the southern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie; and their hostility to the French had confined the settlements of that people mainly to the northern shores.

During the first half of the eighteenth century many treaties were made by the English with these confederated tribes, and some valuable grants of land were obtained on the eastern slope of the Mississippi Valley.



About the middle of that century the British Government began to recognize the wisdom of Governor Spottswood, and perceived that an empire was soon to be saved or lost.

In 1748 a company was organized by Thomas Lee and Lawrence and Augustine Washington, under the name of "The Ohio Company," and received a royal grant of one-half million acres of land in the valley of the Ohio. In 1751 a British trading-post was established on the Big Miami; but in the following year it was destroyed by the French. Many similar efforts of the English colonists were resisted by the French; and during the years 1751-2-3 it became manifest that a great struggle was imminent between the French and the English for the possession of the West. The British Ministers were too much absorbed in intrigues at home to appreciate the importance of this contest; and they did but little more than to permit the colonies to protect their rights in the Valley of the Ohio.

In 1753 the Ohio Company had opened a road, by "Will's Creek," into the western valley, and were preparing to locate their colony. At the same time the French had sent a force to occupy and hold the line of the Ohio. As the Ohio Company was under the especial protection of Virginia, the Governor of that colony determined to send a messenger to the commander of the French forces, and demand the reason for invading the British dominions. For this purpose he selected George Washington, then twenty-one years of age, who, with six assistants, set out from Williamsburg, Va., in the middle of November, for the waters of the Ohio and the lakes. After a journey of nine days through sleet and snow, he reached the Ohio at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela; and his quick eye seemed to foresee the destiny of the place. "I spent some time," said he, "in viewing the rivers. The land in the fork has the absolute command of both." On this spot Fort Pitt was afterwards built, and still later the city of Pittsburg.

As Bancroft has said, "After creating in imagination a fortress and city, his party swam across the Alleghany, wrapped their blankets around them for the night on the north-west bank." Proceeding down the Ohio to Logstown, he held a council with the Shawnees and the Delawares, who promised to secure the aid of the Six Nations in resisting the French. He then proceeded to the French posts at Venango and Fort Le Bœuf (the latter fifteen miles from Lake Erie), and warned the commanders that the rights of Virginia must not be in-

vaded. He received for his answer that the French would seize every Englishman in the Ohio Valley.

Returning to Virginia in January, 1754, he reported to the Governor, and immediate preparations were made by the colonists to maintain their rights in the West, and resist the incursions of the French. In this movement originated the first military union among the English colonists.

Although peace existed between France and England, formidable preparations were made by the latter to repel encroachments on the frontier, from Ohio to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Braddock was sent to America, and in 1755, at Alexandria, Va., he planned four expeditions against the French.

It is not necessary to speak in detail of the war that followed. After Braddock's defeat near the forks of the Ohio, which occurred on the 9th of July, 1755, England herself took active measures for prosecuting the war.

On the 25th of November, 1758, Forbes captured Fort DuQuesne, which thus passed into the possession of the English, and was named Fort Pitt, in honor of the great Minister.

In 1759 Quebec was captured by General Wolfe; and the same year Niagara fell into the hands of the English.

In 1760 an English force, under Major Rogers, moved westward from Niagara, to occupy the French posts on the Upper Lakes. They coasted along the south shore of Erie, the first English-speaking people that sailed its waters. Near the mouth of the Grand River they met in council the chiefs of the great warrior Pontiac. A few weeks later they took possession of Detroit. "Thus," says Mr. Bancroft, "was Michigan won by Great Britain, though not for itself. There were those who foresaw that the acquisition of Canada was the prelude of American Independence."

Late in December Rogers returned to the Maumee; and, setting out from the point where Sandusky City now stands, crossed the Huron River to the northern branch of White Woman's River, and passing thence by the English village of Beaverstown, and up the Ohio, reached Fort Pitt on the 23d of January, 1761, just a month after he left Detroit.

Under the leadership of Pitt, England was finally triumphant in this great struggle; and by the Treaty of Paris, of Feb. 10, 1763, she acquired Canada and all the territory east of the Mississippi River, and southward to the Spanish Territory, excepting New Orleans and the island on which it is situated.

During the twelve years which followed the Treaty of Paris

the English colonists were pushing their settlements into the newly acquired territory; but they encountered the opposition of the Six Nations and their allies, who made fruitless efforts to capture the British posts,—Detroit, Niagara, and Fort Pitt.

At length, in 1768, Sir William Johnson concluded a treaty at Fort Stanwix with these tribes, by which all the lands south of the Ohio and the Alleghany were sold to the British, the Indians to remain in undisturbed possession of the territory north and west of those rivers. New companies were organized to occupy the territory thus obtained.

“Among the foremost speculators in Western lands at that time,” says the author of “Annals of the West,” “was George Washington.” In 1769 he was one of the signers of a petition to the king for a grant of two and a half millions acres in the West. In 1770 he crossed the mountains and descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, to locate the ten thousand acres to which he was entitled for services in the French War.

Virginians planted settlements in Kentucky; and pioneers from all the colonies began to occupy the frontiers, from the Alleghany to the Tennessee.

*Third.*—The War of the Revolution, and its Relations to the West.

How came the Thirteen Colonies to possess the Valley of the Mississippi? The object of their struggle was independence, and yet by the Treaty of Peace in 1783 not only was the independence of the Thirteen Colonies conceded, but there was granted to the new Republic a western territory, bounded by the Northern Lakes, the Mississippi, and the French and Spanish possessions.

How did these hills and valleys become a part of the United States? It is true that by virtue of royal charters several of the colonies set up claims extending to the “South Sea.” The knowledge which the English possessed of the geography of this country, at that time, is illustrated by the fact that Captain John Smith was commissioned to sail up the Chickahominy, and find a passage to China! But the claims of the colonies were too vague to be of any consequence in determining the boundaries of the two governments. Virginia had indeed extended her settlements into the region south of the Ohio River, and during the Revolution had annexed that country to the Old Dominion, calling it the County of Kentucky. But previous to the Revolution the colonies had taken no such action in reference to the territory north-west of the Ohio.

The cession of that great Territory, under the treaty of 1783, was due mainly to the foresight, the courage, and the endurance of one man, who never received from his country any adequate recognition for his great service. That man was George Rogers Clark; and it is worth your while to consider the work he accomplished. Born in Virginia, he was in early life a surveyor, and afterward served in Lord Dunmore's War. In 1776 he settled in Kentucky, and was, in fact, the founder of that commonwealth. As the war of the Revolution progressed, he saw that the pioneers west of the Alleghanies were threatened by two formidable dangers: first, by the Indians, many of whom had joined the standard of Great Britain; and, second, by the success of the war itself. For, should the colonies obtain their independence while the British held possession of the Mississippi Valley, the Alleghanies would be the western boundary of the new Republic, and the pioneers of the West would remain subject to Great Britain.

Inspired by these views, he made two journeys to Virginia to represent the case to the authorities of that colony. Failing to impress the House of Burgesses with the importance of warding off these dangers, he appealed to the Governor, Patrick Henry, and received from him authority to enlist seven companies to go to Kentucky subject to his orders, and serve for three months after their arrival in the West. This was a public commission.

Another document, bearing date Williamsburg, Jan. 2, 1778, was a secret commission, which authorized him, in the name of Virginia, to capture the military posts held by the British in the North-west. Armed with this authority, he proceeded to Pittsburg, where he obtained ammunition, and floated it down the river to Kentucky, succeeded in enlisting seven companies of pioneers, and in the month of June, 1778, commenced his march through the untrodden wilderness to the region of the Illinois. With a daring that is scarcely equalled in the annals of war, he captured the garrisons of Kaskaskia, St. Vincent, and Cahokia, and sent his prisoners to the Governor of Virginia, and by his energy and skill won over the French inhabitants of that region to the American cause.

In October, 1778, the House of Burgesses passed an act declaring that "all the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia, who are already settled there, or shall hereafter be settled on the west side of the Ohio, shall be included in the District of Kentucky, which shall be called Illinois County." In other words, George Rogers Clark conquered the Territory

of the North-west in the name of Virginia, and the flag of the Republic covered it at the close of the war.

In negotiating the Treaty of Peace at Paris, in 1783, the British commissioners insisted on the Ohio River as the north-western boundary of the United States; and it was found that the only tenable ground on which the American commissioners relied, to sustain our claim to the Lakes and the Mississippi as the boundary, was the fact that George Rogers Clark had conquered the country, and Virginia was in undisputed possession of it at the cessation of hostilities.

In his "Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-west Territory," Judge Burnet says, "That fact [the capture of the British posts] was confirmed and admitted, and was the chief ground on which the British commissioners reluctantly abandoned their claim."

It is a stain upon the honor of our country that such a man — the leader of pioneers who made the first lodgment on the site now occupied by Louisville, who was in fact the founder of the State of Kentucky, and who by his personal foresight and energy gave nine great States to the Republic — was allowed to sink under a load of debt incurred for the honor and glory of his country.

In 1799 Judge Burnet rode some ten or twelve miles from Louisville into the country to visit this veteran hero. He says he was induced to make this visit by the veneration he entertained for Clark's military talents and services.

"He had," says Burnet, "the appearance of a man born to command, and fitted by nature for his destiny. There was a gravity and solemnity in his demeanor resembling that which so eminently distinguished the venerated Father of his Country. A person familiar with the lives and character of the military veterans of Rome, in the days of her greatest power, might readily have selected *this remarkable man* as a specimen of the model he had formed of them in his own mind; but he was rapidly falling a victim to his extreme sensibility, and to the ingratitude of his native State, under whose banner he had fought bravely and with great success.

"The time will certainly come when the enlightened and magnanimous citizens of Louisville will remember the debt of gratitude they owe the memory of that distinguished man. He was the leader of the pioneers who made the first lodgment on the site now covered by their rich and splendid city. He was its protector during the years of its infancy, and in the period of its greatest danger. Yet the traveller, who had read of his

achievements, admired his character, and visited the theatre of his brilliant deeds, discovers nothing indicating the place where his remains are deposited, and where he can go and pay a tribute of respect to the memory of the departed and gallant hero."

This eulogy of Judge Burnet is fully warranted by the facts of history. There is preserved in the War Department at Washington a portrait of Clark, which gives unmistakable evidence of a character of rare grasp and power. No one can look upon that remarkable face without knowing that the original was a man of unusual force.

*Fourth.*—Organization and Settlement of the North-west Territory.

Soon after the close of the Revolution our Western country was divided into three territories,—the Territory of the Mississippi, the Territory south of the Ohio, and the Territory north-west of the Ohio. For the purposes of this address I shall consider only the organization and settlement of the latter.

It would be difficult to find any country so covered with conflicting claims of title as the territory of the North-west. Several States, still asserting the validity of their royal charters, set up claims more or less definite to portions of this Territory. First,—by royal charter of 1662, confirming a council charter of 1630, Connecticut claimed a strip of land bounded on the east by the Narragansett River, north by Massachusetts, south by Long Island Sound, and extending westward between the parallels of 41 degrees and 42 degrees 2 minutes north latitude, to the mythical "South Sea." Second,—New York, by her charter of 1614, claimed a territory marked by definite boundaries, lying across the boundaries of the Connecticut charter. Third,—by the grant to William Penn, in 1664, Pennsylvania claimed a territory overlapping part of the territory of both these colonies. Fourth,—the charter of Massachusetts also conflicted with some of the claims above mentioned. Fifth,—Virginia claimed the whole of the North-west Territory by right of conquest, and in 1779, by an act of her Legislature, annexed it as a county. Sixth,—several grants had been made of special tracts to incorporated companies by the different States. And, finally, the whole Territory of the North-west was claimed by the Indians as their own.

The claims of New York, Massachusetts, and part of the claim of Pennsylvania had been settled before the war by royal commissioners: the others were still unadjusted. It became evident that no satisfactory settlement could be made except

by Congress. That body urged the several States to make a cession of the lands they claimed, and thus enable the General Government to open the North-west for settlement.

On the 1st of March, 1784, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee, and James Monroe, delegates in Congress, executed a deed of cession in the name of Virginia, by which they transferred to the United States the title of Virginia to the North-west Territory, but reserving to that State one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land which Virginia had promised to George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers who with him captured the British posts in the West. Also, another tract of land between the Scioto and Little Miami, to enable Virginia to pay her promised bounties to her officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army.

On the 27th of October, 1784, a treaty was made at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N.Y.) with the Six Nations, by which these tribes ceded to the United States their vague claims to the lands north and west of the Ohio. On the 31st of January, 1785, a treaty was made at Fort McIntosh (now the town of Beaver, Pa.) with the four Western tribes, the Wyandottes, the Delawares, the Chippewas, and the Tawas, by which all their lands in the North-west Territory were ceded to the United States, except that portion bounded by a line from the mouth of the Cuyahoga up that river to the portage between the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas, thence down that branch to the mouth of Sandy, thence westwardly to the portage of the Big Miami, which runs into the Ohio, thence along the portage to the Great Miami or Maumee, and down the south-east side of the river to its mouth, thence along the shore of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Cuyahoga. The territory thus described was to be forever the exclusive possession of these Indians.

In 1788 a settlement was made at Marietta, and soon after other settlements were begun. But the Indians were dissatisfied, and, by the intrigues of their late allies, the British, a savage and bloody war ensued, which delayed for several years the settlement of the State. The campaign of General Harmar in 1790 was only a partial success. In the following year a more formidable force was placed under the command of General St. Clair, who suffered a disastrous and overwhelming defeat on the 4th of November of that year, near the head-waters of the Wabash.

It was evident that nothing but a war so decisive as to break the power of the Western tribes could make the settlement of

Ohio possible. There are but few things in the career of George Washington that so strikingly illustrate his sagacity and prudence as the policy he pursued in reference to this subject. He made preparations for organizing an army of five thousand men, appointed General Wayne to the command of a special force, and early in 1792 drafted detailed instructions for giving it special discipline to fit it for Indian warfare. During that and the following year he exhausted every means to secure the peace of the West by treaties with the tribes.

But agents of England and Spain were busy in intrigues with the Indians in hopes of recovering a portion of the great empire they had lost by the treaty of 1783. So far were the efforts of England carried that a British force was sent to the rapids of the Maumee, where they built a fort, and inspired the Indians with the hope that the British would join them in fighting the forces of the United States.

All efforts to make a peaceable settlement on any other basis than the abandonment on the part of the United States of all territory north of the Ohio having failed, General Wayne proceeded with that wonderful vigor which had made him famous on so many fields of the Revolution, and on the 20th of August, 1794, defeated the Indians and their allies on the banks of the Maumee, and completely broke the power of their confederation.

On the 3d of August, 1795, General Wayne concluded at Greenville a treaty of lasting peace with these tribes and thus opened the State to settlement. In this treaty there was reserved to the Indians the same territory west of the Cuyahoga as described in the treaty of Fort McIntosh of 1785.

*Fifth.*—Settlement of the Western Reserve.

I have now noticed briefly the adjustment of the several claims to the North-western Territory, excepting that of Connecticut. It has already been seen that Connecticut claimed a strip westward from the Narragansett River to the Mississippi, between the parallels of 41 degrees and 42 degrees 2 minutes; but that portion of her claim which crossed the territory of New York and Pennsylvania had been extinguished by adjustment. Her claim to the territory west of Pennsylvania was unsettled until Sept. 14, 1786, when she ceded it all to the United States, except that portion lying between the parallels above named and a line one hundred and twenty miles west of the western line of Pennsylvania and parallel with it. This tract of country was about the size of the present State, and was called "New Connecticut."



In May, 1792, the Legislature of Connecticut granted to those of her citizens whose property had been burned or otherwise spoliated by the British during the war of the Revolution half a million of acres from the west end of the reserve. These were called "The Fire Lands."

On the 5th of September, 1795, Connecticut executed a deed to John Caldwell, Jonathan Brace, and John Morgan, trustees for the Connecticut Land Company, for three million acres of the reserve lying west of Pennsylvania for \$1,200,000, or at the rate of 40 cents per acre. The State gave only a quit-claim deed, transferring only such title as she possessed, and leaving all the remaining Indian titles to the reserve, to be extinguished by the purchasers themselves. With the exception of a few hundred acres previously sold in the neighborhood of the Salt Spring tract on the Mahoning, all titles to lands on the reserve east of "The Fire Lands" rest on this quit-claim deed of Connecticut to the three trustees, who were all living as late as 1836, and joined in making deeds to the lands on the reserve.

On the same day that the trust deed was made articles of association were signed by the proprietors, providing for the government of the company. The management of its affairs was intrusted to seven directors. They determined to extinguish the Indian title, and survey their land into townships five miles square. Moses Cleaveland, one of the directors, was made General Agent; Augustus Porter, Principal Surveyor; and Seth Pease, Astronomer and Surveyor. To these were added four assistant surveyors, a commissary, a physician and thirty-seven other employees. This party assembled at Schenectady, N.Y., in the spring of 1796, and prepared for their expedition.

It is interesting to follow them on their way to the Reserve. They ascended the Mohawk River in bateaux, passing through Little Falls, and from the present city of Rome took their boats and stores across into Wood Creek. Passing down the stream, they crossed the Oneida Lake, thence down the Oswego to Lake Ontario, coasting along the lake to Niagara. After encountering innumerable hardships, the party reached Buffalo on the 17th of June, where they met "Red Jacket," and the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, and on the 23d of that month completed a contract with those chiefs, by which they purchased all the rights of those Indians to the lands on the Reserve, for five hundred pounds, New York currency, to be paid in goods to the Western Indians, and two beef cattle and one hundred gallons of whiskey to the Eastern Indians, besides gifts and provisions to all of them.

Setting out from Buffalo on the 27th of June, they coasted along the shore of the lake, some of the party in boats and others marching along the banks.

In the journal of Seth Pease, published in Whittlesey's History of Cleveland, I find the following:—

“Monday, July 4, 1796.—We that came by land arrived at the confines of New Connecticut, and gave three cheers precisely at 5 o'clock P.M. We then proceeded to Conneaut, at five hours thirty minutes, our boats got on an hour after; we pitched our tents on the east side.”

In the journal of General Cleaveland is the following entry:

“On this Creek (‘Conneaug’), in New Connecticut Land, July 4, 1796, under General Moses Cleaveland, the surveyors and men sent by the Connecticut Land Company to survey and settle the Connecticut Reserve, were the first English people who took possession of it.

... “We gave three cheers and christened the place Fort Independence; and, after many difficulties, perplexities and hardships were surmounted, and we were on the good and promised land, felt that a just tribute of respect to the day ought to be paid. There were in all, including women and children, fifty in number. The men, under Captain Tinker, ranged themselves on the beach and fired a Federal salute of fifteen rounds, and then the sixteenth in honor of New Connecticut. Drank several toasts. . . . Closed with three cheers. Drank several pails of grog. Supped and retired in good order.”

Three days afterward General Cleaveland held a council with Paqua, Chief of the Massasagas, whose village was at Conneaut Creek. The friendship of these Indians was purchased by a few trinkets and twenty-five dollars' worth of whiskey.

A cabin was erected on the bank of Conneaut Creek; and, in honor of the commissary of the expedition, was called “Stow Castle.” At this time the white inhabitants west of the Genesee River and along the coasts of the lakes were as follows: the garrison at Niagara, two families at Lewistown, one at Buffalo, one at Cleveland, and one at Sandusky. There were no other families east of Detroit; and, with the exception of a few adventurers at the Salt Springs of the Mahoning, the interior of New Connecticut was an unbroken wilderness.

The work of surveying was commenced at once. One party went southward on the Pennsylvania line to find the 41st parallel, and began the survey; another, under General Cleaveland, coasted along the lake to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, which they reached on the 22d of July, and there laid the

foundation of the chief city of the Reserve. A large portion of the survey was made during that season, and the work was completed in the following year.

By the close of the year 1800 there were thirty-two settlements on the Reserve, though as yet no organization of government had been established. But the pioneers were a people who had been trained in the principles and practices of civil order; and these were transplanted to their new home. In New Connecticut there was but little of that lawlessness which so often characterizes the people of a new country. In many instances, a township organization was completed and their minister chosen before the pioneers left home. Thus they planted the institutions and opinions of Old Connecticut in their new wilderness homes.

There are townships on this Western Reserve which are more thoroughly New England in character and spirit than most of the towns of the New England of to-day. Cut off as they were from the metropolitan life that had gradually been moulding and changing the spirit of New England, they preserved here in the wilderness the characteristics of New England, as it was when they left it at the beginning of the century. This has given to the people of the Western Reserve those strongly marked qualities which have always distinguished them.

For a long time it was difficult to ascertain the political and legal status of the settlers on the Reserve. The State of Connecticut did not assume jurisdiction over its people, because that State had parted with her claim to the soil.

By a proclamation of Governor St. Clair, in 1788, Washington County had been organized, having its limits extended westward to the Scioto and northward to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, with Marietta as the county seat. These limits included a portion of the Western Reserve. But the Connecticut settlers did not consider this a practical government, and most of them doubted its legality.

By the end of the century seven counties, Washington, Hamilton, Ross, Wayne, Adams, Jefferson, and Knox, had been created, but none of them were of any practical service to the settlers on the Reserve. No magistrate had been appointed for that portion of the country, no civil process was established, and no mode existed of making legal conveyances.

But in the year 1800 the State of Connecticut, by act of her Legislature, transferred to the National Government all her claim to civil jurisdiction. Congress assumed the political control, and the President conveyed by patent the fee of

the soil to the Government of the State for the use of the grantees and the parties claiming under them. Whereupon, in pursuance of this authority, on the 22d of September, 1800, Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation establishing the county of Trumbull, to include within its boundaries the "Fire Lands" and adjacent islands, and ordered an election to be held at Warren, its county seat, on the second Tuesday of October. At that election forty-two votes were cast, of which General Edward Paine received thirty-eight, and was thus elected a member of the Territorial Legislature. All the early deeds on the Reserve are preserved in the records of Trumbull County.

A treaty was held at Fort Industry on the 4th of July, 1805, between the Commissioners of the Connecticut Land Company and the Indians, by which all the lands in the Reserve west of the Cuyahoga, belonging to the Indians, were ceded to the Connecticut Company.

Geauga was the second county of the Reserve. It was created by an act of the Legislature, Dec. 31, 1805; and by a subsequent act its boundaries were made to include the present territory of Cuyahoga County as far west as the Fourteenth Range.

Portage County was established on the 10th of February, 1807; and on the 16th of June, 1810, the act establishing Cuyahoga County went into operation. By that act all of Geauga west of the Ninth Range was made a part of Cuyahoga County.

Ashtabula County was established on the 22d of January, 1811.

A considerable number of Indians remained on the Western Reserve until the breaking out of the War of 1812. Most of the Canadian tribes took up arms against the United States in that struggle, and a portion of the Indians of the Western Reserve joined their Canadian brethren. At the close of that war occasional bands of these Indians returned to their old haunts on the Cuyahoga and the Mahoning; but the inhabitants of the Reserve soon made them understand that they were unwelcome visitors after the part they had taken against us. Thus the War of 1812 substantially cleared the Reserve of its Indian inhabitants.

In this brief survey I have attempted to indicate the general character of the leading events connected with the discovery and settlement of our country. I cannot, on this occasion, further pursue the history of the settlement and building up of the counties and townships of the Western Reserve.

I have already noticed the peculiar character of the people who converted this wilderness into the land of happy homes which we now behold on every hand. But I desire to call the attention of the young men and women who hear me to the duty they owe to themselves and their ancestors to study carefully and reverently the history of the great work which has been accomplished in this New Connecticut.

The pioneers who first broke ground here accomplished a work unlike that which will fall to the lot of any succeeding generation. The hardships they endured, the obstacles they encountered, the life they led, the peculiar qualities they needed in their undertakings, and the traits of character developed by their works stand alone in our history. The generation that knew these first pioneers is fast passing away. But there are sitting in this audience to-day a few men and women whose memories date back to the early settlement. Here sits a gentleman near me who is older than the Western Reserve. He remembers a time when the axe of the Connecticut pioneer had never awakened the echoes of the wilderness here. How strange and wonderful a transformation has taken place since he was a child! It is our sacred duty to rescue from oblivion the stirring recollections of such men, and preserve them as memorials of the past, as lessons for our own inspiration and the instruction of those who shall come after us.

The materials for a history of this Reserve are rich and abundant. Its pioneers were not ignorant and thoughtless adventurers, but men of established character, whose opinions on civil and religious liberty had grown with their growth and become the settled convictions of their maturer years. Both here and in Connecticut the family records, journals, and letters, which are preserved in hundreds of families, if brought out and arranged in order, would throw a flood of light on every page of our history. Even the brief notice which informed the citizens of this county that a meeting was to be held here to-day to organize a Pioneer Society has called this great audience together, and they have brought with them many rich historical memorials. They have brought old colonial commissions given to early Connecticut soldiers of the Revolution, who became pioneers of the Reserve and whose children are here to-day. They have brought church and other records which date back to the beginning of these settlements. They have shown us implements of industry which the pioneers brought in with them, many of which have been superseded by the superior mechanical contrivances of our time. Some of these imple-

ments are symbols of the spirit and character of the pioneers of the Reserve. Here is a broad-axe brought from Connecticut by John Ford, father of the late governor of Ohio; and we are told that the first work done with this axe by that sturdy old pioneer, after he had finished a few cabins for the families that came with him, was to hew out the timbers for an academy, the Burton Academy, to which so many of our older men owe the foundation of their education, and from which sprang the Western Reserve College.

These pioneers knew well that the three great forces which constitute the strength and glory of a free government are the family, the school, and the church. These three they planted here, and they nourished and cherished them with an energy and devotion scarcely equalled in any other quarter of the world. On this height were planted in the wilderness the symbols of this trinity of powers; and here, let us hope, may be maintained forever the ancient faith of our fathers in the sanctity of the home, the intelligence of the school, and the faithfulness of the church. Where these three combine in prosperous union, the safety and prosperity of the nation are assured. The glory of our country can never be dimmed while these three lights are kept shining with an undimmed lustre.

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The best single work on the North-west Territory is Hinsdale's *The Old North-west*. See the histories of Ohio and Indiana in the "American Commonwealths" Series, and Hildreth's *Pioneer History*. The chapter on Territorial Acquisitions and Divisions, by Justin Winsor and Edward Channing, in the appendix to Vol. VII. of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, contains very much that is valuable upon this subject. There is a *History of the Western Reserve*, by W. S. Kennedy; and Harvey Rice's *Sketches of Western Reserve Life* should be read in connection. Whittlesey's *Early History of Cleveland* is a scholarly and thorough work, covering in great part the general early history of the Reserve. The Western Reserve Historical Society at Cleveland has published many valuable tracts relating to the history of the Reserve. General Garfield's address, given in the present leaflet, was originally published in this series. See the lives of Garfield, Benjamin F. Wade, and Joshua R. Giddings for the noble part taken by the Western Reserve in the anti-slavery conflict.

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# The Capture of Vincennes.

1779.

BY GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

FROM GENERAL CLARK'S MEMOIRS.

“Everything being ready, on the 5th of February, after receiving a lecture and absolution from the priest, we crossed the Kaskaskia River with one hundred and seventy men, marched about three miles and encamped, where we lay until the [7th], and set out. The weather wet (but fortunately not cold for the season) and a great part of the plains under water several inches deep. It was difficult and very fatiguing marching. My object was now to keep the men in spirits. I suffered them to shoot game on all occasions, and feast on it like Indian war-dancers, each company by turns inviting the others to their feasts, which was the case every night, as the company that was to give the feast was always supplied with horses to lay up a sufficient store of wild meat in the course of the day, myself and principal officers putting on the woodsmen, shouting now and then, and running as much through the mud and water as any of them. Thus, insensibly, without a murmur, were those men led on to the banks of the Little Wabash, which we reached on the 13th, through incredible difficulties, far surpassing anything that any of us had ever experienced. Frequently the diversions of the night wore off the thoughts of the preceding day. We formed a camp on a height which we found on the bank of the river, and suffered our troops to amuse themselves. I viewed this sheet of water for some time with distrust; but, accusing myself of doubting, I immediately set to work, without holding any consultation about it, or suffering anybody else to do so in my presence; ordered a pirogue to be built immediately, and acted as though crossing the water would be only a piece of diversion. As but few could work at the pirogue at a time, pains were taken to find diversion for the rest to keep them in high spirits. . . .

In the evening of the 14th, our vessel was finished, manned, and sent to explore the drowned lands on the opposite side of the Little Wabash, with private instructions what report to make, and, if possible, to find some spot of dry land. They found about half an acre, and marked the trees from thence back to the camp, and made a very favorable report.

“Fortunately, the 15th happened to be a warm, moist day for the season. The channel of the river where we lay was about thirty yards wide. A scaffold was built on the opposite shore (which was about three feet under water), and our baggage ferried across, and put on it. Our horses swam across, and received their loads at the scaffold, by which time the troops were also brought across, and we began our march through the water. . . .

“By evening we found ourselves encamped on a pretty height, in high spirits, each party laughing at the other, in consequence of something that had happened in the course of this ferrying business, as they called it. A little antic drummer afforded them great diversion by floating on his drum, etc. All this was greatly encouraged; and they really began to think themselves superior to other men, and that neither the rivers nor the seasons could stop their progress. Their whole conversation now was concerning what they would do when they got about the enemy. They now began to view the main Wabash as a creek, and made no doubt but such men as they were could find a way to cross it. They wound themselves up to such a pitch that they soon took Post Vincennes, divided the spoil, and before bedtime were far advanced on their route to Detroit. All this was, no doubt, pleasing to those of us who had more serious thoughts. . . . We were now convinced that the whole of the low country on the Wabash was drowned, and that the enemy could easily get to us, if they discovered us, and wished to risk an action; if they did not, we made no doubt of crossing the river by some means or other. Even if Captain Rogers, with our galley, did not get to his station agreeable to his appointment, we flattered ourselves that all would be well, and marched on in high spirits. . . .

“The last day’s march through the water was far superior to anything the Frenchmen had an idea of. They were backward in speaking; said that the nearest land to us was a small league called the Sugar Camp, on the bank of the [river?] A canoe was sent off, and returned without finding that we could pass. I went in her myself, and sounded the water; found it deep as to my neck. I returned with a design to have the men



transported on board the canoes to the Sugar Camp, which I knew would spend the whole day and ensuing night, as the vessels would pass slowly through the bushes. The loss of so much time, to men half-starved, was a matter of consequence. I would have given now a great deal for a day's provision or for one of our horses. I returned but slowly to the troops, giving myself time to think. On our arrival, all ran to hear what was the report. Every eye was fixed on me. I unfortunately spoke in a serious manner to one of the officers. The whole were alarmed without knowing what I said. I viewed their confusion for about one minute, whispered to those near me to do as I did: immediately put some water in my hand, poured on powder, blackened my face, gave the war-whoop, and marched into the water without saying a word. The party gazed, and fell in, one after another, without saying a word, like a flock of sheep. I ordered those near me to begin a favorite song of theirs. It soon passed through the line, and the whole went on cheerfully. I now intended to have them transported across the deepest part of the water; but, when about waist deep, one of the men informed me that he thought he felt a path. We examined, and found it so, and concluded that it kept on the highest ground, which it did; and, by taking pains to follow it, we got to the Sugar Camp without the least difficulty, where there was about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, where we took up our lodging. The Frenchmen that we had taken on the river appeared to be uneasy at our situation. They begged that they might be permitted to go in the two canoes to town in the night. They said that they would bring from their own houses provisions, without a possibility of any persons knowing it; that some of our men should go with them as a surety of their good conduct; that it was impossible we could march from that place till the water fell, for the plain was too deep to march. Some of the [officers?] believed that it might be done. I would not suffer it. I never could well account for this piece of obstinacy, and give satisfactory reasons to myself or anybody else why I denied a proposition apparently so easy to execute and of so much advantage; but something seemed to tell me that it should not be done, and it was not done.

“The most of the weather that we had on this march was moist and warm for the season. This was the coldest night we had. The ice, in the morning, was from one-half to three-quarters of an inch thick near the shores and in still water. The morning was the finest we had on our march. A little

after sunrise I lectured the whole. What I said to them I forget, but it may be easily imagined by a person that could possess my affections for them at that time. I concluded by informing them that passing the plain that was then in full view and reaching the opposite woods would put an end to their fatigue, that in a few hours they would have a sight of their long-wished-for object, and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for any reply. A huzza took place. As we generally marched through the water in a line, before the third entered I halted, and called to Major Bowman, ordering him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men, and put to death any man who refused to march, as we wished to have no such person among us. The whole gave a cry of approbation, and on we went. This was the most trying of all the difficulties we had experienced. I generally kept fifteen or twenty of the strongest men next myself, and judged from my own feelings what must be that of others. Getting about the middle of the plain, the water about mid-deep, I found myself sensibly failing; and, as there were no trees nor bushes for the men to support themselves by, I feared that many of the most weak would be drowned. I ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loading, and play backward and forward with all diligence, and pick up the men; and, to encourage the party, sent some of the strongest men forward, with orders, when they got to a certain distance, to pass the word back that the water was getting shallow, and when getting near the woods to cry out, 'Land!' This stratagem had its desired effect. The men, encouraged by it, exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities; the weak holding by the stronger. . . . The water never got shallower, but continued deepening. Getting to the woods, where the men expected land, the water was up to my shoulders; but gaining the woods was of great consequence. All the low men and the weakly hung to the trees, and floated on the old logs until they were taken off by the canoes. The strong and tall got ashore and built fires. Many would reach the shore, and fall with their bodies half in the water, not being able to support themselves without it.

"This was a delightful dry spot of ground of about ten acres. We soon found that the fires answered no purpose, but that two strong men taking a weaker one by the arms was the only way to recover him; and, being a delightful day, it soon did. But, fortunately, as if designed by Providence, a canoe of Indian squaws and children was coming up to town, and took through part of this plain as a nigh way. It was

discovered by our canoes as they were out after the men. They gave chase, and took the Indian canoe, on board of which was near half a quarter of a buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, etc. This was a grand prize, and was invaluable. Broth was immediately made, and served out to the most weakly with great care. Most of the whole got a little; but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheering to their comrades. This little refreshment and fine weather by the afternoon gave new life to the whole. Crossing a narrow deep lake in the canoes, and marching some distance, we came to a copse of timber called the Warrior's Island. We were now in full view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles' distance. Every man now feasted his eyes, and forgot that he had suffered anything, saying that all that had passed was owing to good policy and nothing but what a man could bear; and that a soldier had no right to think, etc.,—passing from one extreme to another, which is common in such cases. It was now we had to display our abilities. The plain between us and the town was not a perfect level. The sunken grounds were covered with water full of ducks. We observed several men out on horseback, shooting them, within a half mile of us, and sent out as many of our active young Frenchmen to decoy and take one of these men prisoner in such a manner as not to alarm the others, which they did. The information we got from this person was similar to that which we got from those we took on the river, except that of the British having that evening completed the wall of the fort, and that there were a good many Indians in town.

“Our situation was now truly critical,—no possibility of retreating in case of defeat, and in full view of a town that had, at this time, upward of six hundred men in it,—troops, inhabitants, and Indians. The crew of the galley, though not fifty men, would have been now a re-enforcement of immense magnitude to our little army (if I may so call it), but we would not think of them. We were now in the situation that I had labored to get ourselves in. The idea of being made prisoner was foreign to almost every man, as they expected nothing but torture from the savages, if they fell into their hands. Our fate was now to be determined, probably in a few hours. We knew that nothing but the most daring conduct would insure success. I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well, that many were lukewarm to the interest of either, and I also learned that the grand chief, the Tobacco's

son, had but a few days before openly declared, in council with the British, that he was a brother and friend to the Big Knives. These were favorable circumstances; and, as there was but little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, I determined to begin the career immediately, and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants:—

“TO THE INHABITANTS OF POST VINCENNES:

“*Gentlemen*,—Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you to remain still in your houses; and those, if any there be, that are friends to the king will instantly repair to the fort, and join the hair-buyer general, and fight like men. And, if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterward, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival I shall treat him as an enemy.

“(Signed)

G. R. CLARK.’

“I had various ideas on the supposed results of this letter. I knew that it could do us no damage, but that it would cause the lukewarm to be decided, encourage our friends, and astonish our enemies. . . . We anxiously viewed this messenger until he entered the town, and in a few minutes could discover by our glasses some stir in every street that we could penetrate into, and great numbers running or riding out into the commons, we supposed, to view us, which was the case. But what surprised us was that nothing had yet happened that had the appearance of the garrison being alarmed,—no drum nor gun. We began to suppose that the information we got from our prisoners was false, and that the enemy already knew of us, and were prepared. . . . A little before sunset we moved, and displayed ourselves in full view of the town, crowds gazing at us. We were plunging ourselves into certain destruction or success. There was no midway thought of. We had but little to say to our men, except inculcating an idea of the necessity of obedience, etc. We knew they did not want encouraging, and that anything might be attempted with them that was possible for such a number,—perfectly cool, under

proper subordination, pleased with the prospect before them, and much attached to their officers. They all declared that they were convinced that an implicit obedience to orders was the only thing that would insure success, and hoped that no mercy would be shown the person that should violate them. Such language as this from soldiers to persons in our station must have been exceedingly agreeable. We moved on slowly in full view of the town; but, as it was a point of some consequence to us to make ourselves appear as formidable, we, in leaving the covert that we were in, marched and counter-marched in such a manner that we appeared numerous. In raising volunteers in the Illinois, every person that set about the business had a set of colors given him, which they brought with them to the amount of ten or twelve pairs. These were displayed to the best advantage; and, as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent risings in it seven or eight feet higher than the common level (which was covered with water), and as these risings generally run in an oblique direction to the town, we took the advantage of one of them, marching through the water under it, which completely prevented our being numbered. But our colors showed considerably above the heights, as they were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, and at a distance made no despicable appearance; and, as our young Frenchmen had, while we lay on the Warrior's Island, decoyed and taken several fowlers with their horses, officers were mounted on these horses, and rode about, more completely to deceive the enemy. In this manner we moved, and directed our march in such a way as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half-way to the town. We then suddenly altered our direction, and crossed ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about eight o'clock gained the heights back of the town. As there was yet no hostile appearance, we were impatient to have the cause unriddled. Lieutenant Bayley was ordered, with fourteen men, to march and fire on the fort. The main body moved in a different direction, and took possession of the strongest part of the town.

"The firing now commenced on the fort, but they did not believe it was an enemy until one of their men was shot down through a port, as drunken Indians frequently saluted the fort after night. The drums now sounded, and the business fairly commenced on both sides. Re-enforcements were sent to the attack of the garrison, while other arrangements were making in town. . . . We now found that the garrison had known

nothing of us ; that, having finished the fort that evening, they had amused themselves at different games, and had just retired before my letter arrived, as it was near roll-call. The placard being made public, many of the inhabitants were afraid to show themselves out of the houses for fear of giving offence, and not one dare give information. Our friends flew to the commons and other convenient places to view the pleasing sight. This was observed from the garrison, and the reason asked, but a satisfactory excuse was given ; and, as a part of the town lay between our line of march and the garrison, we could not be seen by the sentinels on the walls. Captain W. Shannon and another being some time before taken prisoners by one of their [scouting parties], and that evening brought in, the party had discovered at the Sugar Camp some signs of us. They supposed it to be a party of observation that intended to land on the height some distance below the town. Captain Lamotte was sent to intercept them. It was at him the people said they were looking, when they were asked the reason of their unusual stir. Several suspected persons had been taken to the garrison ; among them was Mr. Moses Henry. Mrs. Henry went, under the pretense of carrying him provisions, and whispered him the news and what she had seen. Mr. Henry conveyed it to the rest of his fellow-prisoners, which gave them much pleasure, particularly Captain Helm, who amused himself very much during the siege, and, I believe, did much damage.

“Ammunition was scarce with us, as the most of our stores had been put on board of the galley. Though her crew was but few, such a re-enforcement to us at this time would have been invaluable in many instances. But, fortunately, at the time of its being reported that the whole of the goods in the town were to be taken for the king’s use (for which the owners were to receive bills), Colonel Legras, Major Bosseron, and others had buried the greatest part of their powder and ball. This was immediately produced, and we found ourselves well supplied by those gentlemen.

“The Tobacco’s son, being in town with a number of warriors, immediately mustered them, and let us know that he wished to join us, saying that by the morning he would have a hundred men. He received for answer that we thanked him for his friendly disposition ; and, as we were sufficiently strong ourselves, we wished him to desist, and that we would counsel on the subject in the morning ; and, as we knew that there were a number of Indians in and near the town that were our

enemies, some confusion might happen if our men should mix in the dark, but hoped that we might be favored with his counsel and company during the night, which was agreeable to him.

“The garrison was soon completely surrounded, and the firing continued without intermission (except about fifteen minutes a little before day) until about nine o'clock the following morning. It was kept up by the whole of the troops, joined by a few of the young men of the town, who got permission, except fifty men kept as a reserve. . . . I had made myself fully acquainted with the situation of the fort and town and the parts relative to each. The cannon of the garrison was on the upper floors of strong blockhouses at each angle of the fort, eleven feet above the surface, and the ports so badly cut that many of our troops lay under the fire of them within twenty or thirty yards of the walls. They did no damage, except to the buildings of the town, some of which they much shattered; and their musketry, in the dark, employed against woodsmen covered by houses, palings, ditches, the banks of the river, etc., was but of little avail, and did no injury to us except wounding a man or two. As we could not afford to lose men, great care was taken to preserve them sufficiently covered, and to keep up a hot fire in order to intimidate the enemy as well as to destroy them. The embrasures of their cannon were frequently shut, for our riflemen, finding the true direction of them, would pour in such volleys when they were opened that the men could not stand to the guns. Seven or eight of them in a short time got cut down. Our troops would frequently abuse the enemy, in order to aggravate them to open their ports and fire their cannon, that they might have the pleasure of cutting them down with their rifles, fifty of which, perhaps, would be levelled the moment the port flew open; and I believe that, if they had stood at their artillery, the greater part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night, as the greater part of our men lay within thirty yards of the walls, and in a few hours were covered equally to those within the walls, and much more experienced in that mode of fighting. . . . Sometimes an irregular fire, as hot as possible, was kept up from different directions for a few minutes, and then only a continual scattering fire at the ports as usual; and a great noise and laughter immediately commenced in different parts of the town, by the reserved parties, as if they had only fired on the fort a few minutes for amusement, and as if those continually firing at the

fort were only regularly relieved. Conduct similar to this kept the garrison constantly alarmed. They did not know what moment they might be stormed or [blown up?], as they could plainly discover that we had flung up some entrenchments across the streets, and appeared to be frequently very busy under the bank of the river, which was within thirty feet of the walls. The situation of the magazine we knew well. Captain Bowman began some works in order to blow it up, in case our artillery should arrive; but, as we knew that we were daily liable to be overpowered by the numerous bands of Indians on the river, in case they had again joined the enemy (the certainty of which we were unacquainted with), we resolved to lose no time, but to get the fort in our possession as soon as possible. If the vessel did not arrive before the ensuing night, we resolved to undermine the fort, and fixed on the spot and plan of executing this work, which we intended to commence the next day.

“The Indians of different tribes that were inimical had left the town and neighborhood. Captain Lamotte continued to hover about it, in order, if possible, to make his way good into the fort. Parties attempted in vain to surprise him. A few of his party were taken, one of which was Maisonville, a famous Indian partisan. Two lads that captured him tied him to a post in the street, and fought from behind him as a breastwork, supposing that the enemy would not fire at them for fear of killing him, as he would alarm them by his voice. The lads were ordered, by an officer who discovered them at their amusement, to untie their prisoner, and take him off to the guard, which they did, but were so inhuman as to take part of his scalp on the way. There happened to him no other damage. As almost the whole of the persons who were most active in the department of Detroit were either in the fort or with Captain Lamotte, I got extremely uneasy for fear that he would not fall into our power, knowing that he would go off, if he could not get into the fort in the course of the night. Finding that, without some unforeseen accident, the fort must inevitably be ours, and that a re-enforcement of twenty men, although considerable to them, would not be of great moment to us in the present situation of affairs, and knowing that we had weakened them by killing or wounding many of their gunners, after some deliberation, we concluded to risk the re-enforcement in preference of his going again among the Indians. The garrison had at least a month’s provisions; and, if they could hold out, in the course of that time he might do us



much damage. A little before day the troops were withdrawn from their positions about the fort, except a few parties of observation, and the firing totally ceased. Orders were given, in case of Lamotte's approach, not to alarm or fire on him without a certainty of killing or taking the whole. In less than a quarter of an hour, he passed within ten feet of an officer and a party that lay concealed. Ladders were flung over to them; and, as they mounted them, our party shouted. Many of them fell from the top of the walls,—some within, and others back; but, as they were not fired on, they all got over, much to the joy of their friends. But, on considering the matter, they must have been convinced that it was a scheme of ours to let them in, and that we were so strong as to care but little about them or the manner of their getting into the garrison. . . . The firing immediately commenced on both sides with double vigor; and I believe that more noise could not have been made by the same number of men. Their shouts could not be heard for the firearms; but a continual blaze was kept around the garrison, without much being done, until about daybreak, when our troops were drawn off to posts prepared for them, about sixty or seventy yards from the fort. A loophole then could scarcely be darkened but a rifle-ball would pass through it. To have stood to their cannon would have destroyed their men, without a probability of doing much service. Our situation was nearly similar. It would have been imprudent in either party to have wasted their men, without some decisive stroke required it.

“Thus the attack continued until about nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th. Learning that the two prisoners they had brought in the day before had a considerable number of letters with them, I supposed it an express that we expected about this time, which I knew to be of the greatest moment to us, as we had not received one since our arrival in the country; and, not being fully acquainted with the character of our enemy, we were doubtful that those papers might be destroyed, to prevent which I sent a flag [with a letter] demanding the garrison.”

The following is a copy of the letter which was addressed by Colonel Clark to Lieutenant-governor Hamilton on this occasion:—

“*Sir*,—In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender

yourself, with all your garrison, stores, etc. For, if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town; for, by heavens! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

“(Signed)

G. R. CLARK.”

The British commandant immediately returned the following answer:—

“Lieutenant-governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy British subjects.”

“The firing then,” says Clark, “commenced warmly for a considerable time; and we were obliged to be careful in preventing our men from exposing themselves too much, as they were now much animated, having been refreshed during the flag. They frequently mentioned their wishes to storm the place, and put an end to the business at once. . . . The firing was heavy through every crack that could be discovered in any part of the fort. Several of the garrison got wounded, and no possibility of standing near the embrasures. Toward the evening a flag appeared with the following proposals:—

“Lieutenant-governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days, during which time he promises there shall be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe, on his part, a like cessation of any defensive work,—that is, he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be, and promises that whatever may pass between them two and another person mutually agreed upon to be present shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes that, whatever the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor and credit of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant-governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

“(Signed)

HENRY HAMILTON.

“‘24TH FEBRUARY, 1779.’

“I was at a great loss to conceive what reason Lieutenant-governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce of three days on such terms as he proposed. Numbers said it was a

scheme to get me into their possession. I had a different opinion and no idea of his possessing such sentiments, as an act of that kind would infallibly ruin him. Although we had the greatest reason to expect a re-enforcement in less than three days, that would at once put an end to the siege, I yet did not think it prudent to agree to the proposals, and sent the following answer:—

“Colonel Clark’s compliments to Lieutenant-governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that he will not agree to any terms other than Mr. Hamilton’s surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark, he will meet him at the church with Captain Helm.

“(Signed)

G. R. C.

“FEBRUARY 24TH, 1779.’

“We met at the church, about eighty yards from the fort, Lieutenant-governor Hamilton, Major Hay, superintendent of Indian affairs, Captain Helm, their prisoner, Major Bowman, and myself. The conference began. Hamilton produced terms of capitulation, signed, that contained various articles, one of which was that the garrison should be surrendered on their being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on every article, I rejected the whole. He then wished that I would make some proposition. I told him that I had no other to make than what I had already made,—that of his surrendering as prisoners at discretion. I said that his troops had behaved with spirit; that they could not suppose that they would be worse treated in consequence of it; that, if he chose to comply with the demand, though hard, perhaps the sooner the better; that it was in vain to make any proposition to me; that he, by this time, must be sensible that the garrison would fall; that both of us must [view?] all blood spilt for the future by the garrison as murder; that my troops were already impatient, and called aloud for permission to tear down and storm the fort. If such a step was taken, many, of course, would be cut down; and the result of an enraged body of woodsmen breaking in must be obvious to him. It would be out of the power of an American officer to save a single man. Various altercation took place for a considerable time. Captain Helm attempted to moderate our fixed determination. I told him he was a British prisoner; and it was doubtful

whether or not he could, with propriety, speak on the subject. Hamilton then said that Captain Helm was from that moment liberated, and might use his pleasure. I informed the Captain that I would not receive him on such terms; that he must return to the garrison, and await his fate. I then told Lieutenant-governor Hamilton that hostilities should not commence until five minutes after the drums gave the alarm. We took our leave, and parted but a few steps, when Hamilton stopped, and politely asked me if I would be so kind as to give him my reasons for refusing the garrison any other terms than those I had offered. I told him I had no objections in giving him my real reasons, which were simply these: that I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partisans of Detroit were with him; that I wanted an excuse to put them to death or otherwise treat them as I thought proper; that the cries of the widows and the fatherless on the frontiers, which they had occasioned, now required their blood from my hand; and that I did not choose to be so timorous as to disobey the absolute commands of their authority, which I looked upon to be next to divine; that I would rather lose fifty men than not to empower myself to execute this piece of business with propriety; that, if he chose to risk the massacre of his garrison for their sakes, it was his own pleasure; and that I might, perhaps, take it into my head to send for some of those widows to see it executed. Major Hay paying great attention, I had observed a kind of distrust in his countenance, which in a great measure influenced my conversation during this time. On my concluding, 'Pray, sir,' said he, 'who is it that you call Indian partisans?' 'Sir,' I replied, 'I take Major Hay to be one of the principal.' I never saw a man in the moment of execution so struck as he appeared to be,—pale and trembling, scarcely able to stand. Hamilton blushed, and, I observed, was much affected at his behavior. Major Bowman's countenance sufficiently explained his disdain for the one and his sorrow for the other. . . . Some moments elapsed without a word passing on either side. From that moment my resolutions changed respecting Hamilton's situation. I told him that we would return to our respective posts; that I would reconsider the matter, and let him know the result. No offensive measures should be taken in the meantime. Agreed to; and we parted. What had passed being made known to our officers, it was agreed that we should moderate our resolutions."

In the course of the afternoon of the 24th the following articles were signed, and the garrison capitulated:—

"I. Lieutenant-governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, etc.

"II. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms and accouterments, etc.

"III. The garrison to be delivered up at ten o'clock to-morrow.

"IV. Three days time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

"V. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc.

"Signed at Post St. Vincent [Vincennes] 24th of February, 1779.

"Agreed for the following reasons: the remoteness from succor; the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and, lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

"(Signed)

HENRY HAMILTON,

*"Lieut.-gov. and Superintendent."*

"The business being now nearly at an end, troops were posted in several strong houses around the garrison and patrolled during the night to prevent any deception that might be attempted. The remainder on duty lay on their arms, and for the first time for many days past got some rest. . . . During the siege, I got only one man wounded. Not being able to lose many, I made them secure themselves well. Seven were badly wounded in the fort through ports. . . . Almost every man had conceived a favorable opinion of Lieutenant-governor Hamilton,—I believe what affected myself made some impression on the whole; and I was happy to find that he never deviated, while he stayed with us, from that dignity of conduct that became an officer in his situation. The morning of the 25th approaching, arrangements were made for receiving the garrison [which consisted of seventy-nine men], and about ten o'clock it was delivered in form; and everything was immediately arranged to the best advantage."

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The conquest of the country north of the Ohio River by George Rogers Clark in 1778-9 was one of the most heroic episodes of the period of the Revolution, and one of the most important in its consequences. It was because, owing to this conquest, the country between the Ohio and the

Mississippi was actually held by us, under military and civil rule, at the close of the war, that it was possible for us to secure, in the Treaty of Paris, the concession of the Mississippi instead of the Ohio as our western boundary. It has been properly said that, "with respect to the magnitude of its design, the valor and perseverance with which it was carried out, and the momentous results which were produced by it, Clark's expedition stands without a parallel in the early annals of the valley of the Mississippi."

Clark was a young Virginian who had settled in Kentucky in 1775, had secured the organization of Kentucky as a county of Virginia, and been the leader in the defence of the frontier. The Kentucky and Illinois country suffered greatly during the early years of the war from Indian depredations. Clark saw clearly that the sources of these depredations were the British posts of Detroit, Vincennes on the Wabash, and Kaskaskia on the Mississippi; and he went to Virginia and laid before Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, a scheme for the conquest of the North-west, the boldness of which at once enlisted the interest and co-operation of Henry, Jefferson, and other influential men. With his little army of one hundred and fifty men, he surprised and captured Kaskaskia on the night of July 4, 1778, did much by wise diplomacy to attach the French and Indians to the American cause, and in February, 1779, marched upon Vincennes. The hardships of that march of one hundred and sixty-six miles were almost incredible. In that great era of brave deeds there was no braver deed than this. A portion of Clark's own account of the march and the capture of Vincennes, taken from his Memoirs, composed at the special request of Jefferson and Madison, is given in the present leaflet. The weakness of his force alone prevented Clark from moving on Detroit. The county of Illinois was established by the General Assembly of Virginia, covering all the territory; and this remained under the actual control of Virginia at the close of the war and when the Treaty of Paris was under consideration. "The arms of Clark had settled the question of possession and civil as well as military rule of this great territory, which now holds so many millions of people. These prominent facts were before the British minister and before the world. He could not say that this part of the land was in the power of England any more than Virginia herself was after the battle of Yorktown, and he was too accurate a jurist to yield to any claim of Spain or to hear the objections of France."

The last years of this great man's life were spent in solitude and poverty near Louisville. He felt keenly the ingratitude of the republic; and, when late in his life the State of Virginia sent him a sword, he exclaimed to the committee: "When Virginia needed a sword, I gave her one. She sends me now a toy. I want bread!"—thrust the sword into the ground, and broke it with his crutch.

John Reynolds called George Rogers Clark "the Washington of the West," and John Randolph styled him "the Hannibal of the West." See chapter entitled "The Hannibal of the West," in Dunn's *Indiana*, in the "American Commonwealths" series, for the best brief account of Clark's exploits. W. F. Poole's chapter on "The West," in the sixth volume of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, contains an invaluable mass of material concerning Clark and his work. A good biography of Clark is a desideratum. The memoirs, from which the present leaflet is taken, are printed in Dillon's *History of Indiana*. A letter from Clark to George Mason, covering his Vincennes campaign, has been published under the title of *Clark's Campaign in the Illinois* (Cincinnati, 1869).



# Captain Meriwether Lewis.

BY THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 18, 1813.

*Sir*,— In compliance with the request conveyed in your letter of May 25, I have endeavoured to obtain, from the relations and friends of the late Governor Lewis, information of such incidents of his life as might be not unacceptable to those who may read the narrative of his western discoveries. The ordinary occurrences of a private life, and those, also, while acting in a subordinate sphere in the army in a time of peace, are not deemed sufficiently interesting to occupy the public attention; but a general account of his parentage, with such smaller incidents as marked his early character, are briefly noted, and to these are added, as being peculiarly within my own knowledge, whatever related to the public mission, of which an account is now to be published. The result of my inquiries and recollections shall now be offered, to be enlarged or abridged as you may think best, or otherwise to be used with the materials you may have collected from other sources.

Meriwether Lewis, late governor of Louisiana, was born on the eighteenth of August, 1774, near the town of Charlottesville, in the county of Albemarle, in Virginia, of one of the distinguished families of that state. John Lewis, one of his father's uncles, was a member of the king's council before the revolution. Another of them, Fielding Lewis, married a sister of General Washington. His father, William Lewis, was the youngest of five sons of Colonel Robert Lewis, of Albemarle, the fourth of whom, Charles, was one of the early patriots who stepped forward in the commencement of

the revolution, and commanded one of the regiments first raised in Virginia, and placed on continental establishment. Happily situated at home, with a wife and young family, and a fortune placing him at ease, he left all to aid in the liberation of his country from foreign usurpations, then first unmasking their ultimate end and aim. His good sense, integrity, bravery, enterprise, and remarkable bodily powers marked him as an officer of great promise; but he unfortunately died early in the revolution. Nicholas Lewis, the second of his father's brothers, commanded a regiment of militia in the successful expedition of 1776 against the Cherokee Indians, who, seduced by the agents of the British government to take up the hatchet against us, had committed great havoc on our southern frontier by murdering and scalping helpless women and children, according to their cruel and cowardly principles of warfare. The chastisement they then received closed the history of their wars, and prepared them for receiving the elements of civilization, which, zealously inculcated by the present government of the United States, have rendered them an industrious, peaceable, and happy people. This member of the family of Lewises, whose bravery was so usefully proved on this occasion, was endeared to all who knew him by his inflexible probity, courteous disposition, benevolent heart, and engaging modesty and manners. He was the umpire of all the private differences of his county,—selected always by both parties. He was also the guardian of Meriwether Lewis, of whom we are now to speak, and who had lost his father at an early age. He continued some years under the fostering care of a tender mother of the respectable family of Meriwethers of the same county, and was remarkable even in infancy for enterprise, boldness, and discretion. When only eight years of age, he habitually went out, in the dead of night, alone with his dogs, into the forest, to hunt the raccoon and opossum, which, seeking their food in the night, can then only be taken. In this exercise, no season or circumstance could obstruct his purpose,—plunging through the winter's snows and frozen streams in pursuit of his object. At thirteen he was put to the Latin school, and continued at that until eighteen, when he returned to his mother, and entered on the cares of his farm, having, as well as a younger brother, been left by his father with a competency for all the correct and comfortable purposes of temperate life. His talent for observation, which had led him to an accurate knowledge of the plants and animals of his own country, would have distinguished him



as a farmer ; but, at the age of twenty, yielding to the ardour of youth and a passion for more dazzling pursuits, he engaged as a volunteer in the body of militia which were called out by General Washington on occasion of the discontents produced by the excise taxes in the western parts of the United States, and from that situation he was removed to the regular service as a lieutenant in the line. At twenty-three he was promoted to a captaincy ; and, always attracting the first attention where punctuality and fidelity were requisite, he was appointed paymaster to his regiment. About this time a circumstance occurred which, leading to the transaction which is the subject of this book, will justify a recurrence to its original idea. While I resided in Paris, John Ledyard, of Connecticut, arrived there, well known in the United States for energy of body and mind. He had accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage to the Pacific ocean, and distinguished himself on that voyage by his intrepidity. Being of a roaming disposition, he was now panting for some new enterprise. His immediate object at Paris was to engage a mercantile company in the fur-trade of the western coast of America, in which, however, he failed. I then proposed to him to go by land to Kam-schatka, cross in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, fall down into the latitude of the Missouri, and penetrate to, and through, that to the United States. He eagerly seized the idea, and only asked to be assured of the permission of the Russian government. I interested in obtaining that M. de Simoulin, minister plenipotentiary of the empress at Paris, but more especially the Baron de Grimm, minister plenipotentiary of Saxe-Gotha, her more special agent and correspondent there in matters not immediately diplomatic. Her permission was obtained, and an assurance of protection while the course of the voyage should be through her territories. Ledyard set out from Paris, and arrived at St. Petersburg after the empress had left that place to pass the winter, I think, at Moscow. His finances not permitting him to make unnecessary stay at St. Petersburg, he left it with a passport from one of the ministers, and at two hundred miles from Kamschatka was obliged to take up his winter quarters. He was preparing, in the spring, to resume his journey, when he was arrested by an officer of the empress, who by this time had changed her mind, and forbidden his proceeding. He was put into a close carriage, and conveyed day and night, without ever stopping, till they reached Poland, where he was set down and left to himself. The fatigue of this journey broke down his constitution ;

and, when he returned to Paris, his bodily strength was much impaired. His mind, however, remained firm; and he after this undertook the journey to Egypt. I received a letter from him, full of sanguine hopes, dated at Cairo, the fifteenth of November, 1788, the day before he was to set out for the head of the Nile, on which day, however, he ended his career and life; and thus failed the first attempt to explore the western part of our northern continent.

In 1792 I proposed to the American Philosophical Society that we should set on foot a subscription to engage some competent person to explore that region in the opposite direction; that is, by ascending the Missouri, crossing the Stony mountains, and descending the nearest river to the Pacific. Captain Lewis, being then stationed at Charlottesville, on the recruiting service, warmly solicited me to obtain for him the execution of that object. I told him it was proposed that the person engaged should be attended by a single companion only, to avoid exciting alarm among the Indians. This did not deter him; but Mr. Andre Michaux, a professed botanist, author of the *Flora Boreali-Americana*, and of the *Histoire des Chesnes d'Amerique*, offering his services, they were accepted. He received his instructions; and, when he had reached Kentucky in the prosecution of his journey, he was overtaken by an order from the minister of France, then at Philadelphia, to relinquish the expedition, and to pursue elsewhere the botanical inquiries on which he was employed by that government; and thus failed the second attempt for exploring that region.

In 1803 the act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes being about to expire, some modifications of it were recommended to congress by a confidential message of January 18th, and an extension of its views to the Indians on the Missouri. In order to prepare the way, the message proposed the sending an exploring party to trace the Missouri to its source, to cross the Highlands, and follow the best water-communication which offered itself from thence to the Pacific ocean. Congress approved the proposition, and voted a sum of money for carrying it into execution. Captain Lewis, who had then been near two years with me as private secretary, immediately renewed his solicitations to have the direction of the party. I had now had opportunities of knowing him intimately. Of courage undaunted; possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those

committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded, by exact observation of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves,—with all these qualifications, as if selected and implanted by nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him. To fill up the measure desired, he wanted nothing but a greater familiarity with the technical language of the natural sciences and readiness in the astronomical observations necessary for the geography of his route. To acquire these he repaired immediately to Philadelphia, and placed himself under the tutorage of the distinguished professors of that place, who, with a zeal and emulation enkindled by an ardent devotion to science, communicated to him freely the information requisite for the purposes of the journey. While attending, too, at Lancaster, the fabrication of the arms with which he chose that his men should be provided, he had the benefit of daily communication with Mr. Andrew Ellicot, whose experience in astronomical observation, and practice of it in the woods, enabled him to apprise captain Lewis of the wants and difficulties he would encounter, and of the substitutes and resources offered by a woodland and uninhabited country.

Deeming it necessary he should have some person with him of known competence to the direction of the enterprise, in the event of accident to himself, he proposed William Clarke, brother of general George Rogers Clarke, who was approved, and, with that view, received a commission of captain.

In April, 1803, a draught of his instructions was sent to captain Lewis, and on the twentieth of June they were signed in the following form:

“To Meriwether Lewis, esquire, captain of the first regiment of infantry of the United States of America:

“Your situation as secretary of the president of the United States has made you acquainted with the objects of my confidential message of January 18, 1803, to the legislature; you have seen the act they passed, which, though expressed in general terms, was meant to sanction those objects, and you are appointed to carry them into execution.

“Instruments for ascertaining, by celestial observations, the geography of the country through which you will pass have been already provided. Light articles for barter and presents among the Indians, arms for your attendants, say for from ten to twelve men, boats, tents, and other travelling apparatus, with ammunition, medicine, surgical instruments, and provisions, you will have prepared, with such aids as the secretary at war can yield in his department; and from him also you will receive authority to engage among our troops, by voluntary agreement, the number of attendants abovementioned, over whom you, as their commanding officer, are invested with all the powers the laws give in such a case.

“As your movements while within the limits of the United States will be better directed by occasional communications, adapted to circumstances as they arise, they will not be noticed here. What follows will respect your proceedings after your departure from the United States.

“Your mission has been communicated to the ministers here from France, Spain, and Great Britain, and through them to their governments, and such assurances given them as to its objects as we trust will satisfy them. The country of Louisiana having been ceded by Spain to France, the passport you have from the minister of France, the representative of the present sovereign of the country, will be a protection with all its subjects; and that from the minister of England will entitle you to the friendly aid of any traders of that allegiance with whom you may happen to meet.

“The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri river, and such principal streams of it as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practicable water-communication across the continent for the purposes of commerce.

“Beginning at the mouth of the Missouri, you will take observations of latitude and longitude at all remarkable points on the river, and especially at the mouths of rivers, at rapids, at islands, and other places and objects distinguished by such natural marks and characters, of a durable kind, as that they may with certainty be recognized hereafter. The courses of the river between these points of observation may be supplied by the compass, the log-line, and by time, corrected by the observations themselves. The variations of the needle, too, in different places should be noticed.

“The interesting points of the portage between the heads

of the Missouri, and of the water offering the best communication with the Pacific ocean, should also be fixed by observation, and the course of that water to the ocean in the same manner as that of the Missouri.

“Your observations are to be taken with great pains and accuracy; to be entered distinctly and intelligibly for others as well as yourself; to comprehend all the elements necessary, with the aid of the usual tables, to fix the latitude and longitude of the places at which they were taken; and are to be rendered to the war-office, for the purpose of having the calculations made concurrently by proper persons within the United States. Several copies of these, as well as of your other notes, should be made at leisure times, and put into the care of the most trustworthy of your attendants to guard, by multiplying them, against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed. A further guard would be that one of these copies be on the cuticular membranes of the paper-birch, as less liable to injury from damp than common paper.

“The commerce which may be carried on with the people inhabiting the line you will pursue renders a knowledge of those people important. You will therefore endeavour to make yourself acquainted, as far as a diligent pursuit of your journey shall admit, with the names of the nations and their numbers;

“The extent and limits of their possessions;

“Their relations with other tribes or nations;

“Their language, traditions, monuments;

“Their ordinary occupations in agriculture, fishing, hunting, war, arts, and the implements for these;

“Their food, clothing, and domestic accommodations;

“The diseases prevalent among them, and the remedies they use;

“Moral and physical circumstances which distinguish them from the tribes we know;

“Peculiarities in their laws, customs, and dispositions;

“And articles of commerce they may need or furnish, and to what extent.

“And, considering the interest which every nation has in extending and strengthening the authority of reason and justice among the people around them, it will be useful to acquire what knowledge you can of the state of morality, religion, and information among them, as it may better enable those who may endeavour to civilize and instruct them to adapt their measures to the existing notions and practices of those on whom they are to operate.

“Other objects worthy of notice will be —

“The soil and face of the country, its growth and vegetable productions, especially those not of the United States ;

“The animals of the country generally, and especially those not known in the United States ;

“The remains and accounts of any which may be deemed rare or extinct ;

“The mineral productions of every kind, but more particularly metals, lime-stone, pit-coal, and saltpetre, salines and mineral waters, noting the temperature of the last, and such circumstances as may indicate their character ;

“Volcanic appearances ;

“Climate as characterized by the thermometer, by the proportion of rainy, cloudy, and clear days ; by lightning, hail, snow, ice ; by the access and recess of frost ; by the winds prevailing at different seasons ; the dates at which particular plants put forth or lose their flower or leaf ; times of appearance of particular birds, reptiles, or insects.

“Although your route will be along the channel of the Missouri, yet you will endeavour to inform yourself, by inquiry, of the character and extent of the country watered by its branches, and especially on its southern side. The North river, or Rio Bravo, which runs into the gulf of Mexico, and the North river, or Rio Colorado, which runs into the gulf of California, are understood to be the principal streams heading opposite to the waters of the Missouri, and running southwardly. Whether the dividing grounds between the Missouri and them are mountains or flat lands, what are their distance from the Missouri, the character of the intermediate country, and the people inhabiting it, are worthy of particular inquiry. The northern waters of the Missouri are less to be inquired after, because they have been ascertained to a considerable degree, and are still in a course of ascertainment by English traders and travellers ; but, if you can learn any thing certain of the most northern source of the Mississippi, and of its position relatively to the Lake of the Woods, it will be interesting to us. Some account, too, of the path of the Canadian traders from the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Ouisconsin to where it strikes the Missouri, and of the soil and rivers in its course, is desirable.

“In all your intercourse with the natives, treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit ; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey ; satisfy them of its innocence ; make them acquainted

with the position, extent, character, peaceable and commercial dispositions of the United States, of our wish to be neighborly, friendly, and useful to them, and of our dispositions to a commercial intercourse with them; confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums and the articles of most desirable interchange for them and us. If a few of their influential chiefs, within practicable distance, wish to visit us, arrange such a visit with them, and furnish them with authority to call on our officers on their entering the United States, to have them conveyed to this place at the public expense. If any of them should wish to have some of their young people brought up with us, and taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive, instruct, and take care of them. Such a mission, whether of influential chiefs or of young people, would give some security to your own party. Carry with you some matter of the kine-pox, inform those of them with whom you may be of its efficacy as a preservative from the small-pox, and instruct and encourage them in the use of it. This may be especially done wherever you winter.

“As it is impossible for us to foresee in what manner you will be received by those people, whether with hospitality or hostility, so is it impossible to prescribe the exact degree of perseverance with which you are to pursue your journey. We value too much the lives of citizens to offer them to probable destruction. Your numbers will be sufficient to secure you against the unauthorized opposition of individuals or of small parties; but, if a superior force, authorized or not authorized by a nation, should be arrayed against your further passage, and inflexibly determined to arrest it, you must decline its further pursuit and return. In the loss of yourselves we should lose also the information you will have acquired. By returning safely with that, you may enable us to renew the essay with better calculated means. To your own discretion, therefore, must be left the degree of danger you may risk and the point at which you should decline, only saying, we wish you to err on the side of your safety, and to bring back your party safe, even if it be with less information.

“As far up the Missouri as the white settlements extend, an intercourse will probably be found to exist between them and the Spanish posts of St. Louis opposite Cahokia, or St. Genevieve opposite Kaskaskia. From still further up the river the traders may furnish a conveyance for letters. Beyond that you may perhaps be able to engage Indians to bring let-

ters for the government to Cahokia or Kaskaskia, on promising that they shall there receive such special compensation as you shall have stipulated with them. Avail yourself of these means to communicate to us, at seasonable intervals, a copy of your journal, notes, and observations of every kind, putting into cypher whatever might do injury if betrayed.

“Should you reach the Pacific ocean, inform yourself of the circumstances which may decide whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri (convenient as is supposed to the waters of the Colorado and Oregon or Columbia) as at Nootka Sound, or any other point of that coast; and that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri and United States more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised.

“On your arrival on that coast, endeavour to learn if there be any port within your reach frequented by the sea vessels of any nation, and to send two of your trusty people back by sea, in such way as shall appear practicable, with a copy of your notes; and should you be of opinion that the return of your party by the way they went will be imminently dangerous, then ship the whole, and return by sea, by the way either of Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, as you shall be able. As you will be without money, clothes, or provisions, you must endeavour to use the credit of the United States to obtain them, for which purpose open letters of credit shall be furnished you, authorizing you to draw on the executive of the United States, or any of its officers, in any part of the world, on which draughts can be disposed of, and to apply with our recommendations to the consuls, agents, merchants, or citizens of any nation with which we have intercourse, assuring them, in our name, that any aids they may furnish you shall be honorably repaid, and on demand. Our consuls, Thomas Hewes, at Batavia, in Java, William Buchanan, in the Isles of France and Bourbon, and John Elmslie, at the Cape of Good Hope, will be able to supply your necessities by draughts on us.

“Should you find it safe to return by the way you go, after sending two of your party round by sea, or with your whole party, if no conveyance by sea can be found, do so, making such observations on your return as may serve to supply, correct, or confirm those made on your outward journey.

“On re-entering the United States and reaching a place of safety, discharge any of your attendants who may desire and deserve it, procuring for them immediate payment of all arrears of pay and clothing which may have incurred since their



departure, and assure them that they shall be recommended to the liberality of the legislature for the grant of a soldier's portion of land each, as proposed in my message to congress, and repair yourself, with your papers, to the seat of government.

“To provide, on the accident of your death, against anarchy, dispersion, and the consequent danger to your party, and total failure of the enterprise, you are hereby authorized, by any instrument signed and written in your own hand, to name the person among them who shall succeed to the command on your decease, and by like instruments to change the nomination, from time to time, as further experience of the characters accompanying you shall point out superior fitness; and all the powers and authorities given to yourself are, in the event of your death, transferred to, and vested in the successor so named, with further power to him and his successors, in like manner to name each his successor, who, on the death of his predecessor, shall be invested with all the powers and authorities given to yourself. Given under my hand at the city of Washington, this twentieth day of June, 1803.

“THOMAS JEFFERSON,  
*“President of the United States of America.”*”

While these things were going on here, the country of Louisiana, lately ceded by Spain to France, had been the subject of negotiation at Paris between us and this last power, and had actually been transferred to us by treaties executed at Paris on the thirtieth of April. This information, received about the first day of July, increased infinitely the interest we felt in the expedition, and lessened the apprehensions of interruption from other powers. Every thing in this quarter being now prepared, Captain Lewis left Washington on the fifth of July, 1803, and proceeded to Pittsburg, where other articles had been ordered to be provided for him. The men, too, were to be selected from the military stations on the Ohio. Delays of preparation, difficulties of navigation down the Ohio, and other untoward obstructions, retarded his arrival at Cahokia until the season was so far advanced as to render it prudent to suspend his entering the Missouri before the ice should break up in the succeeding spring.

From this time his journal, now published, will give the history of his journey to and from the Pacific ocean, until his return to St. Louis on the twenty-third of September, 1806.

Never did a similar event excite more joy through the United States. The humblest of its citizens had taken a lively interest in the issue of this journey, and looked forward with impatience for the information it would furnish. Their anxieties, too, for the safety of the corps had been kept in a state of excitement by lugubrious rumours, circulated from time to time on uncertain authorities, and uncontradicted by letters or other direct information, from the time they had left the Mandan towns, on their ascent up the river in April of the preceding year, 1805, until their actual return to St. Louis.

It was the middle of February, 1807, before Captain Lewis, with his companion Captain Clarke, reached the city of Washington, where congress was then in session. That body granted to the two chiefs and their followers the donation of lands which they had been encouraged to expect in reward of their toil and dangers. Captain Lewis was soon after appointed governor of Louisiana, and Captain Clarke a general of its militia, and agent of the United States for Indian affairs in that department.

A considerable time intervened before the governor's arrival at St. Louis. He found the territory distracted by feuds and contentions among the officers of the government, and the people themselves divided by these into factions and parties. He determined at once to take no side with either, but to use every endeavour to conciliate and harmonize them. The even-handed justice he administered to all soon established a respect for his person and authority; and perseverance and time wore down animosities, and reunited the citizens again into one family.

Governor Lewis had, from early life, been subject to hypochondriac affections. It was a constitutional disposition in all the nearer branches of the family of his name, and was more immediately inherited by him from his father. They had not, however, been so strong as to give uneasiness to his family. While he lived with me in Washington, I observed at times sensible depressions of mind; but, knowing their constitutional source, I estimated their course by what I had seen in the family. During his western expedition the constant exertion which that required of all the faculties of body and mind suspended these distressing affections; but, after his establishment at St. Louis in sedentary occupations, they returned upon him with redoubled vigour, and began seriously to alarm his friends. He was in a paroxysm of one of these when his affairs rendered it necessary for him to go to Washington.

He proceeded to the Chickasaw Bluffs, where he arrived on the sixteenth of September, 1809, with a view of continuing his journey thence by water. Mr. Neely, agent of the United States with the Chickasaw Indians, arriving there two days after, found him extremely indisposed, and betraying at times some symptoms of a derangement of mind. The rumours of a war with England, and apprehensions that he might lose the papers he was bringing on, among which were the vouchers of his public accounts, and the journals and papers of his western expedition, induced him here to change his mind, and to take his course by land through the Chickasaw country. Although he appeared somewhat relieved, Mr. Neely kindly determined to accompany and watch over him. Unfortunately, at their encampment, after having passed the Tennessee one day's journey, they lost two horses, which obliging Mr. Neely to halt for their recovery, the governor proceeded, under a promise to wait for him at the house of the first white inhabitant on his road. He stopped at the house of a Mr. Grinder, who not being at home, his wife, alarmed at the symptoms of derangement she discovered, gave him up the house, and retired to rest herself in an out-house, the governor's and Neely's servants lodging in another. About three o'clock in the night he did the deed which plunged his friends into affliction, and deprived his country of one of her most valued citizens, whose valour and intelligence would have been now employed in avenging the wrongs of his country, and in emulating by land the splendid deeds which have honoured her arms on the ocean. It lost, too, to the nation the benefit of receiving from his own hand the narrative now offered them of his sufferings and successes, in endeavouring to extend for them the boundaries of science, and to present to their knowledge that vast and fertile country which their sons are destined to fill with arts, with science, with freedom and happiness.

To this melancholy close of the life of one whom posterity will declare not to have lived in vain, I have only to add that all the facts I have stated are either known to myself or communicated by his family or others, for whose truth I have no hesitation to make myself responsible; and I conclude with tendering you the assurances of my respect and consideration.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Mr. PAUL ALLEN, Philadelphia.

LEWIS AND CLARKE AT THE SOURCES OF THE MISSOURI AND  
THE COLUMBIA.*Extract from their Journal.*

Monday, August 12 [1805]. This morning as soon as it was light Captain Lewis sent Drewyer to reconnoitre, if possible, the route of the Indians. In about an hour and a half he returned, after following the tracks of the horse which we had lost yesterday to the mountains, where they ascended and were no longer visible. Captain Lewis now decided on making the circuit along the foot of the mountains which formed the cove, expecting by that means to find a road across them, and accordingly sent Drewyer on one side and Shields on the other. In this way they crossed four small rivulets near each other, on which were some bowers or conical lodges of willow brush, which seemed to have been made recently. From the manner in which the ground in the neighbourhood was torn up the Indians appeared to have been gathering roots; but Captain Lewis could not discover what particular plant they were searching for, nor could he find any fresh track till at the distance of four miles from his camp he met a large plain Indian road which came into the cove from the north-east, and wound along the foot of the mountains to the south-west, approaching obliquely the main stream he had left yesterday. Down this road he now went towards the south-west. At the distance of five miles it crossed a large run or creek, which is a principal branch of the main stream into which it falls, just above the high cliffs or gates observed yesterday, and which they now saw below them. Here they halted, and breakfasted on the last of the deer, keeping a small piece of pork in reserve against accident. They then continued through the low bottom along the main stream near the foot of the mountains on their right. For the first five miles the valley continues towards the south-west from two to three miles in width. Then the main stream, which had received two small branches from the left in the valley, turns abruptly to the west through a narrow bottom between the mountains. The road was still plain, and, as it led them directly on towards the mountain, the stream gradually became smaller till, after going two miles, it had so greatly diminished in width that one of the men in a fit of enthusiasm, with one foot on each side of the river, thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri. As they went along, their hopes of soon seeing the waters of the Columbia arose almost to pain-

ful anxiety, when after four miles from the last abrupt turn of the river they reached a small gap formed by the high mountains which recede on each side, leaving room for the Indian road. From the foot of one of the lowest of these mountains, which rises with a gentle ascent of about half a mile, issues the remotest water of the Missouri. They had now reached the hidden sources of that river, which had never yet been seen by civilized man; and, as they quenched their thirst at the chaste and icy fountain, as they sat down by the brink of that little rivulet, which yielded its distant and modest tribute to the parent ocean, they felt themselves rewarded for all their labours and all their difficulties. They left reluctantly this interesting spot, and, pursuing the Indian road through the interval of the hills, arrived at the top of a ridge, from which they saw high mountains partially covered with snow still to the west of them. The ridge on which they stood formed the dividing line between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. They followed a descent much steeper than that on the eastern side, and at the distance of three-quarters of a mile reached a handsome bold creek of cold, clear water running to the westward. They stopped to taste for the first time the waters of the Columbia; and after a few minutes followed the road across steep hills and low hollows till they reached a spring on the side of a mountain. Here they found a sufficient quantity of dry willow brush for fuel, and therefore halted for the night; and, having killed nothing in the course of the day, supped on their last piece of pork, and trusted to fortune for some other food to mix with a little flour and parched meal, which was all that now remained of their provisions. Before reaching the fountain of the Missouri, they saw several large hawks nearly black, and some of the heath cocks: these last have a long pointed tail, and are of a uniform dark brown colour, much larger than the common dunghill fowl, and similar in habits and the mode of flying to the grouse or prairie hen. Drewyer also wounded at the distance of one hundred and thirty yards an animal which we had not yet seen, but which, after falling, recovered itself and escaped. It seemed to be of the fox kind, rather larger than the small wolf of the plains, and with a skin in which black, reddish brown, and yellow were curiously intermixed. On the creek of the Columbia they found a species of currant which does not grow as high as that of the Missouri, though it is more branching, and its leaf, the under-disk of which is covered with a hairy pubescence, is twice as large. The fruit is of the ordinary size and shape

of the currant, and supported in the usual manner, but is of a deep purple colour, acid, and of a very inferior flavour.

We proceeded on in the boats, but, as the river was very shallow and rapid, the navigation is extremely difficult, and the men who are almost constantly in the water are getting feeble and sore, and so much worn down by fatigue that they are very anxious to commence travelling by land. We went along the main channel which is on the right side; and, after passing nine bends in that direction, three islands and a number of bayous, reached at the distance of five and a half miles the upper point of a large island. At noon there was a storm of thunder, which continued about half an hour, after which we proceeded; but, as it was necessary to drag the canoes over the shoals and rapids, made but little progress. On leaving the island, we passed a number of short bends, several bayous, and one run of water on the right side; and, having gone by four small and two large islands, encamped on a smooth plain to the left near a few cottonwood-trees. Our journey by water was just twelve miles, and four in a direct line. The hunters supplied us with three deer and a fawn.

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The famous expedition of Lewis and Clarke, 1804-6, was the first of the many expeditions sent out during the century for the exploration of the Rocky Mountains. This expedition was sent upon the recommendation of Jefferson, at that time President. Captain Lewis had been Jefferson's private secretary; Captain Clarke was a brother of the famous George Rogers Clarke. Their company consisted of about thirty men, half of them soldiers. In the spring of 1804 they began to ascend the Missouri. They passed the winter among the Mandans, moved forward again early the next April, reached the sources of the Missouri in August, travelled through the mountains, in October embarked on one of the branches of the Columbia, and on November 15 reached the Pacific at the mouth of that great river, having travelled over 4,000 miles. Turning back the next spring, March, 1806, they reached St. Louis in September, after an absence of two years and four months.

The literature of the Lewis and Clarke expedition is very large, especially in the way of government publications. A full account of this literature may be found in the chapter on "Territorial Acquisitions," in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. vii. The principal popular work is the well-known *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clarke*, in two volumes, published in 1814. This work was begun by Lewis, and after his suicide was carried on by Nicholas Biddle, with the aid of Clarke and the use of the journals of various officers. The whole was revised by Paul Allen; and Jefferson furnished the memoir of Captain Lewis which is reprinted in the present leaflet. This is doubly valuable, as embodying Jefferson's original instructions to Lewis, showing the remarkable comprehensiveness and wisdom of Jefferson's views concerning the expedition, which was to give our people their first authentic, scientific knowledge of the Rocky Mountain country.

The best brief account of Lewis and Clarke's expedition is in H. H. Bancroft's *History of the Pacific States*, vol. xxiii., which also contains accounts of later expeditions. The



## First Ascent of Fremont's Peak

FROM FREMONT'S JOURNAL OF HIS FIRST EXPEDITION.

August 10 [1842].—The air at sunrise is clear and pure, and the morning extremely cold, but beautiful. A lofty snow peak of the mountain is glittering in the first rays of the sun, which has not yet reached us. The long mountain wall to the east, rising two thousand feet abruptly from the plain, behind which we see the peaks, is still dark, and cuts clear against the glowing sky. A fog, just risen from the river, lies along the base of the mountain. A little before sunrise, the thermometer was at  $35^{\circ}$ , and at sunrise  $33^{\circ}$ . Water froze last night, and fires are very comfortable. The scenery becomes hourly more interesting and grand, and the view here is truly magnificent; but, indeed, it needs something to repay the long prairie journey of a thousand miles. The sun has just shot above the wall, and makes a magical change. The whole valley is glowing and bright, and all the mountain peaks are gleaming like silver. Though these snow mountains are not the Alps, they have their own character of grandeur and magnificence, and will doubtless find pens and pencils to do them justice. In the scene before us, we feel how much wood improves a view. The pines on the mountain seemed to give it much additional beauty. I was agreeably disappointed in the character of the streams on this side the ridge. Instead of the creeks, which description had led me to expect, I find bold, broad streams, with three or four feet water, and a rapid current. The fork on which we are encamped is upwards of a hundred feet wide, timbered with groves or thickets of the low willow. We were now approaching the loftiest part of the Wind River chain; and I left the valley a few miles from our encampment, intending to penetrate the mountains, as far as possible, with

the whole party. We were soon involved in very broken ground, among long ridges covered with fragments of granite. Winding our way up a long ravine, we came unexpectedly in view of a most beautiful lake, set like a gem in the mountains. The sheet of water lay transversely across the direction we had been pursuing; and, descending the steep, rocky ridge, where it was necessary to lead our horses, we followed its banks to the southern extremity. Here a view of the utmost magnificence and grandeur burst upon our eyes. With nothing between us and their feet to lessen the effect of the whole height, a grand bed of snow-capped mountains rose before us, pile upon pile, glowing in the bright light of an August day. Immediately below them lay the lake, between two ridges, covered with dark pines, which swept down from the main chain to the spot where we stood. Here, where the lake glittered in the open sunlight, its banks of yellow sand and the light foliage of aspen groves contrasted well with the gloomy pines. "Never before," said Mr. Preuss, "in this country or in Europe, have I seen such magnificent, grand rocks." I was so much pleased with the beauty of the place that I determined to make the main camp here, where our animals would find good pasturage, and explore the mountains with a small party of men. Proceeding a little further, we came suddenly upon the outlet of the lake, where it found its way through a narrow passage between low hills. Dark pines, which overhung the stream, and masses of rock, where the water foamed along, gave it much romantic beauty. Where we crossed, which was immediately at the outlet, it is two hundred and fifty feet wide, and so deep that with difficulty we were able to ford it. Its bed was an accumulation of rocks, boulders, and broad slabs, and large angular fragments, among which the animals fell repeatedly.

The current was very swift, and the water cold and of a crystal purity. In crossing this stream, I met with a great misfortune in having my barometer broken. It was the only one. A great part of the interest of the journey for me was in the exploration of these mountains, of which so much had been said that was doubtful and contradictory; and now their snowy peaks rose majestically before me, and the only means of giving them authentically to science, the object of my anxious solicitude by night and day, was destroyed. We had brought this barometer in safety a thousand miles, and broke it almost among the snow of the mountains. The loss was felt by the whole camp. All had seen my anxiety, and aided me in preserving it. The height of these mountains, considered by the



hunters and traders the highest in the whole range, had been a theme of constant discussion among them; and all had looked forward with pleasure to the moment when the instrument, which they believed to be true as the sun, should stand upon the summits and decide their disputes. Their grief was only inferior to my own.

This lake is about three miles long and of very irregular width and apparently great depth, and is the head water of the third New Fork, a tributary to Green River, the Colorado of the West. On the map and in the narrative I have called it Mountain Lake. I encamped on the north side, about three hundred and fifty yards from the outlet. This was the most western point at which I obtained astronomical observations, by which this place, called Bernier's encampment, is made in  $110^{\circ} 08' 03''$  west longitude from Greenwich, and latitude  $43^{\circ} 49' 49''$ . The mountain peaks, as laid down, were fixed by bearings from this and other astronomical points. We had no other compass than the small ones used in sketching the country; but from an azimuth, in which one of them was used, the variation of the compass is  $18^{\circ}$  east. The correction made in our field work by the astronomical observations indicates that this is a very correct observation.

As soon as the camp was formed, I set about endeavoring to repair my barometer. As I have already said, this was a standard cistern barometer, of Troughton's construction. The glass cistern had been broken about midway; but, as the instrument had been kept in a proper position, no air had found its way into the tube, the end of which had always remained covered. I had with me a number of vials of tolerably thick glass, some of which were of the same diameter as the cistern, and I spent the day in slowly working on these, endeavoring to cut them of the requisite length; but, as my instrument was a very rough file, I invariably broke them. A groove was cut in one of the trees, where the barometer was placed during the night, to be out of the way of any possible danger; and in the morning I commenced again. Among the powder horns in the camp, I found one which was very transparent, so that its contents could be almost as plainly seen as through glass. This I boiled and stretched on a piece of wood to the requisite diameter, and scraped it very thin, in order to increase to the utmost its transparency. I then secured it firmly in its place on the instrument with strong glue made from a buffalo, and filled it with mercury properly heated. A piece of skin, which had covered one of the vials, furnished a good pocket, which

was well secured with strong thread and glue; and then the brass cover was screwed to its place. The instrument was left some time to dry; and, when I reversed it, a few hours after, I had the satisfaction to find it in perfect order, its indications being about the same as on the other side of the lake before it had been broken. Our success in this little incident diffused pleasure throughout the camp; and we immediately set about our preparations for ascending the mountains.

As will be seen, on reference to a map, on this short mountain chain are the head waters of four great rivers of the continent,—namely, the Colorado, Columbia, Missouri, and Platte Rivers. It had been my design, after having ascended the mountains, to continue our route on the western side of the range, and, crossing through a pass at the north-western end of the chain, about thirty miles from our present camp, return along the eastern slope across the heads of the Yellowstone River, and join on the line to our station of August 7, immediately at the foot of the ridge. In this way, I should be enabled to include the whole chain and its numerous waters in my survey; but various considerations induced me, very reluctantly, to abandon this plan.

I was desirous to keep strictly within the scope of my instructions; and it would have required ten or fifteen additional days for the accomplishment of this object. Our animals had become very much worn out with the length of the journey; game was very scarce; and, though it does not appear in the course of the narrative (as I have avoided dwelling upon trifling incidents not connected with the objects of the expedition), the spirits of the men had been much exhausted by the hardships and privations to which they had been subjected. Our provisions had well-nigh all disappeared. Bread had been long out of the question; and of all our stock we had remaining two or three pounds of coffee and a small quantity of macaroni, which had been husbanded with great care for the mountain expedition we were about to undertake. Our daily meal consisted of dry buffalo meat cooked in tallow; and, as we had not dried this with Indian skill, part of it was spoiled, and what remained of good was as hard as wood, having much the taste and appearance of so many pieces of bark. Even of this, our stock was rapidly diminishing in a camp which was capable of consuming two buffaloes in every twenty-four hours. These animals had entirely disappeared, and it was not probable that we should fall in with them again until we returned to the Sweet Water.

Our arrangements for the ascent were rapidly completed. We were in a hostile country, which rendered the greatest vigilance and circumspection necessary. The pass at the north end of the mountain was generally infested by Blackfeet; and immediately opposite was one of their forts, on the edge of a little thicket, two or three hundred feet from our encampment. We were posted in a grove of beech, on the margin of the lake, and a few hundred feet long, with a narrow *prairillon* on the inner side, bordered by the rocky ridge. In the upper end of this grove we cleared a circular space about forty feet in diameter, and with the felled timber and interwoven branches surrounded it with a breastwork five feet in height. A gap was left for a gate on the inner side, by which the animals were to be driven in and secured, while the men slept around the little work. It was half hidden by the foliage, and, garrisoned by twelve resolute men, would have set at defiance any band of savages which might chance to discover them in the interval of our absence. Fifteen of the best mules, with fourteen men, were selected for the mountain party. Our provisions consisted of dried meat for two days, with our little stock of coffee and some macaroni. In addition to the barometer and a thermometer I took with me a sextant and spy-glass, and we had, of course, our compasses. In charge of the camp I left Brenier, one of my most trustworthy men, who possessed the most determined courage.

*August 12.*—Early in the morning we left the camp, fifteen in number, well armed, of course, and mounted on our best mules. A pack animal carried our provisions, with a coffee-pot and kettle and three or four tin cups. Every man had a blanket strapped over his saddle, to serve for his bed, and the instruments were carried by turns on their backs. We entered directly on rough and rocky ground, and, just after crossing the ridge, had the good fortune to shoot an antelope. We heard the roar, and had a glimpse of a waterfall as we rode along; and, crossing in our way two fine streams, tributary to the Colorado, in about two hours' ride we reached the top of the first row or range of the mountains. Here, again, a view of the most romantic beauty met our eyes. It seemed as if, from the vast expanse of uninteresting prairie we had passed over, Nature had collected all her beauties together in one chosen place. We were overlooking a deep valley, which was entirely occupied by three lakes, and from the brink the surrounding ridges rose precipitously five hundred and a thousand feet, covered with the dark green of the balsam pine, relieved on the border of

the lake with the light foliage of the aspen. They all communicated with each other; and the green of the waters, common to mountain lakes of great depth, showed that it would be impossible to cross them. The surprise manifested by our guides when these impassable obstacles suddenly barred our progress proved that they were among the hidden treasures of the place, unknown even to the wandering trappers of the region. Descending the hill, we proceeded to make our way along the margin to the southern extremity. A narrow strip of angular fragments of rock sometimes afforded a rough pathway for our mules; but generally we rode along the shelving side, occasionally scrambling up, at a considerable risk of tumbling back into the lake.

The slope was frequently  $60^{\circ}$ . The pines grew densely together, and the ground was covered with the branches and trunks of trees. The air was fragrant with the odor of the pines; and I realized this delightful morning the pleasure of breathing that mountain air which makes a constant theme of the hunter's praise, and which now made us feel as if we had all been drinking some exhilarating gas. The depths of this unexplored forest were a place to delight the heart of a botanist. There was a rich undergrowth of plants and numerous gay-colored flowers in brilliant bloom. We reached the outlet at length, where some freshly barked willows that lay in the water showed that beaver had been recently at work. There were some small brown squirrels jumping about in the pines and a couple of large mallard ducks swimming about in the stream.

The hills on this southern end were low, and the lake looked like a mimic sea as the waves broke on the sandy beach in the force of a strong breeze. There was a pretty open spot, with fine grass for our mules; and we made our noon halt on the beach, under the shade of some large hemlocks. We resumed our journey after a halt of about an hour, making our way up the ridge on the western side of the lake. In search of smoother ground, we rode a little inland, and, passing through groves of aspen, soon found ourselves again among the pines. Emerging from these, we struck the summit of the ridge above the upper end of the lake.

We had reached a very elevated point; and in the valley below and among the hills were a number of lakes at different levels, some two or three hundred feet above others, with which they communicated by foaming torrents. Even to our great height, the roar of the cataracts came up; and we could see

them leaping down in lines of snowy foam. From this scene of busy waters, we turned abruptly into the stillness of a forest, where we rode among the open bolls of the pines over a lawn of verdant grass, having strikingly the air of cultivated grounds. This led us, after a time, among masses of rock, which had no vegetable earth but in hollows and crevices, though still the pine forest continued. Toward evening we reached a defile, or rather a hole in the mountains, entirely shut in by dark pine-covered rocks.

A small stream, with a scarcely perceptible current, flowed through a level bottom of perhaps eighty yards' width, where the grass was saturated with water. Into this the mules were turned, and were neither hobbled nor picketed during the night, as the fine pasturage took away all temptation to stray; and we made our bivouac in the pines. The surrounding masses were all of granite. While supper was being prepared, I set out on an excursion in the neighborhood, accompanied by one of my men. We wandered about among the crags and ravines until dark, richly repaid for our walk by a fine collection of plants, many of them in full bloom. Ascending a peak to find the place of our camp, we saw that the little defile in which we lay communicated with the long green valley of some stream, which, here locked up in the mountains, far away to the south, found its way in a dense forest to the plains.

Looking along its upward course, it seemed to conduct by a smooth gradual slope directly toward the peak, which, from long consultation as we approached the mountain, we had decided to be the highest of the range. Pleased with the discovery of so fine a road for the next day, we hastened down to the camp, where we arrived just in time for supper. Our table service was rather scant; and we held the meat in our hands, and clean rocks made good plates on which we spread our macaroni. Among all the strange places on which we had occasion to encamp during our long journey, none have left so vivid an impression on my mind as the camp of this evening. The disorder of the masses which surrounded us, the little hole through which we saw the stars overhead, the dark pines where we slept, and the rocks lit up with the glow of our fires made a night picture of very wild beauty.

*August 13.*—The morning was bright and pleasant, just cool enough to make exercise agreeable; and we soon entered the defile I had seen the preceding day. It was smoothly carpeted with a soft grass and scattered over with groups of flowers, of which yellow was the predominant color. Sometimes we were

forced by an occasional difficult pass to pick our way on a narrow ledge along the side of the defile, and the mules were frequently on their knees; but these obstructions were rare, and we journeyed on in the sweet morning air, delighted at our good fortune in having found such a beautiful entrance to the mountains. This road continued for about three miles, when we suddenly reached its termination in one of the grand views which at every turn meet the traveller in this magnificent region. Here the defile up which we had travelled opened out into a small lawn, where, in a little lake, the stream had its source.

There were some fine *asters* in bloom, but all the flowering plants appeared to seek the shelter of the rocks and to be of lower growth than below, as if they loved the warmth of the soil, and kept out of the way of the winds. Immediately at our feet a precipitous descent led to a confusion of defiles, and before us rose the mountains as we have represented them in the annexed view. It is not by the splendor of far-off views, which have lent such a glory to the Alps, that these impress the mind, but by a gigantic disorder of enormous masses and a savage sublimity of naked rock in wonderful contrast with innumerable green spots of a rich floral beauty shut up in their stern recesses. Their wildness seems well suited to the character of the people who inhabit the country.

I determined to leave our animals here and make the rest of our way on foot. The peak appeared so near that there was no doubt of our returning before night; and a few men were left in charge of the mules, with our provisions and blankets. We took with us nothing but our arms and instruments, and, as the day had become warm, the greater part left our coats. Having made an early dinner, we started again. We were soon involved in the most ragged precipices, nearing the central chain very slowly, and rising but little. The first ridge hid a succession of others; and when, with great fatigue and difficulty, we had climbed up five hundred feet, it was but to make an equal descent on the other side. All these intervening places were filled with small deep lakes, which met the eye in every direction, descending from one level to another, sometimes under bridges formed by huge fragments of granite, beneath which was heard the roar of the water. These constantly obstructed our path, forcing us to make long *détours*, frequently obliged to retrace our steps, and frequently falling among the rocks. Maxwell was precipitated toward the face of a precipice, and saved himself from going over by throwing

himself flat on the ground. We clambered on, always expecting with every ridge that we crossed to reach the foot of the peaks, and always disappointed, until about four o'clock, when, pretty well worn out, we reached the shore of a little lake in which there was a rocky island, and from which we obtained the view given in the frontispiece. We remained here a short time to rest, and continued on around the lake, which had in some places a beach of white sand, and in others was bound with rocks, over which the way was difficult and dangerous, as the water from innumerable springs made them very slippery.

By the time we had reached the further side of the lake, we found ourselves all exceedingly fatigued, and, much to the satisfaction of the whole party, we encamped. The spot we had chosen was a broad, flat rock, in some measure protected from the winds by the surrounding crags, and the trunks of fallen pines afforded us bright fires. Near by was a foaming torrent which tumbled into the little lake about one hundred and fifty feet below us, and which, by way of distinction, we have called Island Lake. We had reached the upper limit of the piney region; as above this point no tree was to be seen, and patches of snow lay everywhere around us on the cold sides of the rocks. The flora of the region we had traversed since leaving our mules was extremely rich, and among the characteristic plants the scarlet flowers of the *Dodecatheon dentatum* everywhere met the eye in great abundance. A small green ravine, on the edge of which we were encamped, was filled with a profusion of alpine plants in brilliant bloom. From barometrical observations made during our three days' sojourn at this place, its elevation above the Gulf of Mexico is 10,000 feet. During the day we had seen no sign of animal life; but among the rocks here we heard what was supposed to be the bleat of a young goat, which we searched for with hungry activity, and found to proceed from a small animal of a gray color, with short ears and no tail,—probably the Siberian squirrel. We saw a considerable number of them, and, with the exception of a small bird like a sparrow, it is the only inhabitant of this elevated part of the mountains. On our return we saw below this lake large flocks of the mountain goat. We had nothing to eat to-night. Lajeunesse with several others took their guns and sallied out in search of a goat, but returned unsuccessful. At sunset the barometer stood at 20.522, the attached thermometer 50°. Here we had the misfortune to break our thermometer, having now only that attached to the barometer. I was taken ill shortly after we had encamped, and continued so until late

in the night, with violent headache and vomiting. This was probably caused by the excessive fatigue I had undergone and want of food, and perhaps also in some measure by the rarity of the air. The night was cold, as a violent gale from the north had sprung up at sunset, which entirely blew away the heat of the fires. The cold and our granite beds had not been favorable to sleep, and we were glad to see the face of the sun in the morning. Not being delayed by any preparation for breakfast, we set out immediately.

On every side as we advanced was heard the roar of waters and of a torrent, which we followed up a short distance until it expanded into a lake about one mile in length. On the northern side of the lake was a bank of ice, or rather of snow covered with a crust of ice. Carson had been our guide into the mountains, and agreeably to his advice we left this little valley and took to the ridges again, which we found extremely broken and where we were again involved among precipices. Here were ice fields; among which we were all dispersed, seeking each the best path to ascend the peak. Mr. Preuss attempted to walk along the upper edge of one of these fields, which sloped away at an angle of about twenty degrees; but his feet slipped from under him, and he went plunging down the plane. A few hundred feet below, at the bottom, were some fragments of sharp rock, on which he landed, and, though he turned a couple of somersets, fortunately received no injury beyond a few bruises. Two of the men, Clément Lambert and Descoteaux, had been taken ill, and lay down on the rocks a short distance below; and at this point I was attacked with headache and giddiness, accompanied by vomiting, as on the day before. Finding myself unable to proceed, I sent the barometer over to Mr. Preuss, who was in a gap two or three hundred yards distant, desiring him to reach the peak, if possible, and take an observation there. He found himself unable to proceed further in that direction, and took an observation where the barometer stood at 19.401, attached thermometer  $50^{\circ}$  in the gap. Carson, who had gone over to him, succeeded in reaching one of the snowy summits of the main ridge, whence he saw the peak towards which all our efforts had been directed towering eight or ten hundred feet into the air above him. In the mean time, finding myself grow rather worse than better, and doubtful how far my strength would carry me, I sent Basil Lajeunesse with four men back to the place where the mules had been left.

We were now better acquainted with the topography of the country; and I directed him to bring back with him, if it were



in any way possible, four or five mules, with provisions and blankets. With me were Maxwell and Ayer; and, after we had remained nearly an hour on the rock, it became so unpleasantly cold, though the day was bright, that we set out on our return to the camp, at which we all arrived safely, straggling in one after the other. I continued ill during the afternoon, but became better towards sundown, when my recovery was completed by the appearance of Basil and four men, all mounted. The men who had gone with him had been too much fatigued to return, and were relieved by those in charge of the horses; but in his powers of endurance Basil resembled more a mountain goat than a man. They brought blankets and provisions, and we enjoyed well our dried meat and a cup of good coffee. We rolled ourselves up in our blankets, and, with our feet turned to a blazing fire, slept soundly until morning.

*August 15.*—It had been supposed that we had finished with the mountains; and the evening before it had been arranged that Carson should set out at daylight, and return to breakfast at the Camp of the Mules, taking with him all but four or five men, who were to stay with me and bring back the mules and instruments. Accordingly, at the break of day they set out. With Mr. Preuss and myself remained Basil Lajeunesse, Clément Lambert, Janisse, and Descoteaux. When we had secured strength for the day by a hearty breakfast, we covered what remained, which was enough for one meal, with rocks, in order that it might be safe from any marauding bird, and, saddling our mules, turned our faces once more towards the peaks. This time we determined to proceed quietly and cautiously, deliberately resolved to accomplish our object, if it were within the compass of human means. We were of opinion that a long defile which lay to the left of yesterday's route would lead us to the foot of the main peak. Our mules had been refreshed by the fine grass in the little ravine at the island camp, and we intended to ride up the defile as far as possible, in order to husband our strength for the main ascent. Though this was a fine passage, still it was a defile of the most rugged mountains known, and we had many a rough and steep slippery place to cross before reaching the end. In this place the sun rarely shone. Snow lay along the border of the small stream which flowed through it, and occasional icy passages made the footing of the mules very insecure; and the rocks and ground were moist with the trickling waters in this spring of mighty rivers. We soon had the satisfaction to find ourselves riding along the huge wall which forms the central summits of the

chain. There at last it rose by our sides, a nearly perpendicular wall of granite, terminating 2,000 to 3,000 feet above our heads in a serrated line of broken, jagged cones. We rode on until we came almost immediately below the main peak, which I denominated the Snow Peak, as it exhibited more snow to the eye than any of the neighboring summits. Here were three small lakes of a green color, each of perhaps a thousand yards in diameter, and apparently very deep. These lay in a kind of chasm; and, according to the barometer, we had attained but a few hundred feet above the Island Lake. The barometer here stood at 20.450, attached thermometer 70°.

We managed to get our mules up to a little bench about a hundred feet above the lakes, where there was a patch of good grass, and turned them loose to graze. During our rough ride to this place, they had exhibited a wonderful surefootedness. Parts of the defile were filled with angular, sharp fragments of rock,—three or four and eight or ten feet cube,—and among these they had worked their way, leaping from one narrow point to another, rarely making a false step, and giving us no occasion to dismount. Having divested ourselves of every unnecessary encumbrance, we commenced the ascent. This time, like experienced travellers, we did not press ourselves, but climbed leisurely, sitting down so soon as we found breath beginning to fail. At intervals we reached places where a number of springs gushed from the rocks, and about 1,800 feet above the lakes came to the snow line. From this point our progress was uninterrupted climbing. Hitherto I had worn a pair of thick moccasins, with soles of *parfleche*; but here I put on a light thin pair, which I had brought for the purpose, as now the use of our toes became necessary to a further advance. I availed myself of a sort of comb of the mountain, which stood against the wall like a buttress, and which the wind and the solar radiation, joined to the steepness of the smooth rock, had kept almost entirely free from snow. Up this I made my way rapidly. Our cautious method of advancing in the outset had spared my strength; and, with the exception of a slight disposition to headache, I felt no remains of yesterday's illness. In a few minutes we reached a point where the buttress was overhanging, and there was no other way of surmounting the difficulty than by passing around one side of it, which was the face of a vertical precipice of several hundred feet.

Putting hands and feet in the crevices between the blocks, I succeeded in getting over it, and, when I reached the top, found my companions in a small valley below. Descending

to them, we continued climbing, and in a short time reached the crest. I sprang upon the summit, and another step would have precipitated me into an immense snow field five hundred feet below. To the edge of this field was a sheer icy precipice ; and then, with a gradual fall, the field sloped off for about a mile, until it struck the foot of another lower ridge. I stood on a narrow crest, about three feet in width, with an inclination of about  $20^{\circ}$  N.  $51^{\circ}$  E. As soon as I had gratified the first feelings of curiosity, I descended, and each man ascended in his turn ; for I would only allow one at a time to mount the unstable and precarious slab, which it seemed a breath would hurl into the abyss below. We mounted the barometer in the snow of the summit, and, fixing a ramrod in a crevice, unfurled the national flag to wave in the breeze where never flag waved before. During our morning's ascent we had met no sign of animal life except the small, sparrow-like bird already mentioned. A stillness the most profound and a terrible solitude forced themselves constantly on the mind as the great features of the place. Here on the summit where the stillness was absolute, unbroken by any sound, and the solitude complete, we thought ourselves beyond the region of animated life ; but, while we were sitting on the rock, a solitary bee (*bromus, the humble bee*) came winging his flight from the eastern valley, and lit on the knee of one of the men.

It was a strange place — the icy rock and the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains — for a lover of warm sunshine and flowers ; and we pleased ourselves with the idea that he was the first of his species to cross the mountain barrier, a solitary pioneer to foretell the advance of civilization. I believe that a moment's thought would have made us let him continue his way unharmed ; but we carried out the law of this country, where all animated nature seems at war, and, seizing him immediately, put him in at least a fit place, — in the leaves of a large book, among the flowers we had collected on our way. The barometer stood at 18.293, the attached thermometer at  $44^{\circ}$ , giving for the elevation of this summit 13,570 feet above the Gulf of Mexico, which may be called the highest flight of the bee. It is certainly the highest known flight of that insect. From the description given by Mackenzie of the mountains where he crossed them with that of a French officer still farther to the north and Colonel Long's measurements to the south, joined to the opinion of the oldest traders of the country, it is presumed that this is the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains. The day was sunny and bright, but a slight shining

mist hung over the lower plains, which interfered with our view of the surrounding country. On one side we overlooked innumerable lakes and streams, the spring of the Colorado of the Gulf of California; and on the other was the Wind River Valley, where were the heads of the Yellowstone branch of the Missouri. Far to the north we just could discover the snowy heads of the *Trois Tetons*, where were the sources of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers; and at the southern extremity of the ridge the peaks were plainly visible, among which were some of the springs of the Nebraska or Platte River. Around us the whole scene had one main striking feature, which was that of terrible convulsion. Parallel to its length, the ridge was split into chasms and fissures, between which rose the thin, lofty walls, terminated with slender minarets and columns, which is correctly represented in the view from the camp on Island Lake. According to the barometer, the little crest of the wall on which we stood was three thousand five hundred and seventy feet above that place and two thousand seven hundred and eighty above the little lakes at the bottom, immediately at our feet. Our camp at the Two Hills (an astronomical station) bore south  $3^{\circ}$  east, which with a bearing afterward obtained from a fixed position enabled us to locate the peak. The bearing of the *Trois Tetons* was north  $50^{\circ}$  west, and the direction of the central ridge of the Wind River Mountains south  $39^{\circ}$  east. The summit rock was gneiss, succeeded by sienitic gneiss. Sienite and feldspar succeeded in our descent to the snow line, where we found a feldspathic granite. I had remarked that the noise produced by the explosion of our pistols had the usual degree of loudness, but was not in the least prolonged, expiring almost instantaneously. Having now made what observations our means afforded, we proceeded to descend. We had accomplished an object of laudable ambition, and beyond the strict order of our instructions. We had climbed the loftiest peak of the Rocky Mountains, and looked down upon the snow a thousand feet below, and, standing where never human foot had stood before, felt the exultation of first explorers. It was about two o'clock when we left the summit; and, when we reached the bottom, the sun had already sunk behind the wall, and the day was drawing to a close. It would have been pleasant to have lingered here and on the summit longer; but we hurried away as rapidly as the ground would permit, for it was an object to regain our party as soon as possible not knowing what accident the next hour might bring forth.

We reached our deposit of provisions at nightfall. Here was not the inn which awaits the tired traveller on his return from

Mont Blanc, or the orange groves of South America, with their refreshing juices and soft, fragrant air; but we found our little *cache* of dried meat and coffee undisturbed. Though the moon was bright, the road was full of precipices, and the fatigue of the day had been great. We therefore abandoned the idea of rejoining our friends, and lay down on the rock, and in spite of the cold slept soundly.

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## THE GREAT SALT LAKE.

*From Fremont's Journal of his Second Expedition.*

The cliffs and masses of rock along the shore were whitened by an incrustation of salt where the waves dashed up against them; and the evaporating water, which had been left in holes and hollows on the surface of the rocks, was covered with a crust of salt about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. It appeared strange that in the midst of this grand reservoir one of our greatest wants lately had been salt. Exposed to be more perfectly dried in the sun, this became very white and fine, having the usual flavor of very excellent common salt, without any foreign taste; but only a little was collected for present use, as there was in it a number of small black insects. Carrying with us the barometer and other instruments, in the afternoon we ascended to the highest point of the island,—a bare, rocky peak, 800 feet above the lake. Standing on the summit, we enjoyed an extended view of the lake, enclosed in a basin of rugged mountains, which sometimes left marshy flats and extensive bottoms between them and the shore, and in other places came directly down into the water with bold and precipitous bluffs. Following with our glasses the irregular shores, we searched for some indications of a communication with other bodies of water or the entrance of other rivers; but the distance was so great that we could make out nothing with certainty. To the southward, several peninsula mountains, 3,000 or 4,000 feet high, entered the lake, appearing, so far as the distance and our position enabled us to determine, to be connected by flats and low ridges with the mountains in the rear. At the season of high waters in the spring it is probable that all the marshes and low grounds are overflowed, and the surface of the lake considerably greater. In several places the view was of unlimited extent,—here and there a rocky islet appearing above the water at a great distance; and beyond everything was vague and undefined. As we looked over the vast expanse of water spread out beneath us, and strained our eyes along the silent shores over which hung so much doubt and certainty, and which were so full of interest to us, I could hardly repress the almost irresistible desire to continue our exploration; but the lengthening snow on the mountains was a plain indication of the advancing season, and our frail linen boat appeared so insecure that I was unwilling to trust our lives to the uncertainties of

the lake. I therefore unwillingly resolved to terminate our survey here, and remain satisfied for the present with what we had been able to add to the unknown geography of the region. We felt pleasure also in remembering that we were the first who, in the traditional annals of the country, had visited the islands, and broken, with the cheerful sound of human voices, the long solitude of the place.

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Save Lewis and Clarke alone, there is no name in the annals of the exploration of the Rocky Mountains so brilliant or noteworthy as that of John C. Fremont. In 1842, when not yet thirty years old, Fremont, then a lieutenant in the corps of topographical engineers, projected a geographical survey of the entire territory of the United States, from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. He left Washington May 2, 1842, under the directions of the War Department, to explore the Rocky Mountains, and particularly to examine the South Pass. He accomplished his task in four months, exploring the Wind River Mountains and ascending their highest point, since known as Fremont's Peak. His report, a passage from which is given in the present leaflet, attracted great attention both in this country and in Europe. In May, 1843, he set out with thirty-nine men on a much more comprehensive expedition. In September, after travelling more than 1,700 miles, he came in sight of the Great Salt Lake, of which very inaccurate notions had obtained until his time. His accounts had an important influence in promoting the settlement of Utah and the Pacific States. He proceeded north to the Columbia River, which he followed to its mouth. He returned to the upper Colorado and thence pushed his way over the mountains, through the snows, enduring terrible hardships, to the Sacramento Valley in California. In March, 1844, he turned southward, then crossed the Sierras, and returned by the way of Salt Lake to Kansas, which he reached after an absence of fourteen months. In 1845 he set out on a third expedition, to explore California and Oregon. On July 4, 1846, he was elected governor of California by the American settlers, and became involved in troubles which led to his leaving the army. In 1848 he started on a fourth expedition, at his own expense, this time to find a southern route to California. He now settled in California, and in 1849 was elected one of the two senators to represent the new State in the United States Senate. In 1853, after a year in Europe, he fitted out a fifth exploring expedition for California, in which his party suffered terrible privations, for fifty days living on horse-flesh, and for forty-eight hours at a time being without food of any kind. His name had now become prominent in politics, on account of his opposition to the extension of slavery; and in 1856 he became the first Republican candidate for the Presidency.

See Fremont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1842, and to Oregon and North California, 1843-44*; also his *Memoirs of my Life* (1887), and the *Lives of Fremont* by Bigelow and others.

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## Father Marquette at Chicago.

FROM MARQUETTE'S NARRATIVE AND DABLON'S RELATION.

After a month's navigation down the Mississippi, from the 42d to below the 34th degree, and after having published the gospel as well as I could to the nations I had met, we left the village of Akamsea on the 17th of July, [1673] to retrace our steps. We accordingly ascended the Mississippi, which gave us great trouble to stem its currents. We left it indeed, about the 38th degree, to enter another river which greatly shortened our way, and brought us, with little trouble, to the lake of the Illinois.\*

We had seen nothing like this river for the fertility of the land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver, its many little lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed is broad, deep, and gentle for sixty-five leagues. During the spring and part of the summer the only portage is half a league.

We found there an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins. They received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe, with his young men, escorted us to the Illinois Lake, whence at last we returned in the close of September to the Bay of the Fetid, whence we had set out in the beginning of June.

Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid; and this I have reason to think, for, when I was returning, I passed by the

\* Lake Michigan was so called for a long time, probably from the fact that through it lay the direct route to the Illinois villages, which Father Marquette was now the first to visit. Marest erroneously treats the name as a mistake of geographers, and is one of the first to call it Michigan. The river which Marquette now ascended has been more fortunate: it still bears the name of Illinois.—*Shea*.

Indians of Peoria.\* I was three days announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which, as we were embarking, they brought me on the water's edge a dying child, which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul.

Father James Marquette, having promised the Illinois, called Kaskaskia, to return among them to teach them our mysteries, had great difficulty in keeping his word. The great hardships of his first voyage had brought on a dysentery, and had so enfeebled him that he lost all hope of undertaking a second voyage. Yet, his malady having given way and almost ceased toward the close of summer in the following year, he obtained permission of his superiors to return to the Illinois to found that noble mission.†

\* Unfortunately, he does not tell us where he met these roving Peorians, who thus enabled him to keep his promise to resist them. As they have left their name on the Illinois River, he may have found them there, below the Kaskaskias, who, no less erratic, left their name to a more southerly river and to a town at its mouth on the Mississippi. It must, then, be borne in mind that Marquette's Peoria and his and Allouez's town of Kaskaskia are quite different from the present places of the name in situation. The Illinois seemed to have formed a link between the wandering Algonquin and the fixed Iroquois. They had villages like the latter; and, though they roved like the former, they roved in villages.— *Shea*.

† By his last journal we learn that Father Marquette was detained at the mission of Saint Francis Xavier in Green Bay during the whole summer of 1674. Recovering in September, he drew up and sent to his superiors copies of his journal down the Mississippi, and, having received orders to repair to the Illinois, set out on the 25th of October with two men named Pierre Porteret and Jacques ——. They crossed the peninsula which forms the eastern side of Green Bay, and began to coast along the shore of Lake Michigan, accompanied by some Illinois and Pottawatomies. They advanced but slowly by land and water, frequently arrested by the state of the lake. On the 23d of November the good missionary was again seized by his malady; but he pushed on, and by the 4th of December had reached the Chicago, which connects by portage with the Illinois. But the river was now frozen; and, though they attempted to proceed, the pious missionary submitted to the necessity, and deprived even of the consolation of saying mass on his patronal feast, the Immaculate Conception, resolved at last, on the 14th, to winter at the portage, as his illness increased. His Indian companions now left him; and, though aided by some French traders, he suffered much during the following months. Of this, however, he says nothing. "The Blessed Virgin Immaculate," says his journal, "has taken such care of us during our wandering that we have never wanted food; we have lived very comfortably; my illness not having prevented my saying mass every day." How little can we realize the faith and self-denial which could give so pleasant a face to a winter passed by a dying man in a cabin open to the winds. The Illinois, aware of his presence so near them, sent indeed; but so gross were their ideas of his object that they asked the dying missionary for powder and goods. "I have come to instruct you, and speak to you of the prayer," was his answer. "Powder I have not: we come to spread peace through the land, and I do not wish to see you at war with the Miamis." As for goods, he could but encourage the French to continue their trade. Despairing at last of human remedies, the missionary and his two pious companions began a novena, or nine days' devotion, to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate. From its close he began to gain strength, and, when the freshet compelled them to remove their cabin, on the 29th of March he set out again on his long interrupted voyage, the river being now open. His last entry is of the 6th of April, when the wind and cold compelled them to halt. He never found time to continue his journal; and his last words are a playful allusion to the hardships undergone by the traders, in which he sympathized, while insensible of his own.— *Shea*.



He set out for this purpose in the month of November, 1674, from the Bay of the Fetid, with two men, one of whom had already made that voyage with him. During a month's navigation on the Illinois Lake he was pretty well; but, as soon as the snow began to fall, he was again seized with the dysentery, which forced him to stop in the river which leads to the Illinois. There they raised a cabin, and spent the winter in such want of every comfort that his illness constantly increased. He felt that God had granted him the grace he had so often asked, and he even plainly told his companions so, assuring them that he would die of that illness and on that voyage. To prepare his soul for its departure, he began that rude wintering by the exercises of Saint Ignatius, which, in spite of his great bodily weakness, he performed with deep sentiments of devotion and great heavenly consolation; and then spent the rest of his time in colloquies with all heaven, having no more intercourse with earth amid these deserts, except with his two companions, whom he confessed and communicated twice a week, and exhorted as much as his strength allowed. Some time after Christmas, in order to obtain the grace not to die without having taken possession of his beloved mission, he invited his companions to make a novena in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Contrary to all human expectation, he was heard, and, recovering, found himself able to proceed to the Illinois town as soon as navigation was free. This he accomplished in great joy, setting out on the 29th of March. He was eleven days on the way, where he had ample matter for suffering, both from his still sickly state and from the severity and inclemency of the weather.

Having at last reached the town on the 8th of April, he was received there as an angel from heaven; and after having several times assembled the chiefs of the nation with all the old men (*anciens*), to sow in their minds the first seed of the gospel, after carrying his instructions into the cabins, which were always filled with crowds of people, he resolved to speak to all publicly in general assembly, which he convoked in the open fields, the cabins being too small for the meeting. A beautiful prairie near the town was chosen for the great council. It was adorned in the fashion of the country, being spread with mats and bear-skins; and the father, having hung on cords some pieces of India taffety, attached to them four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin, which were thus visible on all sides. The auditory was composed of five hundred chiefs and old men, seated in a circle around the father, while the youth stood with-

out to the number of fifteen hundred, not counting women and children who are very numerous, the town being composed of five or six hundred fires.

The father spoke to all this gathering, and addressed them ten words by ten presents which he made them; he explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the end for which he had come to their country; and especially he preached to them Christ crucified, for it was the very eve of the great day on which he died on the cross for them, as well as for the rest of men. He then said mass.

Three days after, on Easter Sunday, things being arranged in the same manner as on Thursday, he celebrated the holy mysteries for the second time; and by these two sacrifices, the first ever offered there to God, he took possession of that land in the name of Jesus Christ, and gave this mission the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

He was listened to with universal joy and approbation by all this people, who earnestly besought him to return as soon as possible among them, since his malady obliged him to leave them. The father, on his part, showed them the affection he bore them, his satisfaction at their conduct, and gave his word that he or some other of our fathers would return to continue this mission so happily begun. This promise he repeated again and again, on parting with them to begin his journey. He set out amid such marks of friendship from these good people that they escorted him with pomp more than thirty leagues of the way, contending with one another for the honor of carrying his little baggage.

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After the Illinois had taken leave of the father, filled with a great idea of the gospel, he continued his voyage, and soon after reached the Illinois Lake, on which he had nearly a hundred leagues to make by an unknown route, because he was obliged to take the southern [eastern] side of the lake, having gone thither by the northern [western]. His strength, however, failed so much that his men despaired of being able to carry him alive to their journey's end; for, in fact, he became so weak and exhausted that he could no longer help himself, nor even stir, and had to be handled and carried like a child.

He nevertheless maintained in this state an admirable equanimity, joy, and gentleness, consoling his beloved companions and encouraging them to suffer courageously all the hardships of the way, assuring them that our Lord would not forsake

them when he was gone. During this navigation he began to prepare more particularly for death, passing his time in colloquies with our Lord, with His holy mother, with his angel-guardian, or with all heaven. He was often heard pronouncing these words: "I believe that my Redeemer liveth," or "Mary, mother of grace, mother of God, remember me." Besides a spiritual reading made for him every day, he toward the close asked them to read him his meditation on the preparation of death, which he carried about him. He recited his breviary every day; and, although he was so low that both sight and strength had greatly failed, he did not omit it till the last day of his life, when his companions induced him to cease, as it was shortening his days.

A week before his death he had the precaution to bless some holy water, to serve him during the rest of his illness, in his agony, and at his burial; and he instructed his companions how to use it.

The eve of his death, which was a Friday, he told them, all radiant with joy, that it would take place on the morrow. During the whole day he conversed with them about the manner of his burial, the way in which he should be laid out, the place to be selected for his interment; he told them how to arrange his hands, feet, and face, and directed them to raise a cross over his grave. He even went so far as to enjoin them, only three hours before he expired, to take his chapel-bell, as soon as he was dead, and ring it while they carried him to the grave. Of all this he spoke so calmly and collectedly that you would have thought that he spoke of the death and burial of another, and not of his own.

Thus did he speak with them as they sailed along the lake, till, perceiving the mouth of a river with an eminence on the bank which he thought suited for his burial, he told them that it was the place of his last repose. They wished, however, to pass on, as the weather permitted it and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind which obliged them to return and enter the river pointed out by Father Marquette.

They then carried him ashore, kindled a little fire, and raised for him a wretched bark cabin, where they laid him as little uncomfortably as they could; but they were so overcome by sadness that, as they afterward said, they did not know what they were doing.

The father being thus stretched on the shore, like Saint Francis Xavier, as he had always so ardently desired, and left alone amid those forests,—for his companions were engaged in

unloading,—he had leisure to repeat all the acts in which he had employed himself during the preceding days.

When his dear companions afterward came up all dejected, he consoled them, and gave them hopes that God would take care of them after his death in those new and unknown countries. He gave them his last instructions, thanked them for all the charity they had shown him during the voyage, begged their pardon for the trouble he had given them, and directed them also to ask pardon in his name of all our fathers and brothers in the Ottawa country, and then disposed them to receive the sacrament of penance, which he administered to them for the last time. He also gave them a paper on which he had written all his faults since his last confession, to be given to his superior to oblige him to pray more earnestly for him. In fine, he promised not to forget them in heaven ; and, as he was very kind-hearted and knew them to be worn out with the toil of the preceding days, he bade them go and take a little rest, assuring them that his hour was not yet so near but that he would wake them when it was time, as in fact he did two or three hours after, calling them when about to enter his agony.

When they came near, he embraced them for the last time, while they melted in tears at his feet. He then asked for the holy water and his reliquary, and, taking off his crucifix, which he wore around his neck, he placed it in the hands of one, asking him to hold it constantly opposite him, raised before his eyes. Then, feeling that he had but a little time to live, he made a last effort, clasped his hands ; and, with his eyes fixed sweetly on his crucifix, he pronounced aloud his profession of faith, and thanked the Divine Majesty for the immense grace he did him in allowing him to die in the society of Jesus,—to die in it as a missionary of Jesus Christ, and, above all, to die in it, as he had always asked, in a wretched cabin amid the forests, destitute of all human aid.

On this he became silent, conversing inwardly with God ; yet from time to time words escaped him : “*Sustinuit anima mea in verba ejus,*” or “*Mater Dei, memento mei,*” which were the last words he uttered before entering on his agony, which was very calm and gentle.

He had prayed his companions to remind him, when they saw him about to expire, to pronounce frequently the names of Jesus and Mary. When he could not do it himself, they did it for him ; and, when they thought him about to pass, one cried aloud, *Jesus Maria*, which he several times repeated distinctly,

and then, as if at those sacred names something had appeared to him, he suddenly raised his eyes above his crucifix, fixing them apparently on some object which he seemed to regard with pleasure, and thus with a countenance all radiant with smiles he expired without a struggle, as gently as if he had sunk into a quiet sleep.

His two poor companions, after shedding many tears over his body, and having laid it out as he had directed, carried it devoutly to the grave, ringing the bell according to his injunction, and raised a large cross near it to serve as a mark for passers-by.

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#### FATHER MARQUETTE AT CHICAGO.

*From an Article on "Early Visitors to Chicago," in the New England Magazine for April, 1892, by Edward G. Mason, President of the Chicago Historical Society.*

It is customary to speak of Chicago as a comparatively new place, but it assumes a respectable antiquity when we remember that it was known to white men more than two hundred years ago. Those who saw it then were so regardless of the curiosity of posterity as to leave but scanty mementoes of their presence. Could any one of them have imagined that he was standing on the site of a city destined to be the second in size in our land, that upon the marsh and sand bank which lay before him was to rise the metropolis of the Great West, we may be sure that he would have taken pains to let us know of his being at the very beginning of human association with this portion of the earth's surface, and to ask us, for that reason, to hold his name in remembrance.

We cannot possibly identify the earliest visitor to Chicago, but high authority is inclined to hold that the first civilized man who crossed the Chicago Portage was the dauntless pioneer, René Robert Cavelier Sieur de la Salle. We know that two years of his life in America are involved in obscurity; and his own journal and maps relating to this period, though in the possession of one of his relatives a century later, have disappeared. But an anonymous manuscript exists purporting to contain an account of his explorations during these years, related by La Salle himself. This states that in 1671 La Salle set forth on Lake Erie, crossed Lake Huron, passed the Straits of Mackinac and La Baye des Puants, which we call Green Bay, and discovered an incomparably larger bay, which doubt-

less was the southern part of Lake Michigan. At its foot towards the west he found "a very good port," and at the end of this a stream going from the east to the west. This port, it is thought by Francis Parkman, whose opinion is of the utmost weight, may have been the entrance to the Chicago River, and the stream the Des Plaines branch of the Illinois. If this manuscript is correct, La Salle was at the site of Chicago two years before Joliet and Marquette. He was the real discoverer of the Great West, for he planned its occupation and began its settlement; and he alone of the men of his time appreciated its boundless possibilities, and with prophetic eye saw in the future its wide area peopled by his own race. It seems very fitting that a city which is the incarnation of the energy, the courage, and the enterprise which animated his iron frame should begin its annals with the splendid name of La Salle.

Assuming, then, that he was the first, the next visitors to Chicago, who are usually spoken of as the earliest, were Louis Joliet, usually written Joliet, and Jacques (James) Marquette. Returning from their famous journey on the Mississippi River, they doubtless crossed the portage from the Des Plaines River to the south branch, and went by way of the Chicago River to Lake Michigan, and along its western shore to the present Green Bay, in the late summer or early fall of the year 1673. Father Marquette in his narrative of this journey mentions the river—that is, the Illinois—which brought them with little trouble to the Lake of Illinois (now Lake Michigan). He says, "We have seen nothing like this river for the fertility of its land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wild-cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver, its many little lakes and rivers." He speaks of the portage of half a league and of the escort which one of the native chiefs gave them to the Lake of the Illinois. These friendly Indian hosts accompanied Joliet and Marquette from the town of Kaskaskia, which was situated on the broad meadow opposite Starved Rock, or, as some think, nearer to the present town of Joliet, and probably bade them good-by upon what is now the Chicago River.

It is curious to notice that Joliet, who was the leader of the party and especially charged by the government with the discovery of the great river, has had less of the resulting honor than Marquette, though the larger part was rightfully his share. Marquette himself says:—

Comte de Frontenac, our governor, and Mr. Talon, then our intendant, selected for the enterprise the Sieur Jolliet, whom they deemed competent for so great a design, wishing to see Father Marquette accompany him. They were not mistaken in their choice of the Sieur Jolliet; for he was a young man born in the country, and endowed with every quality that could be desired in such an enterprise. He possessed experience and a knowledge of the languages of the Ottawa Country, where he had spent several years; he had the tact and prudence so necessary for the success of a voyage equally dangerous and difficult; and, lastly, he had courage to fear nothing where all is to be feared.

Joliet's failure to receive his due meed of fame results entirely from the fact that Marquette's narrative of their voyage was preserved; while all of Joliet's papers, including his carefully prepared report to his government, and a very exact map, were lost by the upsetting of his canoe in the rapids above Montreal, when he had almost completed his return trip.

Joliet prepared from recollection an account of his voyage, and sketched a map, both of which Frontenac sent to France. This map, and perhaps others from his hand, have recently come to light; and we have also a statement prepared by Father Claude Dablon, Superior General of the Jesuit Missions in America, from information furnished him by Joliet, who speaks in it as enthusiastically as did Father Marquette about the Illinois River, which, he says, "is large and deep, full of barbels and sturgeon; game is found in abundance on its banks; the wild cattle, cows, stags, turkeys, appear more there than elsewhere. . . . There are prairies there six, ten, and twenty leagues long, and three wide, surrounded by forests of equal extent, beyond which the prairies begin again." Certainly, no State in the Union has received more complimentary mention from its first visitors than Illinois.

It further appears from this statement that either Joliet or Father Dablon himself, but probably the former, was the first to suggest a ship canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River. For the good father, in his remarks upon the utility of Joliet's discovery, says:—

A very important advantage (of it), and which some will perhaps find it hard to credit, is that we can quite easily go to Florida in boats, and by a very good navigation. There would be but one canal to make by cutting only one-half a league of prairie to pass from the lake of the Illinois (Michigan) into St. Louis River (Des Plaines). The route to be taken is this: the bark should be built in Lake Erie which is near Lake Ontario; it would pass easily from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, from which it would enter the Lake of the Illinois. At the extremity of this lake would be the cut or canal of which I have spoken to have a passage to St. Louis River, which empties into the Mississippi. The bark having thus entered this river would sail easily to the Gulf of Mexico.

If ever the proposed ship canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River is constructed, it will not be amiss to associate with it the name of the first projector of such a work, Louis Joliet.

Count Frontenac wrote the French government in 1674 that Joliet left with the missionaries at Sault Ste. Marie copies of his journals. "These," he says, "we cannot get before next year"; and Father Dablon, speaking of the loss of Joliet's narrative and map, says, "Father Marquette kept a copy of that which has been lost." Thus far neither of these copies has come to light, but I do not despair of the finding of one or both. The joy of the discovery is, I trust, reserved for some ardent antiquarian, who will eagerly unroll the time-stained pages and find in them something more than we now know of the Chicago of 1673. Perhaps he will thus reveal the names of the five other French men who accompanied Joliet and Marquette through their entire voyage, and were with them here, and one of whom revisited Chicago with Marquette in the following year. Of these five men we know nothing more, save that it is probable that one of them was a victim of the catastrophe at the Sault Ste. Louis, just by La Salle's old seignory of La Chine, which put such a luckless ending to this otherwise successful exploration. We may be proud to inscribe the name of Louis Joliet upon the muster-roll of the early visitors to Chicago, for he would have been no mean citizen of any city.

History accords to the brave young priest Marquette the right to be called the earliest resident of Chicago, because of his dreary encampment by the banks of the Chicago River in the winters of 1674-75 on his second journey to the Illinois. He was attended by two faithful French voyageurs, Pierre Porteret and Jacques —, whose last name is unknown. Father Dablon says that one of these men, but does not tell us which, was with Marquette on his former voyage. I am aware that South Chicago, Evanston, and possibly other places, are inclined to dispute with Chicago the honor of this visit from Marquette; but Chicago will not yield to any of them her first City Father, without a struggle.

An attempt has been made to show, from Marquette's journal of his journey, that he wintered upon the Calumet River, and not upon the Chicago. We learn from this document that he set out from the Mission of St. Francis, which was on the site of the town of Green Bay, October 25, 1674, crossed the portage from Sturgeon Bay to Lake Michigan, and followed its western shore southward; and after various detentions, on December 4,



he says: "We started well to reach Portage River, which was frozen half a foot thick. There was more snow there than anywhere else." To identify Portage River with the Calumet, it is necessary to assume that Marquette spent nine days in going from the Chicago River to the Calumet, a distance of twelve miles, or an average of one and one-third miles per day; while, up to his arrival at the Chicago River, he had travelled at the rate of seven miles a day, including all delays. It is also necessary to assume that he made a portage between the Grand Calumet, and the Little Calumet, where there is no portage now, and went up the Little Calumet to Stony Brook, near the present town of Blue Island, then up Stony Brook, and by way of the "Sag" to the Des Plaines,—a route which, so far as known, has never been followed by any other traveller, is not laid down on any map, and there is no evidence of its use at any time. I should except, perhaps, an account in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society of the ruins of an old fort, on the line of the "Sag" in the town of Palos, in Cook County, from which it has been argued that this must have been a French fort, that the French would not have had a fort except upon a stream, that a stream is of no use unless it is navigable, and that Father Marquette was the best man to navigate it, and therefore did so. I cannot accept the argument; but I am greatly interested in the fort, and should be glad some day to lead an exploring party in search of it. To my mind, the most convincing proof that the Chicago River is the Portage River of Marquette and Joliet is the account which the latter gives in Dablon's statement that the cutting of half a league of prairie, but a little over a mile, would enable a bark to pass from Lake Michigan to the Des Plaines River. This could not be true of the route by the Calumet, Stony Brook, and the "Sag," where a twelve-mile canal would be necessary for a small vessel to pass, and is applicable only to the short portage between the South Branch and the Des Plaines, which must therefore have been the route followed by Joliet and by Marquette on his second journey.

It was the Chicago River, therefore, over whose frozen surface the valiant missionary toiled on that bleak December day. It was on its banks that he penned that journal, which doubtless was the first literary production ever written in Chicago, and which gives us such a picture of the unselfishness, the heroism, and the sanctity of that lovely soul. We cannot give up Father Marquette; for his association with Chicago's site is amongst the most precious of its early memories. The feeling

that he in some measure belongs to Chicago lends a new interest to that brief but beautiful life which began in 1637 in the little city of Laon, in Northern France, and ended in 1675 on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan.

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Father Marquette's Narrative of his Voyages and Discoveries in the Valley of the Mississippi, from which the passage in the present leaflet is taken, is given entire in John G. Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*. This narrative was prepared for publication in 1678 by Father Claude Dablon, Superior of the missions of the Society of Jesus in Canada, who added the account of Marquette's second voyage, death, and burial. The unfinished letter of Father Marquette to Father Dablon, containing a journal of his last visit to the Illinois, is given (in the original French) in the appendix to Shea's work. Marquette's account of his discovery of the Mississippi, taken from the same work as the present leaflet, was given in one of the leaflets (No. 2) of the Old South series for 1889. There are very full notices of Marquette and the writings concerning him in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv. There is a biography in Sparks's series of American Biographies; and a full and graphic account in Parkman's *Discovery of the Great West*.

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## Washington at Cambridge.

WASHINGTON'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS, ON HIS ARRIVAL  
AT CAMBRIDGE TO TAKE COMMAND OF THE ARMY.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE July 10, 1775.

SIR,

I arrived safe at this Place on the 3d inst., after a Journey attended with a good deal of Fatigue, and retarded by necessary Attentions to the successive Civilities which accompanied me in my whole Rout. Upon my arrival, I immediately visited the several Posts occupied by our Troops, and as soon as the Weather permitted, reconnoitred those of the Enemy. I found the latter strongly entrench'd on Bunker's Hill about a Mile from Charlestown, and advanced about half a Mile from the Place of the last Action, with their Centries extended about 150 Yards on this side of the narrowest Part of the Neck leading from this Place to Charlestown; 3 floating Batteries lay in Mystick River, near their camp; and one 20 Gun Ship below the Ferry Place between Boston and Charlestown. They have also a Battery on Copse Hill, on the Boston side, which much annoyed our Troops in the late attack. Upon the Neck, they are also deeply entrenched and strongly fortified. Their advanced Guards 'till last Saturday morning, occupied Brown's Houses, about a mile from Roxbury Meeting House and 20 roods from their Lines: But at that Time a Party from General Thomas's Camp surprized the Guard, drove them in and burnt the houses. The Bulk of their Army commanded by Genl. Howe, lays on Bunker's Hill, and the Remainder on Roxbury Neck, except the Light Horse, and a few Men in the Town of Boston. On our side we have thrown up Intrenchments on Winter and Prospect Hills, the Enemies camp in full View at the Distance of little more than a Mile. Such intermediate Points, as would admit a Landing, I have

since my arrival taken care to strengthen, down to Sewall's Farm, where a strong Entrenchment has been thrown up. At Roxbury General Thomas has thrown up a strong Work on the Hill, about 200 Yards above the Meeting House which with the Broken-ness of the Ground and great Number of Rocks has made that Pass very secure. The Troops raised in New Hampshire, with a Regiment from Rhode Island occupy Winter Hill. A Part of those from Connecticut under General Puttnam are on Prospect Hill. The Troops in this Town are intirely of the Massachusetts: The Remainder of the Rhode Island Men, are at Sewall's Farm: Two Regiments of Connecticut and 9 of the Massachusetts are at Roxbury. The Residue of the Army, to the Number of about 700, are posted in several small Towns along the Coast, to prevent the Depredations of the Enemy: Upon the whole, I think myself authorized to say, that considering the great Extent of Line, and the nature of the Ground we are as well secured as could be expected in so short a Time and under the Disadvantages we labour. These consist in a Want of Engineers to construct proper Works and direct the men, a Want of Tools, and a sufficient Number of Men to man the Works in Case of an attack. You will observe by the Proceedings of the Council of War, which I have the Honor to enclose, that it is our unanimous Opinion to hold and defend these Works as long as possible. The Discouragement it would give the Men and its contrary Effects on the ministerial Troops, thus to abandon our Incampment in their Face, form'd with so much Labor, added to the certain Destruction of a considerable and valuable Extent of Country, and our Uncertainty of finding a Place in all Respects so capable of making a stand, are leading Reasons for this Determination: at the same Time we are very sensible of the Difficulties which attend the Defence of Lines of so great extent, and the Dangers which may ensue from such a Division of the Army.

My earnest Wishes to comply with the Instructions of the Congress in making an early and complete Return of the State of the Army, has led into an involuntary Delay in addressing you, which has given me much Concern. Having given orders for this Purpose immediately on my Arrival, and unapprized of the imperfect Obedience which had been paid to those of the like Nature from General Ward, I was led from Day to Day to expect they would come in, and therefore detained the Messenger. They are not now so complete as I could wish, but much Allowance is to be made for Inexperience in Forms,

and a Liberty which has been taken (not given) on this subject. These Reasons I flatter myself will no longer exist, and of Consequence more Regularity and exactness in future prevail. This, with a necessary attention to the Lines, the Movements of the Ministerial Troops, and our immediate Security, must be my Apology, which I beg you lay before the Congress with the utmost Duty and Respect.

We labor under great Disadvantages for Want of Tents, for tho' they have been help'd out by a Collection of now useless sails from the Sea Port Towns, the Number is yet far short of our Necessities. The Colleges and Houses of this Town are necessarily occupied by the Troops which affords another Reason for keeping our present Situation: But I most sincerely wish the whole Army was properly provided to take the Field, as I am well assured, that besides greater Expedition and Activity in case of Alarm, it would highly conduce to Health and discipline. As Materials are not to be had here, I would beg leave to recommend the procuring a farther supply from Philadelphia as soon as possible.

I should be extremely deficient in Gratitude, as well as Justice, if I did not take the first opportunity to acknowledge the Readiness and Attention which the provincial Congress and different Committees have shewn to make every Thing as convenient and agreeable as possible: but there is a vital and inherent Principle of Delay incompatible with military service in transacting Business thro' such numerous and different Channels. I esteem it therefore my Duty to represent the Inconvenience that must unavoidably ensue from a dependence on a Number of Persons for supplies, and submit it to the Consideration of the Congress whether the publick Service will not be best promoted by appointing a Commissary General for these purposes. We have a striking Instance of the Preference of such a mode in the Establishment of Connecticut, as their Troops are extremely well provided under the Direction of Mr. Trumbull, and he has at different Times assisted others with various Articles. Should my Sentiments happily coincide with those of your Honors, on this subject, I beg leave to recommend Mr. Trumbull as a very proper Person for this Department. In the Arrangement of Troops collected under such Circumstances, and upon the Spur of immediate Necessity several Appointments are omitted, which appear to be indispensably necessary for the good Government of the Army, particularly a Quartermaster General, a Commissary of Musters and a Commissary of Artillery. These I

must Earnestly recommend to the Notice and Provision of the Congress.

I find myself already much embarrassed for Want of a Military Chest; these embarrassments will increase every day: I must therefore request that Money may be forwarded as soon as Possible. The want of this most necessary Article, will I fear produce great Inconveniences if not prevented by an early Attention. I find the Army in general, and the Troops raised in Massachusetts in particular, very deficient in necessary Cloathing. Upon Inquiry there appears no Probability of obtaining any supplies in this Quarter. And the best Consideration of this Matter I am able to form, I am of Opinion that a Number of hunting Shirts not less than 10,000, would in a great Degree remove this Difficulty in the cheapest and quickest manner. I know nothing in a speculative View more trivial, yet if put in Practice would have a happier Tendency to unite the Men, and abolish those Provincial Distinctions which lead to Jealousy and Dissatisfaction. In a former part of this Letter I mentioned the want of Engineers; I can hardly express the Disappointment I have experienced on this Subject. The Skill of those we have, being very imperfect and confined to the mere manual Exercise of Cannon: Whereas — the War in which we are engaged requires a Knowledge comprehending the Duties of the Field and Fortifications. If any Persons thus qualified are to be found in the Southern Colonies, it would be of great publick Service to forward them with all expedition. Upon the Article of Ammunition I must re-echo the former Complaints on this Subject: We are so exceedingly destitute, that our Artillery will be of little Use without a supply both large and seasonable: What we have must be reserved for the small Arms, and that managed with the utmost Frugality.

I am sorry to observe that the Appointments of the General Officers in the Province of Massachusetts Bay have by no Means corresponded with the Judgement and Wishes of either the civil or Military. The great Dissatisfaction expressed on this Subject and the apparent Danger of throwing the Army into the utmost Disorder, together with the strong Representations of the Provincial Congress, have induced me to retain the Commissions in my Hands untill the Pleasure of the Congress should be farther known, (except General Puttnam's which was given the Day I came into Camp and before I was apprized of these Uneasinesses.) In such a Step I must beg the Congress will do me the Justice I believe, that I have been

actuated solely by a Regard to the publick Good. I have not, nor could have any private Attachments; every Gentleman in Appointment, was an intire Stranger to me but from Character. I must therefore rely upon the Candor of the Congress for their favorable Construction of my Conduct in this Particular. General Spencer was so much disgusted at the preference given to General Puttnam that he left the Army without visiting me, or making known his Intentions in any respect. General Pomroy had also retired before my Arrival, occasioned (as is said) by some Disappointment from the Provincial Congress. General Thomas is much esteemed and earnestly desired to continue in the service: and as far as my Opportunities have enabled me to judge I must join in the general opinion that he is an able good Officer and his Resignation would be a publick Loss. The postponing him to Pomroy and Heath whom he has commanded would make his Continuance very difficult, and probably operate on his Mind, as the like Circumstance has done on that of Spencer.

The State of the Army you will find ascertained with tolerable Precision in the Returns which accompany this Letter. Upon finding the Number of men to fall so far short of the Establishment, and below all Expectation, I immediately called a Council of the general Officers, whose opinion as to the mode of filling up the Regiments, and providing for the present Exigency, I have the Honor of inclosing together with the best Judgment we are able to form of the ministerial Troops. From the Number of Boys, Deserters, and Negroes which have been inlisted in the troops of this Province, I entertain some doubts whether the number required can be raised here; and all the General Officers agree that no Dependance can be put on the militia for a Continuance in Camp, or Regularity and Discipline during the short Time they may stay. This unhappy and devoted Province has been so long in a State of Anarchy, and the Yoke of ministerial Oppression been laid so heavily on it that great Allowances are to be made for Troops raised under such Circumstances: The Deficiency of Numbers, Discipline and Stores can only lead to this Conclusion, that their Spirit has exceeded their Strength. But at the same Time I would humbly submit to the consideration of the Congress, the Propriety of making some farther Provision of Men from the other Colonies. If these Regiments should be completed to their Establishment, the Dismission of those unfit for Duty on account of their Age and Character would occasion a considerable Reduction, and at all events they have

been inlisted upon such Terms, that they may be disbanded when other Troops arrive: But should my apprehensions be realized, and the Regiments here not filled up, the publick Cause would suffer by an absolute Dependance upon so doubtful an Event, unless some Provision is made against such a Disappointment.

It requires no military Skill to judge of the Difficulty of introducing proper Discipline and Subordination into an Army while we have the Enemy in View, and are in daily Expectation of an Attack, but it is of so much Importance that every Effort will be made which Time and Circumstance will admit. In the mean Time I have a sincere Pleasure in observing that there are Materials for a good Army, a great number of able bodied Men, active zealous in the Cause and of unquestionable courage.

I am now Sir, to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favor of the 28th Inst. inclosing the Resolutions of the Congress of the 27th ult. and a Copy of a Letter from the Committee of Albany, to all which I shall pay due Attention.

General Gates and Sullivan have both arrived in good Health. My best Abilities are at all Times devoted to the Service of my Country, but I feel the Weight Importance and variety of my present Duties too sensibly, not to wish a more immediate and frequent Communication with the Congress. I fear it may often happen in the Course of our present Operations, that I shall need that Assistance and Direction from them which Time and Distance will not allow me to receive.

Since writing the above, I have also to acknowledge your Favour of the 4th Inst. by Fessenden, and the Receipt of the Commission and Articles of War. The Former are yet 800 short of the number required, this deficiency you will please supply as soon as you conveniently can. Among the other Returns, I have also sent one of our killed, wounded and missing in the late Action, but have been able to procure no certain Account of the Loss of the ministerial Troops, my best Intelligence fixes it at about 500 killed and 6 or 700 wounded; but it is no more than Conjecture, the utmost Pains being taken on their side to conceal it.

P.S. Having ordered the commanding Officer to give me the earliest Intelligence of every Motion of the Enemy, by Land or Water, discoverable from the Heights of his Camp, I this inst., as I was closing my Letter received the enclosed from the Brigade Major. The Design of this Manœuvre I know not, perhaps it may be to make a Descent some where



along the Coast; it may be for New York, or it may be practised as a Deception on Us. I thought it not improper however to mention the matter to you. I have done the same to the commanding Officer at New York, and I shall let it be known to the Committee of Safety here, so that the Intelligence may be communicated as they shall think best along the Sea Coast of this Government.

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On the 15th of June, 1775, Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the American army by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, of which he was a member. He arrived in Cambridge on the 2d of July, after a journey of eleven days; and on the next day, under the great elm which still stands by Cambridge Common, he took command of the army.

On June 24 the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts appointed a committee to consider the steps "proper to be taken for receiving General Washington with proper respect, and to provide a house for him accordingly." The report was made on the 25th, but was not perfected until the next day. "*Resolved*, that Doct. Benjamin Church and Mr. Moses Gill, be a committee to repair to Springfield, there to receive Generals Washington and Lee, with every mark of respect due to their exalted characters and stations; to provide proper escorts for them, from thence, to the army before Boston, and the house provided for their reception at Cambridge; and to make suitable provision for them, in manner following, viz.: by a number of gentlemen of this colony from Springfield to Brookfield; and by another company raised in that neighborhood, from there to Worcester; and by another company, there provided, from thence to Marlborough; and from thence, by the troop of horse to that place, to the army aforesaid; and [to make suitable provision for] their company at the several stages on the road, and to receive the bills of expenses at the several inns, where it may be convenient for them to stop for refreshment, to examine them, and make report of the several sums expended at each of them, for that purpose, that orders may be taken by the Congress for the payment of them; and all inn-keepers are hereby directed to make provision agreeably to the requests made by the said committee: and that General Ward be notified of the appointment of General Washington, as commander in chief of the American forces, and of the expectation we have, of his speedy arrival with Major General Lee, that he, with the generals of the forces of the other colonies, may give such orders for their honorable reception, as may accord with the rules and circumstances of the army, and the respect due to their rank, without, however, any expense of powder, and without taking the troops off from the necessary attention to their duty, at this crisis of our affairs."

The appointment of Washington was soon known in the camp at Cambridge, and preparations were made to receive him. On the 26th of June the Provincial Congress had ordered that the "President's [of the College] house in Cambridge, excepting one room reserved for the president for his own use, be taken, cleared, prepared and furnished, for the reception of General Washington and General Lee." On June 29, the word of parole in Cambridge Camp was *Washington*, and of countersign, *Virginia*. July 1st the Congress directed the committee in whose charge the orders respecting the house had been placed to "purchase what things are necessary that

they cannot hire," a matter of some delay and difficulty, as on the 5th the same committee was ordered to "complete the business." General Washington arrived in Cambridge on Sunday, July 2, about two o'clock in the afternoon. The first of the general orders issued is dated July 3. On the 5th the Provincial Congress appointed some of its members to confer with Washington "on the subject of furnishing his table and know what he expects relative thereto." Some question may have been raised on the general acceptableness of the President's house for Washington's purposes, as on the 6th the Congress directed the Committee of Safety to "desire General Washington to let them know if there is any house at Cambridge that would be more agreeable to him and General Lee than that in which they now are; and in that case the said Committee are directed to procure such house and put it in proper order for their reception." The general thought a change expedient, and on the 8th the Committee of Safety directed that the house of John Vassall, subsequently known as the "Craigie house," belonging to a refugee loyalist, should be immediately put in a proper condition for the reception of his excellency and his attendants.

The student is referred to further notes in Ford's edition of Washington's Writings, vol. iii.; also to the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, September, 1872.

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#### OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS, GENERAL SERIES.

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# Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster.

FROM BRADFORD'S HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION.

I am to begin this year [1643] with that which was a matter of great sadness and mourning unto them all. About the 18. of April dyed their Reverend Elder, and my dear & loving friend, Mr. William Brewster; a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the gospels sake, and had bore his part in well and woe with this poor persecuted church above 36. years in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord & them faithful service in his place & calling. And notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was near fourscore years of age (if not all out) when he dyed. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to dye in his bed, in peace, amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned & wept over him, and ministered what help & comfort they could unto him, and he againe recomforted them whilst he could. His sickness was not long, and till the last day thereof he did not wholly keepe his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more then halfe a day, & then failed him; and about 9. or 10. a clock that evening he dyed, without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath shorte, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound slepe, without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

I would now demand of any, what he was the worse for any former sufferings? What doe I say, worse? Nay, sure he was the better, and they now added to his honour. *It is a manifest token* (saith the Apostle, 2. Thes: 1. 5, 6, 7.) *of the righteous judgement of God the ye may be counted worthy of the kingdome of God, for which ye also suffer; seeing it is a righteous thing with God*

*to recompence tribulation to them y<sup>e</sup> trouble you: and to you who are troubled, rest with us, when y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels. 1. Pet. 4. 14. If you be reproached for y<sup>e</sup> name of Christ, happy are ye, for y<sup>e</sup> spirite of glory and of God resteth upon you.* What though he wanted y<sup>e</sup> riches and pleasurs of y<sup>e</sup> world in this life, and pompous monuments at his funerall? yet y<sup>e</sup> memoriall of y<sup>e</sup> just shall be blessed, when y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> wicked shall rott (with their marble monuments). Pro: 10. 7.

I should say something of his life, if to say a litle were not worse then to be silent. But I cannot wholly forbear, though hapily more may be done hereafter. After he had attained some learning, viz. y<sup>e</sup> knowledg of y<sup>e</sup> Latine tongue, & some insight in y<sup>e</sup> Greeke, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with y<sup>e</sup> seeds of grace and vertue, he went to y<sup>e</sup> Courte, and served that religious and godly gentlman, Mr. Davison, diverce years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreete and faithfull as he trusted him above all other that were aboute him, and only imployed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecie. He esteemed him rather as a sonne then a servante, and for his wisdom & godlines (in private) he would converse with him more like a freind & familier then a maister. He attended his mr. when he was sente in ambassage by the Queene into y<sup>e</sup> Low-Countries, in y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Leicesters time, as for other waighty affaires of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary townes, and in token & signe thereof the keyes of Flushing being delivered to him, in her mat<sup>is</sup> name, he kepte them some time, and comitted them to this his servante, who kept them under his pilow, on which he slepte y<sup>e</sup> first night. And, at his returne, y<sup>e</sup> States honoured him with a gould chaine, and his maister comitted it to him, and comanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they ridd thorow the country, till they came to y<sup>e</sup> Courte. He afterwards remained with him till his troubles, that he was put from his place aboute y<sup>e</sup> death of y<sup>e</sup> Queene of Scots; and some good time after, doeing him manie faithfull offices of servise in y<sup>e</sup> time of his troubles. Afterwards he wente and lived in y<sup>e</sup> country, in good esteeme amongst his freinds and y<sup>e</sup> gentle-men of those parts, espetially the godly & religious. He did much good in y<sup>e</sup> countrie wher he lived, in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practiss & example, and provocking and incouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers to y<sup>e</sup> places therabout, and drawing on of others to assiste & help forward in such a worke; he

him selfe most comonly deepest in y<sup>e</sup> charge, & some times above his abillitie. And in this state he continued many years, doeing y<sup>e</sup> best good he could, and walking according to y<sup>e</sup> light he saw, till y<sup>e</sup> Lord reveiled further unto him. And in y<sup>e</sup> end, by y<sup>e</sup> turrany of y<sup>e</sup> bishops against godly preachers & people, in silenceing the one & persecuting y<sup>e</sup> other, he and many more of those times begane to looke further into things, and to see into y<sup>e</sup> unlawfullnes of their callings, and y<sup>e</sup> burthen of many anti-christian corruptions, which both he and they endeavored to cast of; as y<sup>e</sup>y allso did, as in y<sup>e</sup> begining of this treatis is to be seene. After they were joyned together in comunion, he was a spetiall stay & help unto them. They ordinarily mett at his house on y<sup>e</sup> Lords day, (which was a manor of y<sup>e</sup> bishops,) and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge.\* He was y<sup>e</sup> cheefe of those that were taken at Boston, and suffered y<sup>e</sup> greatest loss; and of y<sup>e</sup> seven that were kept longest in prison, and after bound over to y<sup>e</sup> assises. After he came into Holland he suffered much hardship, after he had spente y<sup>e</sup> most of his means, haveing a great charge, and many children; and, in regard of his former breeding & course of life, not so fitt for many employments as others were, espetially such as were toylesume & laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cherfullnes and contentation. Towards y<sup>e</sup> later parte of those 12. years spente in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well & plentifully; for he fell into a way (by reason he had y<sup>e</sup> Latine tongue) to teach many students, who had a disire to lerne y<sup>e</sup> English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facilitie; for he drew rules to lerne it by, after y<sup>e</sup> Latine maner; and many gentlemen, both Danes & Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great mens soñes. He also had means to set up printing, (by y<sup>e</sup> help of some freinds), and so had employmente inoughg, and by reason of many books which would not be alowed to be printed in England, they might have had more then they could doe. But now removeing into this countrie, all these things were laid aside againe, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his parte, and to bear his burthen with y<sup>e</sup> rest, living many times without bread, or corne, many months together, having many times nothing but

\* In Morton's copy there is added after *charge*: "and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England. And when they were to remove out of the country, he was one of the first in all adventures, and forwardest in any." Young, p. 465.

fish, and often wanting that also; and drunke nothing but water for many years together, yea, till within 5. or 6. years of his death. And yet he lived (by y<sup>e</sup> blessing of God) in health till very old age. And besides y<sup>t</sup>, he would labour with his hands in y<sup>e</sup> feilds as long as he was able; yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every Saboth, and y<sup>t</sup> both powerfully and profitably, to y<sup>e</sup> great contentment of y<sup>e</sup> hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministrie. He did more in this behalfe in a year, then many that have their hundreds a year doe in all their lives. For his personall abilities, he was qualified above many; he was wise and discreete and well spoken, having a grave & deliberate utterance, of a very cherfull spirite, very sociable & pleasante amongst his freinds, of an humble and modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, under vallewing him self & his owne abilities, and some time over valewing others; inoffencive and iñocente in his life & conversation, w<sup>ch</sup> gained him y<sup>e</sup> love of those without, as well as those within; yet he would tell them plainely of their faults & evils, both publickly & privatly, but in such a maner as usually was well taken from him. He was tender harted, and compassionate of such as were in miserie, but espetially of such as had been of good estate and ranke, and were fallen unto want & poverty, either for goodnes & religions sake, or by y<sup>e</sup> injury & oppression of others; he would say, of all men these deserved to be pitied most. And none did more offend & displease him then such as would hautily and proudly carry & lift up themselves, being rise from nothing, and haveing litle els in them to comend them but a few fine cloaths, or a litle riches more then others. In teaching, he was very moving & stirring of affections, also very plaine & distincte in what he taught; by which means he became y<sup>e</sup> more profitable to y<sup>e</sup> hearers. He had a singuler good gift in prayer, both publick & private, in ripping up y<sup>e</sup> hart & conscience before God, in y<sup>e</sup> humble confession of sinne, and begging y<sup>e</sup> mercies of God in Christ for y<sup>e</sup> pardon of y<sup>e</sup> same. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and devide their prears, then be longe & tedious in y<sup>e</sup> same (excepte upon sollemne & spetiall occations, as in days of humiliation & y<sup>e</sup> like). His reason was, that y<sup>e</sup> harte & spirits of all, espetially y<sup>e</sup> weake, could hardly continue & stand bente (as it were) so long towards God, as they ought to doe in y<sup>t</sup> duty, without flagging and falling of. For y<sup>e</sup> govermente of y<sup>e</sup> church, (which was most proper to his office,) he was carfull to preserve good order in y<sup>e</sup> same, and to preserve puritie, both in y<sup>e</sup> doctrine &

comunion of ye same ; and to supress any errour or contention that might begine to rise up amongst them ; and accordingly God gave good success to his indeavors herein all his days, and he saw ye fruite of his labours in that behalfe. But I must breake of, having only thus touched a few, as it were, heads of things.

I cannot but here take occasion, not only to mention, but greatly to admire ye marvelous providence of God, that notwithstanding ye many changes and hardships that these people wente through, and ye many enemies they had and difficulties they mette with all, that so many of them should live to very olde age ! It was not only this reve<sup>d</sup> mans condition, (for one swallow maks no summer, as they say,) but many more of them did ye like, some dying aboute and before this time, and many still living, who attained to 60. years of age, and to 65. diverse to 70. and above, and some nere 80. as he did. It must needs be more then ordinarie, and above naturall reason, that so it should be ; for it is found in experience, that chaing of aier, famine, or unholsome foode, much drinking of water, sorrows & troubls, &c., all of them are enimies to health, causes of many diseaces, consumers of naturall vigoure and ye bodys of men, and shortners of life. And yet of all these things they had a large parte, and suffered deeply in ye same. They wente from England to Holand, wher they found both worse air and dyet then that they came from ; from thence (induring a long imprisonmente, as it were, in ye ships at sea) into New-England ; and how it hath been with them hear hath allready beene showne ; and what crosses, troubls, fears, wants, and sorrowes they have been lyable unto, is easie to conjecture ; so as in some sorte they may say with ye Apostle, 2. Cor : 11. 26, 27. they were *in journeings often, in perils of waters, in perills of robbers, in perills of their owne nation, in perils among ye heathen, in perills in ye willdernes, in perills in ye sea, in perills among false orethern ; in wearines & painfullnes, in watching often, in hunger and thirst, in fasting often, in could and nakednes.* What was it then that upheld them ? It was Gods vissitation that preserved their spirits. Job 10. 12. *Thou hast given me life and grace, and thy vissitation hath preserved my spirite.* He that upheld ye Apostle upheld them. *They were persecuted, but not forsaken, cast downe, but perished not.* 2. Cor : 4. 9. *As unknowen, and yet knowen ; as dying, and behold we live ; as chastened, and yett not kiled.* 2. Cor : 6. 9. God, it seems, would have all men to behold and observe such mercies and works of his providence as these are towards his people, that they in like cases might be

encouraged to depend upon God in their trials, & also blese his name when they see his goodnes towards others. Man lives not by bread only, Deut: S. 3. It is not by good & dainty fare, by peace, & rest, and harts ease, in injoying y<sup>e</sup> contentments and good things of this world only, that preserves health and prolongs life. God in such examples would have y<sup>e</sup> world see & behold that he can doe it without them; and if y<sup>e</sup> world will shut ther eyes, and take no notice thereof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it. Daniell could be better liking with pulse then others were with y<sup>e</sup> kings dainties. Jaacob, though he wente from one nation to another people, and passed thorow famine, fears, & many afflictions, yet he lived till old age, and dyed sweetly, & rested in y<sup>e</sup> Lord, as infinite others of Gods servants have done, and still shall doe, (through Gods godnes,) notwithstanding all y<sup>e</sup> malice of their enemies; *when y<sup>e</sup> branch of y<sup>e</sup> wicked shall be cut of before his day*, Job. 15. 32. *and y<sup>e</sup> bloody and deceitfull men shall not live out halfe their days*. Psa: 55. 23.

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#### ELDER BREWSTER'S LIBRARY.

Taking advantage of the vagueness of Entry No. 318 (a "bundle of small books and papers"), it may be said that there were no fewer than 400 separate books in this library at the time of Elder Brewster's decease; as many as 393 being separately and distinctly catalogued,—four of which had second volumes, making 397 in all, besides the "bundle" aforesaid.

Of these—throwing out thirty, the size of which remains undesignated, and sixteen, which I have thus far failed to identify—we have, in size, as follows: Folios, 48; Quartos, 177; Octavos et infra, 121.

As to language they divide as follows: in Latin, 62; in English, 302.

As to subject, without being specially exact in cases where a given volume would classify almost equally well under more than one head, I find: Expository, 98; Doctrinal, 63; Practical religious, 69; Historical, 24; Ecclesiastical, 36; Philosophical, 6; Poetical, 14; Miscellaneous, 54. I seem to find *thirteen* duplicates, suggesting the question whether it may not have been possible that this library—certainly one of extraordinary size and quality in those days to be collected and owned by a single member of such a church, in such a primitive community and colony—had at least some small relation to the general wants, and may not have been intended, in part, for the general use.

To me, however, the most significant fact about the library is connected with the date of publication of a considerable portion of its constituent volumes. I am ready to concede all that may reasonably be claimed to the credit of uncertainties. I may, in a few instances, have mistaken one book for another of nearly the same title. Or volumes which I have only been able to trace in late dates may possibly, in rare cases, have existed in earlier editions, to some one of which the Elder's copy may have belonged. But, making all just allowance for every such source of error, I am still prepared to submit that the evidence of the dates of these works throws an extraordinary and very interesting light upon Elder Brewster's character as a man of books, and upon the Old Colony in its first generation as a place of books.

Mr. Brewster could not, of course, have brought over with him in the "Mayflower" any volume of a date later than August, 1620. Of the whole 393, I throw out, as being of unknown date, or as being unrecognized altogether, 23, leaving 370. Of these 281—or roughly 75 per cent.—bear date in or before 1620, and 89—or very nearly 25 per cent.—bear date



after 1620. Or, to take the trouble to arrange them exactly,—it being remembered that a perfect assurance of accuracy is lacking in the case of six or seven,—we have them printed and issued as follows, namely: in 1621, 8; in 1622, 10; in 1623, 5; in 1624, 6; in 1625, 13; in 1626, 1; in 1627, 6; in 1628, 2; in 1629, 4; in 1630, 2; in 1631, 4; in 1632, 4; in 1633, 4; in 1634, 4; in 1635, 2; in 1636, 3; in 1637, 3; in 1638, 5; in 1640, 1; in 1641, 1; in 1643, 1. This gives us the remarkable fact that in only two of the years which the Elder spent in Plymouth before his last—namely, 1639 and 1642—did he fail to avail himself of some of the freshest literature of the fatherland.

A few words ought to be devoted to the general character of this collection. It contained four books by John Robinson; and eleven, printed in Leyden, by Mr. Brewster himself. It needs not be said that it was a solid one, in more senses than one. Whoever undertook, whether by land or water, to transport its forty-eight folios and one hundred and seventy-seven quartos—to say nothing of the one hundred and twenty-one of smaller size—from Plymouth to the Elder's suburban residence in Duxbury, must have found it, for wain or wherry, a heavy job.

As I have intimated, it was most largely an expository collection. Now, the great and regnant fact about the Plymouth Colonists was that they believed the Bible to be God's book for man's guidance, and that man's first duty is to understand, that he may be obedient to it. In their day it had not long been a common thing for common men to have a Bible, and to feel that they had any personal duty of studying, that they might practise its precepts. Hence the great function of the pulpit in those days was felt to be to explain to the people the Word of God.

It might therefore be assumed that Elder Brewster—upon whom, in the failure of "Mr. Crabe" to accompany the expedition, devolved, in theory as well as practice, at first, and in practice largely for many years, the care of the pulpit—would not fail to supply himself with the necessary helps of an exegetical character. We accordingly find in this collection, as follows, namely: Commentaries upon the whole Bible, 2; upon the whole New Testament, 6; upon the Four Gospels, 3; upon the Pentateuch, 1; upon the Prophets, generally, 1; upon Genesis, 3; upon Joshua, 1; upon Judges, 1; upon 1 Samuel, 1; upon the Psalms, 8; upon Proverbs, 1; upon Ecclesiastes, 3; upon the Song of Solomon, 1; upon Isaiah, 4; upon Jeremiah, 1; upon Lamentations, 2; upon Ezekiel, 1; upon Daniel, 3; upon Hosea, 1; upon Matthew, 1; upon Luke, 1; upon the Gospel of John, 1; upon the Epistle to the Romans, 5; upon 1 Corinthians, 3; upon 2 Corinthians, 1; upon Ephesians, 2; upon Colossians, 1; upon 1 Thessalonians, 1; upon 2 Thessalonians, 1; upon 2 Timothy, 1; upon Titus, 1; upon Hebrews, 1; upon James, 1; upon 1 Peter, 1; upon 1 John, 1; upon Jude, 1; upon the Apocalypse, 2; upon brief special passages, 26. There was also Cotton's *Concordance*, in two folio volumes.

It is my strong impression that it is very doubtful whether, for its first quarter-century, New England anywhere else had so rich a collection of exegetical literature as this. Nor did the Elder depend, by any means, wholly upon the judgment of others as to what the Word of God meant. He had a Hebrew grammar, with Morelius's Latin, Greek, and English dictionary, and Buxtorf's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon,—tools which he had learned to handle at Peterhouse.

That the Elder did not, however, confine himself wholly to the ruts of theology, is suggested in that he took pains to have at his hand in the Plymouth woods Lambert of Avenna's treatise "Of the Wyll of Man"; "Les Six Livres de la Republique" of the great French jurist Jean Bodin, in Knolles's English as "The Six Bookes of a Commonweale"; Sir Thomas

Smith's "Commonwelth of England & maner of Government thereof"; Lord Bacon's "Two Bookes, of the proficience and advancement of Learning, divine and humane"; his "Apologie, in certaine Imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex"; and his "Declaration of the Practises and Treasons of the Earle of Essex"; "The Problemes of Aristotle"; "The *Princeps* of Macchiavelli"; Geffray Mynshul's "Essayes and Characters of a Prison, and Prisoners"; with Sir Walter Raleigh's "Prerogative of Parliaments in England." And it is interesting to note how, for natural science and practical needs, he brought with him—for, by their dates, he could have brought them with him—Keckerman's "Systema Geographicum"; Archb. Abbot's "Brieve Description of the whole world"; John Smith's "Description of New England"; the "New Herball" of Rembert Dodoens; Rathbone's "Surveyor"; and John Norden's "Surveyor's Dialogue . . . very profitable for all men to peruse, that have to do with the revenues of land, or occupation thereof"; Standish's "New Directions . . . for the increasing of Timber and Firewood, with the least waste and losse of ground"; De Serres's "Perfect use of Silkwormes and their benefit"; and Bedford's "Sufficiencie of English Medicines for the cure of all diseases cured with Medicine."

In poetry this collection cannot be called strong. It had the fulsome and clumsy Latin strains in which the Rev. Dr. Francis Herring celebrated the gracious advent of King James; and it had Ainsworth's amazing Psalmody, and Henoah Clapham's still more astounding verse, "A Brieve of the Bible." In W. Hornby's "Scourge of Drunkennes" (in verse) I imagine that this library had the seed of what is commonly now called Temperance literature. It looks a little as if it had one tragedy called "Messalina"; and, with two or three ballads and broadsides, it had Braithwait's "Description [in verse] of a Good Wife," and a couple of volumes of George Wither, one of which had that motto, "nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo," to which John Winthrop referred in his letter to Sir William Springe (Life and Letters, i. 396), where he called Wither "our modern spirit of poetry."

In the line of exceedingly miscellaneous, it had Thomas Lupton's "Thousand Notable Things of sundrie sorts. Whereof some are wonderful, some strange, some pleasant, divers necessary, a great sort profitable, and many verie precious," etc.

I have not discovered among these books a single volume identical with either of the nine-and-thirty which (Life, ii. 438) Governor Winthrop presented to Harvard College on its first Commencement in 1642.—*Rev. Henry M. Dexter, Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1889.*

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Unlike John Robinson, with whom he might dispute or share the honor of being called the father of the Pilgrim Fathers, Elder Brewster left no writings behind him; and there is no other man of equal prominence among the founders of New England of whom his contemporaries have told us so little. The brief memoir by Bradford, here reprinted, is all we have. There is no biography in Mather's *Magnalia*, where we should expect it. In 1857 Rev. A-hbel Steele wrote a life of Brewster, under the title of "The Chief of the Pilgrims," which brings together all the existing material. A list of the books in Brewster's library is on the records of inventories at Plymouth. A copy of this by Justin Winsor, with observations upon Brewster's autographs and the books published by him at Leyden, appears in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1887. The same, with full descriptions and with the notes reprinted in this leaflet, by Rev. Henry M. Dexter, appears in the Proceedings, 1889. See copy of letter by Sir John Stanhope, postmaster-general of England, to Sir William Davison, Aug. 22, 1590, relating to Brewster's appointment as postmaster of Scrooby, in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1871. In Rev. S. E. Herrick's "Some Heretics of Yesterday" there is an essay on Brewster.



## Governor Bradford's First Dialogue.

A DIALOGUE, OR THE SUM OF A CONFERENCE BETWEEN SOME YOUNG MEN BORN IN NEW ENGLAND AND SUNDRY ANCIENT MEN THAT CAME OUT OF HOLLAND AND OLD ENGLAND, ANNO DOMINI 1648.\*

*Young men.*—Gentlemen, you were pleased to appoint us this time to confer with you, and to propound such questions as might give us satisfaction in some things wherein we are ignorant, or at least further light to some things that are more obscure unto us. Our first request therefore is, to know your minds concerning the true and simple meaning of those of *The Separation*, as they are termed, when they say the Church of England is no Church, or no true Church.

*Ancient men.*—For answer hereunto, first, you must know that they speak of it as it then was under the hierarchical prelacy, which since have been put down by the State, and not as it is now unsettled.

2. They nowhere say, that we remember, that they are no Church. At least, they are not so to be understood; for they often say the contrary.

3. When they say it is no true Church of Christ, they do not at all mean as they are the elect of God, or a part of the Catholic Church, or of the mystical body of Christ, or visible Christians professing faith and holiness (as most men understand the church); for which purpose hear what Mr. Robinson in his *Apology*, page 53. "If by the Church," saith he, "be understood the Catholic Church, dispersed upon the face of the whole earth, we do willingly acknowledge that a singular part thereof, and the same visible and conspicuous, is to be found in the land, and with it do profess and practise, what in us lies,

\*That is, the Dialogue was held or written in 1648.

communion in all things in themselves lawful, and done in right order.”

4. Therefore they mean it is not a true church as it is a National Church, combined together of all in the land promiscuously under the hierarchical government of archbishops, their courts and canons, so far differing from the primitive pattern in the Gospel.

*Young men.*—Wherein do they differ then from the judgment or practice of our churches here in New England?

*Ancient men.*—Truly, for matter of practice, nothing at all that is in any thing material; these being rather more strict and rigid in some proceedings about admission of members, and things of such nature, than the other; and for matter of judgment, it is more, as we conceive, in words and terms, than matter of any great substance; for the churches and chief of the ministers here hold that the National Church, so constituted and governed as before is said, is not allowable according to the primitive order of the Gospel; but that there are some parish assemblies that are true churches by virtue of an implicit covenant amongst themselves, in which regard the Church of England may be held and called a true church.

Where any such are evident, we suppose the other will not disagree about an implicit covenant, if they mean by an implicit covenant that which hath the substance of a covenant in it some way discernible, though it be not so formal or orderly as it should be. But such an implicit [covenant] as is no way explicit is no better than a Popish implicit faith (as some of us conceive) and a mere fiction, or as that which should be a marriage covenant which is no way explicit.

*Young men.*—Wherein standeth the difference between the rigid Brownists and Separatists and others, as we observe our ministers in their writings and sermons to distinguish them?

*Ancient men.*—The name of Brownists is but a nickname, as Puritan and Huguenot, &c., and therefore they do not amiss to decline the odium of it in what they may. But by the rigidness of Separation they do not so much mean the difference, for our churches here in New England do the same thing under the name of *secession* from the corruptions found amongst them, as the other did under the name or term of *separation* from them. Only this declines the odium the better. See Reverend Mr. Cotton's Answer to Mr. Baylie, page the 14th.

That some which were termed Separatists, out of some mistake and heat of zeal, forbore communion in lawful things with other godly persons, as prayer and hearing of the word, may be

seen in what that worthy man, Mr. Robinson, hath published in dislike thereof.

*Young men.*—We are well satisfied in what you have said. But they differ also about synods.

*Ancient men.*—It is true we do not know that ever they had any solemn Synodical Assembly. And the reason may be, that those in England living dispersed and \* could not meet in their ordinary meetings without danger, much less in synods. Neither in Holland, where they might have more liberty, were they of any considerable number, being but those two churches, that of Amsterdam and that of Leyden. Yet some of us know that the church [of Leyden] sent messengers to those of Amsterdam, at the request of some of the chief of them, both elders and brethren, when in their dissensions they had deposed Mr. Ainsworth and some other both of their elders and brethren, Mr. Robinson being the chief of the messengers sent; which had that good effect, as that they revoked the said deposition, and confessed their rashness and error, and lived together in peace some good time after. But when the churches want neither peace nor light to exercise the power which the Lord hath given them, Christ doth not direct them to gather into synods or classical meetings, for removing of known offences either in doctrine or manners; but only sendeth to the pastors or presbyters of each church to reform within themselves what is amongst them. “A plain pattern,” saith Mr. Cotton in his Answer to Mr. Baylie, page 95, “in case of public offences tolerated in neighbour churches, not forthwith to gather into a synod or classical meeting, for redress thereof, but by letters and messengers to admonish one another of what is behooveful; unless upon such admonition they refuse to hearken to the wholesome counsel of their brethren.” And of this matter Mr. Robinson thus writeth in his book, *Just.* page 200, “The officers of one or many churches may meet together to discuss and consider of matters for the good of the church or churches, and so be called a Church Synod, or the like, so they infringe no order of Christ or liberty of the brethren;” not differing herein from Mr. Davenport and the principal of our ministers.

*Young men.*—But they seem to differ about the exercise of prophecy, that is, that men out of office, having gifts, may upon occasion edify the church publicly and openly, and applying the Scriptures; which seems to be a new practice.

*Ancient men.*—It doth but seem so; as many things else do that have by usurpation grown out of use. But that it hath

\* Here something seems to have been omitted.

been an ancient practice of the people of God, besides the grounds of Scripture, we will give an instance or two. We find in the ancient Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, lib. vi. cap. 19, how Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, being pricked with envy against Origen, complaineth in his letters that there was never such a practice heard of, nor no precedent to be found, that laymen in presence of bishops have taught in the church; but is thus answered by the bishop of Jerusalem and the bishop of Cesarea: "We know not," say they, "why he reporteth a manifest untruth, whenas there may be found such as in open assemblies have taught the people; yea, whenas there were present learned men that could profit the people, and moreover holy bishops, who at that time exhorted them to preach. For example, at Laranda Euelpis was requested of Neon, at Iconium Paulinus was requested by Celsus, at Synada Theodorus was requested by Atticus, who were godly brethren, &c."

The second instance is out of Speed's Cloud of Witnesses, page 71. Saith he, "Rambam or Maymon records, that in the synagogues, first, only a Levite must offer sacrifice; secondly, but any in Israel might expound the law; thirdly, the expounder must be an eminent man, and must have leave from the master of the synagogue; and so contends that Christ, Luke iv. 16, taught as any of Israel might have done as well as the Levites; and the like did Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 15."

If any out of weakness have abused at any time their liberty, it is their personal faulting, as sometimes weak ministers may their office, and yet the ordinance good and lawful.

And the chief of our ministers in New England agree therein. See Mr. Cotton's Answer to Baylie, page the 27th, 2d part. "Though neither all," saith he, "nor most of the brethren of a church have ordinarily received a gift of public prophesying, or preaching, yet in defect of public ministry, it is not an unheard of novelty that God should enlarge private men with public gifts, and\* to dispense them to edification; for we read that when the church at Jerusalem were all scattered abroad, except the Apostles, yet they that were scattered went every where preaching the word."

Mr. Robinson also, in his Apology, page 45, chapter 8, to take off the aspersion charged on them, as if all the members of a church were to prophesy publicly, answers, "It comes within the compass but of a few of the multitude, haply two or three in a church, so to do; and touching prophecy," saith he, "we think the very same that the Synod held at Embden, 1571,

\* Some word is here omitted.

hath decreed in these words: 'First, in all churches, whether but springing up, or grown to some ripeness, let the order of prophecy be observed, according to Paul's institution. Secondly, into the fellowship of this work are to be admitted not only the ministers, but the teachers too, as also of the elders and deacons, yea, even of the multitude, which are willing to confer their gift received of God to the common utility of the church; but so as they first be allowed by the judgment of the ministers and others.' So we believe and practise with the Belgic churches, &c." See more in the immediate following page.

*Young men.*—We cannot but marvel that in so few years there should be so great a change, that they who were so hotly persecuted by the prelates, and also opposed by the better sort of ministers, not only Mr. Gifford, Mr. Bernard, and other such like, but many of the most eminent both for learning and godliness, and yet now not only these famous men and churches in New England so fully to close with them in practice, but all the godly party in the land to stand for the same way, under the new name of Independents, put upon them.

*Ancient men.*—It is the Lord's doing, and it ought to be marvellous in our eyes; and the rather, because Mr. Bernard, in his book, made their small increase in a few years one and the chief argument against the way itself. To which Mr. Robinson answered, that "Religion is not always sown and reaped in one age; and that John Huss and Jerome of Prague finished their testimony a hundred years before Luther, and Wickliff well nigh as long before them, and yet neither the one nor the other with the like success as Luther. And yet," saith he, "many are already gathered into the kingdom of Christ; and the nearness of many more throughout the whole land (for the regions are white unto the harvest) doth promise within less than a hundred years, if our sins and theirs make not us and them unworthy of this mercy, a very plenteous harvest" (*Justif. folio 62*); as if he had prophesied of these times. Yea, some of us have often heard him say that "even those ministers and other godly persons that did then most sharply oppose them, if they might come to be from under the bishops, and live in a place of rest and peace, where they might comfortably subsist, they would practise the same things which they now did." And truly, many of us have seen this abundantly verified, not only in these latter times, but formerly.

Doctor Ames was estranged from and opposed Mr. Robinson; and yet afterwards there was loving compliance and near agree-

ment between them; and, which is more strange, Mr. Johnson himself, who was afterwards pastor of the church of God at Amsterdam, was a preacher to the company of English of the Staple at Middleburg, in Zealand, and had great and certain maintenance allowed him by them, and was highly respected of them, and so zealous against this way as that [when] Mr. Barrow's and Mr. Greenwood's Refutation of Gifford was privately in printing in this city, he not only was a means to discover it, but was made the ambassador's instrument to intercept them at the press, and see them burnt; the which charge he did so well perform, as he let them go on until they were wholly finished, and then surprised the whole impression, not suffering any to escape; and then, by the magistrates' authority, caused them all to be openly burnt, himself standing by until they were all consumed to ashes. Only he took up two of them, one to keep in his own study, that he might see their errors, and the other to bestow on a special friend for the like use. But mark the sequel. When he had done this work, he went home, and being set down in his study, he began to turn over some pages of this book, and superficially to read some things here and there, as his fancy led him. At length he met with something that began to work upon his spirit, which so wrought with him as drew him to this resolution, seriously to read over the whole book; the which he did once and again. In the end he was so taken, and his conscience was troubled so, as he could have no rest in himself until he crossed the seas and came to London to confer with the authors, who were then in prison, and shortly after executed. After which conference he was so satisfied and confirmed in the truth, as he never returned to his place any more at Middleburg, but adjoined himself to their society at London, and was afterwards committed to prison, and then banished; and in conclusion coming to live at Amsterdam, he caused the same books, which he had been an instrument to burn, to be new printed and set out at his own charge. And some of us here present testify this to be a true relation, which we heard from his own mouth before many witnesses.

*Young men.*— We have seen a book of Mr. Robert Baylie's, a Scotchman, wherein he seemeth to take notice of the spreading of the truth under the notion of error, and casts all the disgraces he can on it, and ranks it with others the foulest errors of the time, and endeavours to show how like a small spark it revived out of the ashes, and was brought from Leyden over the seas into New England, and there nourished with much



silence until it spread to other places in the country, and by eminent hands from thence into Old England.

*Ancient men.*—As we dare say Mr. Baylie intends no honor to the persons by what he says, either to those here or from whence they came, so are they far from seeking any to themselves, but rather are ashamed that their weak working hath brought no more glory to God; and if in any thing God hath made any of them instruments for the good of his people in any measure, they desire he only may have the glory. And whereas Mr. Baylie affirmeth that, however it was, in a few years the most who settled in the land did agree to model themselves after Mr. Robinson's pattern, we agree with reverend Mr. Cotton, that "there was no agreement by any solemn or common consultation; but that it is true they did, as if they had agreed, by the same spirit of truth and unity, set up, by the help of Christ, the same model of churches, one like to another; and if they of Plymouth have helped any of the first comers in their theory, by hearing and discerning their practices, therein the Scripture is fulfilled that the kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until all was leavened." Answer to Mr. Baylie, page 17.

*Young men.*—We desire to know how many have been put to death for this cause, and what manner of persons they were, and what occasions were taken against them by bringing them to their end.

*Ancient men.*—We know certainly of six that were publicly executed, besides such as died in prisons; Mr. Henry Barrow, Mr. Greenwood (these suffered at Tyburn); Mr. Penry at St. Thomas Waterings, by London; Mr. William Dennis, at Thetford, in Norfolk; two others at St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, whose names were Copping and Elias [Thacker]. These two last mentioned were condemned by cruel Judge Popham, whose countenance and carriage was very rough and severe toward them, with many sharp menaces. But God gave them courage to bear it, and to make this answer:

"My Lord, your face we fear not,  
And for your threats we care not,  
And to come to your read service, we dare not."

These two last named were put to death for dispersing of books.

For Mr. Dennis, he was a godly man, and faithful in his

place ; but what occasion was taken against him, we know not, more than the common cause.

For Mr. Penry, how unjustly he was charged, himself hath made manifest to the world in his books, and that Declaration which he made a little before his suffering ; all which are extant in print, with some of his godly letters.

As for Mr. Barrow and Mr. Greenwood, it also appears by their own writings how those statutes formerly made against the Papists were wrested against them, and they condemned thereupon ; as may be seen by their Examinations.

*Young men.*—But these were rigid Brownists, and lie under much aspersion, and their names much blemished and beclouded, not only by enemies, but even by godly and very reverend men.

*Ancient men.*—They can no more justly be called Brownists, than the disciples might have been called Judasites ; for they did as much abhor Brown's apostasy, and profane course, and his defection, as the disciples and other Christians did Judas's treachery.

And for their rigid and roughness of spirit, as some of them, especially Mr. Barrow, is taxed, it may be considered they were very rigidly and roughly dealt with, not only by the Lord's enemies and their enemies, but by some godly persons of those times, differing in opinions from them ; which makes some of us call to mind what one Doctor Taylor hath written in a late book in these stirring times. "Such an eminent man," saith he, "hath had the good hap to be reputed orthodox by posterity, and did condemn such a man of such an opinion, and yet himself erred in as considerable matters ; but meeting with better neighbours in his life-time, and a more charitable posterity after his death, hath his memory preserved in honor ; and the other's name suffers without cause." Of which he gives instances in his book entitled *The Liberty of Prophesying*, page 33 and following.

We refer you to Mr. Robinson's Answer to Mr. Bernard, where he charges him with blasphemy, railing, scoffing, &c. "For Mr. Barrow," saith Mr. Robinson, "as I say with Mr. Ainsworth, that I will not justify all the words of another man, nor yet mine own, so say I also with Mr. Smith, that because I know not by what particular motion of the Spirit he was guided to write in those phrases, I dare not censure him as you do ; especially considering with what fiery zeal the Lord hath furnished such his servants at all times, as he hath stirred up for special reformation. Let the example of Luther alone

suffice, whom into what terms his zeal carried, his writings testify; and yet both in him and in Mr. Barrow there might be with true spiritual zeal fleshly indignation mingled." Answer to Mr. Bernard, folio 84.

And further in page 86 he saith, that "such harsh terms wherewith he entertains such persons and things in the church as carry with them most appearance of holiness, they are to be interpreted according to his meaning, with this distinction, that Mr. Barrow speaks not of these persons and things simply, but in a respect, and so and so considered; and so no one term given by Mr. Barrow but may, at the least, be tolerated."

*Young men.*—But divers reverend men have expressed concerning this matter that God is not wont to make choice of men infamous for gross sins and vices before their calling, to make them any instruments of reformation after their calling, and proceed to declare that Mr. Barrow was a great gamester and a dicer when he lived in court, and getting much by play, would boast of loose spending it with courtesans, &c.

*Ancient men.*—Truly, with due respect to such reverend men be it spoken, those things might well have been spared from putting in print, especially so long after his death, when not only he, but all his friends are taken out of the world, that might vindicate his name. That he was tainted with vices at the court before his conversion and calling, it is not very strange; and if he had lived and died in that condition, it is like he might have gone out of the world without any public brand on his name, and have passed for a tolerable Christian and member of the church. He had hurt enough done him, whilst he lived, by evil and cruel enemies; why should godly men be prejudicated to him after his death in his name? Was not the Apostle Paul a persecutor of God's saints unto death? And doth not the same Apostle, speaking of scandalous and lascivious persons, say, "And such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the spirit of our God."

And if histories deceive us not, was not Cyprian a magician before his conversion, and Augustine a Manichæan? And when it was said unto him in the voice he heard, *Tolle et lege*, he was directed to that place of Scripture, "Not in gluttony and drunkenness, nor in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and take no thought for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of it." By which it may seem that if God do not make choice of such men as have been infamous for gross vices before their calling,

yet sometimes he is wont to do it, and is free to choose whom he pleaseth for notable instruments for his own work. As for other things that have been spoken of him and Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Penry, we leave them as they are. But some of us have reason to think there are some mistakes in the relations of those things. Only we shall add other public testimonies concerning them from witnesses of very worthy credit, which are also in print.

First, from Mr. Phillips. A famous and godly preacher, having heard and seen Mr. Barrow's holy speeches and preparations for death, said, "Barrow, Barrow, my soul be with thine!" The same author also reports, that Queen Elizabeth asked learned Doctor Reynolds what he thought of those two men, Mr. Barrow and Mr. Greenwood; and he answered her Majesty that it could not avail any thing to show his judgment concerning them, seeing they were put to death; and being loath to speak his mind further, her Majesty charged him upon his allegiance to speak. Whereupon he answered, that he was persuaded, if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the church of God, as have been raised up in this age. Her Majesty sighed, and said no more. But after that, riding to a park by the place where they were executed, and being willing to take further information concerning them, demanded of the right honorable the Earl of Cumberland, that was present when they suffered, what end they made. He answered, "a very godly end, and prayed for your Majesty, and the State," &c. We may also add what some of us have heard by credible information, that the Queen demanded of the Archbishop what he thought of them in his conscience. He answered "he thought they were the servants of God, but dangerous to the State." "Alas!" said she, "shall we put the servants of God to death?" And this was the true cause why no more of them were put to death in her days.

*Young men.*—Did any of you know Mr. Barrow? if we may be so bold to ask, for we would willingly know what [was] his life and conversation; because some, we perceive, have him in precious esteem, and others can scarce name him without some note of obloquy and dislike.

*Ancient men.*—We have not seen his person; but some of us have been well acquainted with those that knew him familiarly both before and after his conversion; and one of us hath had conference with one that was his domestic servant, and tended upon him both before and some while after the same.

He was a gentleman of good worth, and a flourishing courtier

in his time, and, as appears in his own answers to the Archbishop and Doctor Cousens, he was some time a student at Cambridge and the Inns of Court, and accomplished with strong parts.

We have heard his conversion to be on this wise. Walking in London one Lord's day with one of his companions, he heard a preacher at his sermon very loud, as they passed by the church. Upon which Mr. Barrow said unto his consort, "Let us go in and hear what this man saith that is thus earnest." "Tush," said the other, "what! shall we go to hear a man talk?" &c. But in he went and sat down. And the minister was vehement in reproofing sin, and sharply applied the judgments of God against the same; and, it should seem, touched him to the quick in such things as he was guilty of, so as God set it home to his soul, and began to work his repentance and conversion thereby. For he was so stricken as he could not be quiet, until by conference with godly men and further hearing of the word, with diligent reading and meditation, God brought peace to his soul and conscience, after much humiliation of heart and reformation of life; so as he left the court, and retired himself to a private life, some time in the country and some time in the city, giving himself to study and reading of the Scriptures and other good works very diligently. And being missed at court by his consorts and acquaintance, it was quickly bruited abroad that Barrow was turned Puritan. What his course was afterwards, his writings show, as also his sufferings and conference with men of all sorts do declare, until his life was taken from him.

And thus much we can further affirm, from those that well knew him, that he was very comfortable to the poor and those in distress in their sufferings; and when he saw he must die, he gave a stock for the relief of the poor of the church, which was a good help to them in their banished condition afterwards. Yea, and that which some will hardly believe, he did much persuade them to peace, and composed many differences that were grown amongst them whilst he lived, and would have, it is like, prevented more that after fell out, if he had continued.

*Young men.*— We thank you for your pains. We hope it will extend further than our satisfaction. We cannot but marvel that such a man should be by so many aspersed.

*Ancient men.*— It is not much to be marvelled at; for he was most plain in discovering the cruelty, fraud, and hypocrisy of the enemies of the truth, and searching into the corruptions of the time, which made him abhorred of them; and peradventure

something too harsh against the haltings of divers of the preachers and professors that he had to deal with in those times, who out of fear or weakness did not come so close up to the truth in their practice as their doctrines and grounds seemed to hold forth. Which makes us remember what was the answer of Erasmus to the Duke of Saxony, when he asked his opinion whether Luther had erred. He answered, "his opinions were good, but wished he would moderate his style, which stirred him up the more enemies, no doubt."

*Young men.*—We find in the writings of some such who were very eminent in their times for piety and learning, that those of the Separation found more favor in our native country than those who were reproached by the name of Puritans; and after much discourse thereabouts, come to this conclusion, that no comparison will hold from the Separatists to them in their sufferings but *a minori*; and then they go on and say, what a compulsory banishment has been put upon those blessed and glorious lights, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Parker, Doctor Ames, &c.

*Ancient men.*—Far be it from any of us to detract from or to extenuate the sufferings of any of the servants of God, much less from those worthies forenamed, or any others afterwards mentioned. Yet, under favor, we crave pardon if we cannot consent to the judgment of such eminent ones for piety and learning above hinted. We doubt not, but do easily grant, that the sufferings of those reproached by the name of Puritans were great, especially some of them, and were better known to those pious and learned [men] first above intimated, than the sufferings of those that are reproached by the name of Brownists and Separatists. But we shall give you some instances, and leave it to you and some others to consider of.

1. Though no more were publicly executed, yet sundry more were condemned, and brought to the gallows, and ascended the ladder, not knowing but they should die, and have been re-rieved, and after banished; some of which we have known and often spoken with.

2. Others have not only been forced into voluntary banishment, by great numbers, to avoid further cruelty, but divers, after long and sore imprisonment, have been forced to abjure the land by oath, never to return without leave. In anno 1604 four persons at once were forced to do so at a public Sessions in London, or else upon refusal they were to be hanged. This their abjuration was done on the statute of the 35 of Queen Elizabeth. Some of these we have also known.

3. We find mention in a printed book of seventeen or eigh-

teen that have died in several prisons in London in six years' time before the year 1592, besides what have been in other parts of the land, and since that time, perishing by cold, hunger, or noisomeness of the prison.

4. In the same year we find a lamentable petition, now in print, of sixty persons committed unailable to several prisons in London, as Newgate, the Gatehouse, Clink, &c., being made close prisoners, allowing them neither meat, drink, nor lodging, nor suffering any whose hearts the Lord would stir up for their relief, to have any access unto them ; so as they complain that no felons, traitors, nor murderers in the land were thus dealt with ; and so after many other grievous complaints conclude with these words : " We crave for all of us but the liberty either to die openly, or to live openly in the land of our nativity. If we deserve death, it beseemeth the majesty of justice not to see us closely murdered, yea starved to death with hunger and cold, and stifled in loathsome dungeons. If we be guiltless, we crave but the benefit of our innocence, viz. that we may have peace to serve our God and our Prince in the place of the sepulchres of our fathers."

And what numbers since those, who have been put unto compulsory banishment and other hard sufferings, as loss of goods, friends, and long and hard imprisonments, under which many have died,—it is so well known, that it would make up a volume to rehearse them, and would not only equalize but far exceed the number of those godly called Puritans that have suffered. Suppose they were but few of them ministers that suffered, as above expressed ; yet their scrows might be as great, and their wants more, and their souls as much afflicted, because more contemned and neglected of men.

But some have said *they* were excommunicated ; and that was no great matter as excommunications went in those days. So were *these*, not only while they were living, but some of them many times after they were dead ; and as some of the other were imprisoned, so were more of these. But it is further said, all of them were deprived of their ministry ; and so were these of their livelihood and maintenance, although they had no offices to lose. But those remained still in the land, and were succoured and sheltered by good people in a competent wise, the most of them, and sundry of them lived as well, as may easily be proved, if not better, than if they had enjoyed their benefices ; whereas the other were, a great number of them, forced to fly into foreign lands for shelter, or else might have perished in prisons ; and these poor creatures endured,

many of them, such hardships (as is well known to some of us) as makes our hearts still ache to remember.

We some of us knew Mr. Parker, Dr. Ames, and Mr. Jacob in Holland, when they sojourned for a time in Leyden; and all three boarded together and had their victuals dressed by some of our acquaintance, and then they lived comfortable, and then they were provided for as became their persons. And after Mr. Jacob returned, and Mr. Parker was at Amsterdam, where he printed some of his books, and Mr. Ames disposed of himself to other places, it was not worse with him; and some of us well know how it fared then with many precious Christians in divers times and places. To speak the truth, the professors in England, though many of them suffered much at the hands of the prelates, yet they had a great advantage of the Separatists; for the Separatists had not only the prelates and their faction to encounter with (and what hard measure they met with at their hands, above the other, doth sufficiently appear by what is before declared), but also they must endure the frowns, and many times the sharp invectives, of the forward ministers against them, both in public and private, and what influence they had upon the spirits of the people, is well enough known also; by reason hereof the ministers in foreign countries did look awry at them when they would give help and countenance to the other.

*Young men.*—Indeed, it seems they have sometimes suffered much hardness in the Low Countries, if that be true that is reported of such a man as Mr. Ainsworth, that he should live for some time with nine pence a week. To which is replied by another, that if people suffered him to live on nine pence a week, with roots boiled, either the people were grown extreme low in estate, or the growth of their godliness was come to a very low ebb.

*Ancient men.*—The truth is, their condition for the most part was for some time very low and hard. It was with them as, if it should be related, would hardly be believed. And no marvel. For many of them had lain long in prisons, and then were banished into Newfoundland, where they were abused, and at last came into the Low Countries, and wanting money, trades, friends or acquaintances, and languages to help themselves, how could it be otherwise? The report of Mr. Ainsworth was near those times, when he was newly come out of Ireland with others poor, and being a single young man and very studious, was content with a little. And yet, to take off the aspersion from the people in that particular, the chief and true reason



thereof is mistaken ; for he was a very modest and bashful man, and concealed his wants from others, until some suspected how it was with him, and pressed him to see how it was ; and after it was known, such as were able mended his condition ; and when he was married afterwards, he and his family were comfortably provided for. But we have said enough of these things. They had few friends to comfort them, nor any arm of flesh to support them ; and if in some things they were too rigid, they are rather to be pitied, considering their times and sufferings, than to be blasted with reproach to posterity.

*Young men.*— Was that Brown that fell away and made apostasy, the first inventor and beginner of this way ?

*Ancient men.*— No, verily ; for, as one answers this question very well in a printed book, almost forty years ago, that the prophets, apostles, and evangelists have in their authentic writings laid down the ground thereof ; and upon that ground is their building reared up and surely settled. Moreover, many of the martyrs, both former and latter, have maintained it, as is to be seen in The Acts and Monuments of the Church. Also, in the days of Queen Elizabeth there was a separated church, whereof Mr. Fitts was pastor, and another before that in the time of Queen Mary, of which Mr. Rough was pastor or teacher, and Cudbert Simpson a deacon, who exercised amongst themselves, as other ordinances, so church censures, as excommunication, etc., and professed and practised that cause before Mr. Brown wrote for it. But he being one that afterwards wrote for it, they that first hatched the name of Puritans and bestowed it on the godly professors that desired reformation, they likewise out of the same storehouse would needs bestow this new livery upon others that never would own it, nor had reason so to do. Mr. Cotton, likewise, in his Answer to Mr. Baylie, page fourth, shows how in the year 1567 there were a hundred persons who refused the common liturgy, and the congregations attending thereunto, and used prayers and preaching and the sacraments amongst themselves, whereof fourteen or fifteen were sent to prison, of whom the chiefest were Mr. Smith, Mr. Nixon, James Ireland, Robert Hawkins, Thomas Rowland, and Richard Morecroft ; and these pleaded their separation before the Lord Mayor, Bishop Sands, and other commissioners on June 20, 1567, about eighty years ago, being many years before Brown. Divers other instances might be given.

*Young men.*— But if we mistake not, Mr. Brown is accounted by some of good note to be the inventor of that way which is

called Brownism, from whom the sect took its name. Moreover, it is said by such of note as aforesaid, that it is not God's usual manner of dealing to leave any of the first publishers or restorers of any truth of his to such fearful apostasy.

*Ancient men.*—Possibly this speech might arise from a common received opinion. But reverend Mr. Cotton, in his Answer to Mr. Baylie, saith “the backsliding of Brown from that way of Separation is a just reason why the Separatists may disclaim denomination from him, and refuse to be called Brownists, after his name; and to speak with reason,” saith he, “if any be justly to be called Brownists, it is only such as revolt from Separation to formality, and from thence to profaneness.” Page 5.

To which we may add, that it is very injurious to call those after his name, whose person they never knew, and whose writings few if any of them ever saw, and whose errors and backslidings they have constantly borne witness against; and what truths they have received have been from the light of God's sacred word, conveyed by other godly instruments unto them; though Brown may sometimes have professed some of the same things, and now fallen from the same, as many others have done.

*Young men.*—Seeing we have presumed thus far to inquire into these ancients times of you, and of the sufferings of the aforesaid persons, we would likewise entreat you, though never so briefly, to tell us something of the persons and carriages of other eminent men about those times, or immediately after, as Mr. Francis Johnson, Mr. Henry Ainsworth, Mr. John Smith, Mr. John Robinson, Mr. Richard Clifton.

*Ancient men.*—Here are some in the company that knew them all familiarly, whom we shall desire to satisfy your request.

Those answered, We shall do it most willingly; for we cannot but honor the memory of the men for the good that not only many others but we ourselves have received by them and their ministry; for we have heard them all, and lived under the ministry of divers of them for some years. We shall therefore speak of them in order briefly.

Mr. JOHNSON, of whom something was spoken before, was pastor of the church of God at Amsterdam. A very grave man he was, and an able teacher, and was the most solemn in all his administrations that we have seen any, and especially in dispensing the seals of the covenant, both baptism and the Lord's supper. And a good disputant he was. We heard Mr.

Smith upon occasion say, that he was persuaded no men living were able to maintain a cause against those two men, meaning Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth, if they had not the truth on their side. He, by reason of many dissensions that fell out in the church, and the subtilty of one of the elders of the same, came after many years to alter his judgment about the government of the church, and his practice thereupon, which caused a division amongst them. But he lived not many years after, and died at Amsterdam after his return from Embden.

*Young men.*— But he is much spoken against for excommunicating his brother and his own father, and maintaining his wife's cause, who was by his brother and others reprov'd for her pride in apparel.

*Ancient men.*— Himself hath often made his own defence, and others for him. The church did, after long patience towards them and much pains taken with them, excommunicate them for their unreasonable and endless opposition, and such things as did accompany the same; and such was the justice thereof, as he could not but consent thereto. In our time his wife was a grave matron, and very modest both in her apparel and all her demeanour, ready to any good works in her place, and helpful to many, especially the poor, and an ornament to his calling. She was a young widow when he married her, and had been a merchant's wife, by whom he had a good estate, and was a godly woman; and because she wore such apparel as she had been formerly used to, which were neither excessive nor immodest, for their chiefest exceptions were against her wearing of some whalebone in the bodice and sleeves of her gown, corked shoes, and other such like things as the citizens of her rank then used to wear. And although, for offence sake, she and he were willing to reform the fashions of them so far as might be without spoiling of their garments, yet it would not content them except they came full up to their size. Such was the strictness or rigidness (as now the term goes) of some in those times, as we can by experience and of our own knowledge show in other instances. We shall for brevity sake only show one.

We were in the company of a godly man that had been a long time prisoner at Norwich for this cause, and was by Judge Cooke set at liberty. After going into the country he visited his friends, and returning that way again to go into the Low Countries by ship at Yarmouth, and so desired some of us to turn in with him to the house of an ancient woman in the city, who had been very kind and helpful to him in his sufferings. She knowing his voice made him very welcome, and those with

him. But after some time of their entertainment, being ready to depart, she came up to him and felt of his band (for her eyes were dim with age), and perceiving it was something stiffened with starch, she was much displeas'd, and reprov'd him very sharply, fearing God would not prosper his journey. Yet the man was a plain countryman, clad in gray russet, without either welt or guard (as the proverb is), and the band he wore scarce worth threepence, made of their own homespinning; and he was godly and humble as he was plain. What would such professors, if they were now living, say to the excess of our times?

Mr. HENRY AINSWORTH, a man of a thousand, was teacher of this church at Amsterdam at the same time when Mr. Johnson was pastor. Two worthy men they were and of excellent parts. He continued constant in his judgment and practice unto his end in those things about the church government, from which Mr. Johnson swerved and fell. He ever maintained good correspondence with Mr. Robinson at Leyden, and would consult with him in all matters of weight, both in their differences and afterwards. A very learned man he was, and a close student, which much impaired his health. We have heard some, eminent in the knowledge of the tongues, of the university of Leyden, say that they thought he had not his better for the Hebrew tongue in the university, nor scarce in Europe. He was a man very modest, amiable, and sociable in his ordinary course and carriage, of an innocent and unblamable life and conversation, of a meek spirit, and a calm temper, void of passion and not easily provok'd. And yet he would be something smart in his style to his opposers in his public writings; at which we that have seen his constant carriage, both in public disputes and the managing of all church affairs, and such like occurrences, have sometimes marvelled. He had an excellent gift of teaching and opening the Scriptures; and things did flow from him with that facility, plainness, and sweetness, as did much affect the hearers. He was powerful and profound in doctrine, although his voice was not strong; and had this excellency above many, that he was most ready and pregnant in the Scriptures, as if the book of God had been written in his heart; being as ready in his quotations, without tossing and turning his book, as if they had lain open before his eyes, and seldom missing a word in the citing of any place, teaching not only the word and doctrine of God, but in the words of God, and for the most part in a continued phrase and words of Scripture. He used great dexterity, and was ready in comparing Scripture with Scripture, one with another. In a word, the

times and place in which he lived were not worthy of such a man.

*Young men.*—But we find that he is taxed, in a book writ by George Johnson, with apostasy and to be a man-pleaser, etc.

*Ancient men.*—Who can escape the scourge of tongues? Christ himself could not do it when he was here upon earth, although there was no guile found in his mouth; nor Moses, although he was the meekest man in the earth. For man-pleasing, they that tax him [do it] because he concurred against their violent and endless dissensions about the former matters. And for his apostasy, this was all the matter. When he was a young man, before he came out of England, he at the persuasion of some of his godly friends went once or twice to hear a godly minister preach; and this was the great matter of apostasy, for which those violent men thought him worthy to be deposed from his place, and for which they thus charge him. And truly herein they may worthily bear the name of rigid, etc.

Mr. JOHN SMITH was an eminent man in his time, and a good preacher, and of other good parts, but his inconstancy, and unstable judgment, and being so suddenly carried away with things, did soon overthrow him. Yet we have some of us heard him use this speech: "Truly," said he, "we being now come into a place of liberty, are in great danger, if we look not well to our ways; for we are like men set upon the ice, and therefore may easily slide and fall." But in this example it appears it is an easier matter to give good counsel than to follow it, to foresee danger than to prevent it: which made the prophet to say, "O Lord, the way of man is not in himself, neither is it in man to walk and to direct his steps." He was some time pastor to a company of honest and godly men which came with him out of England, and pitched at Amsterdam. He first fell into some errors about the Scriptures, and so into some opposition with Mr. Johnson, who had been his tutor, and the church there. But he was convinced of them by the pains and faithfulness of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth, and revoked them; but afterwards was drawn away by some of the Dutch Anabaptists, who finding him to be a good scholar and unsettled, they easily misled the most of his people, and other of them scattered away. He lived not many years after, but died there of a consumption, to which he was inclined before he came out of England. His and his people's condition may be an object of pity for after times.

Mr. JOHN ROBINSON was pastor of that famous church of Leyden, in Holland; a man not easily to be paralleled for all

things, whose singular virtues we shall not take upon us here to describe. Neither need we, for they so well are known both by friends and enemies. As he was a man learned and of solid judgment, and of a quick and sharp wit, so was he also of a tender conscience, and very sincere in all his ways, a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable, and sociable in his conversation, and towards his own people especially. He was an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready, and had much bickering with the Arminians, who stood more in fear of him than any of the university. He was never satisfied in himself until he had searched any cause or argument he had to deal in thoroughly and to the bottom; and we have heard him sometimes say to his familiars that many times, both in writing and disputation, he knew he had sufficiently answered others, but many times not himself; and was ever desirous of any light, and the more able, learned, and holy the persons were, the more he desired to confer and reason with them. He was very profitable in his ministry and comfortable to his people. He was much beloved of them, and as loving was he unto them, and entirely sought their good for soul and body. In a word, he was much esteemed and revered of all that knew him, and his abilities [were acknowledged] both of friends and strangers. But we resolved to be brief in this matter, leaving you to better and more large information herein from others.

Mr. RICHARD CLIFTON was a grave and fatherly old man when he came first into Holland, having a great white beard; and pity it was that such a reverend old man should be forced to leave his country, and at those years to go into exile. But it was his lot; and he bore it patiently. Much good had he done in the country where he lived, and converted many to God by his faithful and painful ministry, both in preaching and catechizing. Sound and orthodox he always was, and so continued to his end. He belonged to the church at Leyden; but being settled at Amsterdam, and thus aged, he was loath to remove any more; and so when they removed, he was dismissed to them there, and there remained until he died. Thus have we briefly satisfied your desire.

*Young men.*—We are very thankful to you for your pains. We perceive God raiseth up excellent instruments in all ages to carry on his own work; and the best of men have their failings sometimes, as we see in these our times, and that there is no new thing under the sun. But before we end this matter, we

desire you would say something of those two churches that were so long in exile, of whose guides we have already heard.

*Ancient men.*—Truly there were in them many worthy men; and if you had seen them in their beauty and order, as we have done, you would have been much affected therewith, we dare say. At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their pastor and teacher those two eminent men before named, and in our time four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, one ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honored her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other helps as their necessity did require; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ.

And for the church of Leyden, they were sometimes not much fewer in number, nor at all inferior in able men, though they had not so many officers as the other; for they had but one ruling elder with their pastor, a man well approved and of great integrity; also they had three able men for deacons. And that which was a crown unto them, they lived together in love and peace all their days, without any considerable differences or any disturbance that grew thereby, but such as was easily healed in love; and so they continued until with mutual consent they removed into New England. And what their condition hath been since, some of you that are of their children do see and can tell. Many worthy and able men there were in both places, who lived and died in obscurity in respect of the world, as private Christians, yet were they precious in the eyes of the Lord, and also in the eyes of such as knew them, whose virtues we with such of you as are their children do follow and imitate.

*Young men.*—If we may not be tedious, we would request to know one thing more. It is commonly said that those of the Separation hold none to be true churches but their own, and condemn all the churches in the world besides; which lieth as a foul blot upon them, yea even on some here in New England, except they can remove it.

*Ancient men.*—It is a manifest slander laid upon them ; for they hold all the Reformed Churches to be true churches, and even the most rigid of them have ever done so, as appears by their Apologies and other writings ; and we ourselves some of us know of much intercommunion that divers have held with them reciprocally, not only with the Dutch and French, but even with the Scotch, who are not of the best mould, yea and with the Lutherans also ; and we believe they have gone as far herein, both in judgment and practice, as any of the churches in New England do or can do, to deal faithfully and bear witness against their corruptions.

Having thus far satisfied all your demands, we shall here break off this conference for this time, desiring the Lord to make you to grow up in grace and wisdom and the true fear of God, that in all faithfulness and humility you may serve him in your generations.

*Young men.*—Gentlemen, we humbly thank you for your pains with us and respect unto us, and do further crave that upon any fit occasions we may have access unto you for any further information, and herewith do humbly take our leave.

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#### THE PILGRIMS' ARRIVAL AT CAPE COD.

*From Bradford's History.*

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye periles & miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on ye firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on ye coast of his owne Italy ; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time ; so tedious & dreadfull was ye same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition ; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by yt which wente before), they had now no freinds to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is



recorded in scripture as a mercie to y<sup>e</sup> apostle & his ship-wraked company, y<sup>t</sup> the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise. And for y<sup>e</sup> season it was winter, and they that know y<sup>e</sup> winters of y<sup>t</sup> cuntrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts & willd men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, goe up to y<sup>e</sup> tope of Pisgah, to vew from this willdernes a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turned their eys (save upward to y<sup>e</sup> heavens) they could have litle solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sumer being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and y<sup>e</sup> whole cuntrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was y<sup>e</sup> mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to seperate them from all y<sup>e</sup> civill parts of y<sup>e</sup> world. If it be said they had a ship to sucour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from y<sup>e</sup> m<sup>r</sup>. & company? but y<sup>t</sup> with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for y<sup>e</sup> season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considered what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, y<sup>t</sup> might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, y<sup>e</sup> affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them, but they had litle power to help them, or them selves; and how y<sup>e</sup> case stode betweene them & y<sup>e</sup> marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but y<sup>e</sup> spirite of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this willdernes; but they cried unto y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, &c. Let them*

therefore praise y<sup>e</sup> Lord, because he is good, & his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from y<sup>e</sup> hand of y<sup>e</sup> oppressour. When they wandered in y<sup>e</sup> deserte willdernes out of y<sup>e</sup> way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie, & thirstie, their soule was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before y<sup>e</sup> Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderfull works before y<sup>e</sup> sons of men.

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William Bradford, the great governor of the Plymouth colony, was born at Austerfield, a little village in Yorkshire, in 1688, the same year (the year of the Spanish Armada) that John Winthrop, the great governor of the Massachusetts colony, was born at Groton, in Suffolk. While yet a youth, he became a member of Brewster's little congregation at Scrooby, near by; and in 1608 he escaped with the others to Holland, and became a leading member of the church at Leyden, taking an active part in the removal to New England in 1620. Upon Carver's death, in 1621, he was elected to succeed him as governor; and he continued to hold this office, with two slight breaks, to the time of his death, in 1657.

No other person understood so well the history of the Plymouth colony. It is therefore singularly fortunate that he became the colony's historian,—as, similarly, Gov. Winthrop became the historian of the Massachusetts colony. His "History of the Plymouth Plantation" may properly be called our New England Old Testament,—the Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, and Judges of the Plymouth settlement. The remarkable story of the loss of the MS. from the Old South Meeting-house, where it was preserved in the Prince Library, at the time of the British Evacuation of Boston, and its discovery in the Bishop of London's library at Fulham in 1855, has been told by Charles Deane in his introduction to the volume, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in the *Proceedings* of the Society, 1855 and 1882; also, more fully, by Justin Winsor, in the *Proceedings* for 1882. It is an interesting fact that the third volume of Winthrop's History, long lost, was found, in 1816, in the tower of the Old South Meeting-house, where, like Bradford's History, it had been kept in Prince's New England Library.

Bradford's Letter Book, containing copies of important letters addressed to him, was lost, like his History. Fragments were rescued in a grocer's shop in Halifax, and printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, iii., and in Young's *Chronicles*. In vol. iii. of the *Collections* may be found his "Account of New England in Verse." His "Word to Boston" and "Word to New England" appear in vol. xxvii. of the same; and two others of his poems in the *Proceedings* for 1870,—"Some Observations of God's Merciful Dealings with us in this Wilderness," and "A Word to New Plymouth." A little piece called "Epitaphum Meum" was printed by Morton in his Memorial. Bradford's letters to Winthrop are printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, 4th series, vol. vi.

In conjunction with Edward Winslow, Bradford wrote "A Diary of Occurrences," covering the first year of the colony, which may be found in the Mass. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, viii. and xix.

Bradford's First Dialogue, given in the present leaflet, was first printed in 1648. It was copied by Morton in the records of the Plymouth Church, and thence reprinted by Young in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers," in 1841. It is of the highest historical value, giving fuller accounts than we have elsewhere of many of the first English Independents. Bradford's Second Dialogue is lost. Deane says, "I have never seen it, nor any reference to it." The Third Dialogue, "Concerning the Church and the Government thereof," was published in the *Proceedings* of the Mass. Hist. Soc. for 1870, with an important historical introduction by Charles Deane.

Mather included a biography of Bradford in his *Magnalia*. This was reprinted in the first series of Old South Leaflets.



# Winthrop's Conclusions

FOR THE PLANTATION IN NEW  
ENGLAND.

*The grounds of settling a plantation in new England.*

*First*, The p̄pagaçon of the gospell to the Indians. Wherein first the importance of the worke tendinge to the inlargment of the Kingdome of Jesus Christ & winning them out of the snare of the Divell & converting others of them by their meanes.

*Secondly*, The possibility of attaineing it, God haveinge by his word manifested his will for the spreadinge of the Gospell to all Nations, and intercourse of Trade havinge opened a passage, & made a waie for comerce w<sup>th</sup> the East & West Indies and divers plātaçons of the Dutch & English being settled in sev<sup>al</sup> parts of those cōntries & the ill condiçons of the tymes being likely to furnish those plantaçons w<sup>th</sup> better members then usually have undertaken that worke in former tymes.

Thirdly for motives

1. The Consideraçon of our owne Condiçon like unto theires in tymes past.
2. The advantages and benefitts wee may receive from those pa<sup>r</sup>t<sup>s</sup> challenge the rendring of spirituall things for their Temporall.
3. The Dilligence of the Papists in p̄pagaing their Religion and sup̄stiçon & enlarginge the kingdome of Antichrist thereby w<sup>th</sup> all the manifest hazards of their p̄sons & depe engem<sup>ts</sup> of their estates.

2. Ground. Charitie to our neighbo<sup>rs</sup> impoverished by decay of Trade and lefte destitute of hope of employment in tyme to

come, who may comfortably be sustained by their labo<sup>rs</sup> & endeavo<sup>rs</sup> in this Country yeilding them sufficient matter of employment & meanes of recompence, as, corne both of o<sup>r</sup> kindes w<sup>ch</sup> prosper well in those pa<sup>rts</sup> & of the country w<sup>ch</sup> is farr better for use then o<sup>r</sup>s & maye be sett yearly after our graines are sowne, & consequently w<sup>th</sup>out hinderance of our ordinary course of husbandrie.

2<sup>dly</sup> infinite varietie  
& store of

Fishes, Sturgeon, Salmon, Mullett, Bas, Codd, Lobsters, Eeles.  
Fowle, as, Turkie, Feasant, Partridg, Goose, Duck, Teal, and Deare, w<sup>ch</sup> if the were p<sup>r</sup>served from the spoyle of Wolves (w<sup>ch</sup> is not impossible would soone abound there more, then sheep in this Kingdome, the Does bringinge after the first 2 fawnes att a birth att least.

3<sup>dly</sup> The possibility of Breedinge of Kine w<sup>ch</sup> growe to a farr greater bulke of body in that country then w<sup>th</sup> us, in this Kingdome, secondly, of Goates w<sup>ch</sup> may easily be Transported w<sup>th</sup> small charge. 3<sup>dly</sup> Swine w<sup>ch</sup> breed in great numb<sup>rs</sup> by reason of the abundandance of Acornes growndnutts, 4<sup>ly</sup> Wall-nutts, & clummes, 4<sup>ly</sup> Trade of Fures which may be Brought out of that Continent to the valew of 30000<sup>li</sup> p<sup>a</sup> añ at least besides moose & Deare skinnes, feathers & c̃., 5<sup>ly</sup> fishing a knowen & staple Commodity. 6<sup>ly</sup> possibilitie of makeinge Salt, the Country lieinge in equall height w<sup>th</sup> Biskie. 7<sup>ly</sup> plantinge of vines.

8<sup>ly</sup> makeinge pitch, Tarr, Pottashes & sope ashes.

9<sup>ly</sup> Cuttinge of masts.

10<sup>ly</sup> makeing of Iron, what other mines there are we know nott.

11<sup>ly</sup> some woods fitt for dying, others for Phisicall uses, as, Sarzaperilla Sassafra<sup>s</sup> & c̃.

12. Silke grasse.

13. Hemp & flax for w<sup>ch</sup> the soyle is very fitt.

3 *Ground.* The Danger & extremities of the p<sup>r</sup>sent estate of the Churches both in forraigne p<sup>rts</sup> & c̃.

*The meanes of effecting this worke.*

*First* The Raysinge of a sufficient stocke to the valew of 10000<sup>li</sup> by the adventurers of such voluntary p<sup>rs</sup>ons as God shalbe pleased for the former weightie ends to move to the forwardinge of y<sup>e</sup> worke wherew<sup>th</sup> might be transported 200 Carpenters, Masons, Smithes, Coopers, Turners, Brickbunners,

Potters, Husbandmen, Fowlers, (by whose labours in 3 yeares  
 Vingnerons, Saltmakers fisher- } space may be pvided at least  
 men and other laborers, 100 } for a thousand psons dwellings  
 Kine & Bulls, 25 Horse & } & meane of lively hood be-  
 Mares. } sides.

2 or 3000<sup>li</sup> stocke will remaine of 10000<sup>li</sup> for Trade.

*Secondly* The Free adventures of pticular psons of whom many wilbe readie to ingage their psons and estates for furtheringe this designe.

*Some generall conclusions showing that a pson employed heer in publicke service may yett be transplanted for the ppagation of the Gospell in N. E.*

1. It is granted by all that this intended plantaçon is a worke both lawfull & honorable.

2. It must be advanced by psons guifted for such a worke.

3. Every one that is fitt hath nott a minde to the worke & noe bond of conscience cann ordinarilie be imposed uppon him that hath noe desire to itt.

4. The service of raysinge or upholdinge a pticular church is to be pferred before the Comfort of some pte of a Church already established.

5. The memb<sup>rs</sup> of that Church maie in tyme be of better use to their mother church heer, then those whome she shall kepe still in her owne bosome, When the woman in the Rev. 12 was psecuted by the Dragon, & forced to flie into the wildernes her sonne was taken upp into heaven (when it might seeme shee had greatest need of him) to be reserved there for future service.

6. The exercise of an office of lesse consequence for God & for his Church (whereinto any is put by ordinary calling) maie be lefte uppon the like call to some other office of greater consequence especially where there followes noe violaçon of the rule of righteousnes & that the difference is such betweene the execution of an ordinary place of Magistrty in this land & the supportaçon of this plantation is easy to be determined.

7. It may be instanced in divers psons both magistrates and Mininist<sup>rs</sup> who (sometimes for private respects) have forsaken the place where the have been settled, to good use, & their changes aproved & blessed.

8. The takeing off a Scandall from a whole Church & Religion it self is to be pferred before the good of any pticular Church, it is a reproach to our Religion that when we professe an Intention of Convertinge those Indians we send nott psons

meett for such a worke but such only as wee cann well spare & most Cōmonly those that are a burden to our selves, while the Papists out of a false zeale to draw them to their supsticōn sticke not to imploy their most able and usefull instruments.

9. Our approved practise in matters of like Nature must be a rule in this, in all Forraigne expediōns wee imploy of our best statesmen & wee grudge not to want their service heer (though never soe usefull) while the are in such imploy<sup>mt</sup> for the good of the Churches.

*Peticular Consideraōns in the case of J. W.*

*First* It is com to that issue as the successe of the plantation depends uppon his goeing for the chiefe supporters (uppon whom the rest depends) will not stirr w<sup>th</sup>out him.

2<sup>ly</sup> His meanes heer are soe shortened (now 3. of his sonnes being com to age have drawen awaie the one half of his estate) as he shall not be able to continue in that place & employment where he now is, his ordinary charg being still as great almost as when his meanes was double.

3<sup>dly</sup> He acknowledgeth a satisfactory callinge outward from some of the cheife of the plantaōn inward by the inclination of his owne hart to the worke & both approved by godly & juditious divines (whereof some have the most interest in him) & there is in this the like immediate call from the Kinge, as was to his former employment.

4<sup>ly</sup> If he lett pass this opportunitie, That talent w<sup>ch</sup> God hath bestowed uppon him for publicke service is like to be buried.

5. His wife & such of his Children as are at yeares and discretion are voluntarily disposed to the same course.

*Reasons to be considered for Justifieinge the undertakers of the intended plantaōn in New England & for encouraging such whose harts God shall move to Foyne w<sup>th</sup> them in it.*

*First*, It wilbe a service to the Church of great consequence to carry the Gospell into those p<sup>ts</sup> of the world, to help on the cominge in of fulnesse of the Gentiles and to rayse a Bulworke against the kingdome of Antichrist, w<sup>ch</sup> the Jesuites labour to rear up in those parts.

2. All other Churches of Europe are brought to desolaōn and o<sup>r</sup> sinnes for w<sup>ch</sup> the lord beginns already to frowne uppō us, doe threaten us fearfully, & who knowes but that god hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he meanes to save out of the generall callamitie, and seeinge the Church

hath no place left to flie into but the wilderness what better worke cann there be, then to goe before & provide Tabernacles, and food for her, against she cometh thither.

3. This land growes weary of her Inhabitants, soe as man whoe is y<sup>e</sup> most pretious of all creatures is heer more vile & base then the Earth we Tread uppon, & of lesse price among us, then a horse or a sheep, masters are forced by authoritie to entertaine servants, parents to maintaine their owne children, All Townes complaine of the burthen of their poore though we have taken up many unnecessary, yea unlawfull trades to mainteaine them. And we use the authoritie of the law to hinder the increase of people as urging the execucon of the State against Cottages & Inmates & thus it is come to passe that children, servants & neighbo<sup>rs</sup> (especially if the be poore) are counted the greatest burthen w<sup>ch</sup> if things were right it would be the cheifest earthly blessinge.

4. The whole earth is the lords Garden & he hath given it to the sonnes of men, w<sup>th</sup> a generall Condiçon, Gen: 1. 28. Increase & multiply, replenish the earth & subdue it, w<sup>ch</sup> was againe renewed to Noah, the end is Double morall & naturall that man might enjoy the fruites of the earth & god might have his due glory from the creature, why then should we stand hear striving for places of habitation, (many men spending as much labo<sup>r</sup> & cost to recover or keep somtymes a Acre or two of land as would pcure them many hundred as good or better in an other country) and in ye mean tyme suffer a whole Continent, as fruitfull & convenient for the use of man to lie waste w<sup>th</sup>out any improvement.

5. We are growne to that height of intemperance in all excesse of riot, as noe mans estate almost will suffice to keep saile w<sup>th</sup> his equalls, & he who failes herein must live in scorne & contempt, hence it comes that all arts & trades are carried in that deceitfull & unrighteous course, as it is almost impossible for a good & upright man to maintaine his charge and live comfortably in any of them.

6. The fountaines of learning & religion are soe corrupted (as beside the unsupportable charge of the educaçon) most Children (even the best witts & fairest hopes) are p<sup>er</sup>verted corrupted and utterly overthrowen, by the multitude of evill examples and the licentious gov<sup>rn</sup>m<sup>t</sup> of those Seminaries, where men straine at Gnats, & swallow Camells, use all severity for maintenance of cappes, & other accomplements but suffer all Ruffian-like fashion & disorder in manners to passe uncontroled.

7. What can be a better worke & more hono<sup>r</sup><sup>ble</sup> & worthy a Christian then to help rayse & support a particular church while it is in the infancy, & to Joyne his forces w<sup>th</sup> such a company of faithfull people as by a tymely assistance may growe stronge and prosper, and for want of it may be put to great hazard, if not wholly ruined.

8. If any such whoe are knowen to be godly & live in wealth and prosperity here shall forsake all this to joyne themselves to this church & to runn a hazard w<sup>th</sup> them of a hard & meane condiçon it wilbe an example of great use both for removeing the scandall of wordly & sinister respects w<sup>ch</sup> is cast uppon the adventurers to give more life to the faith of Gods people in their prayers for the plantaçon & to encourage other to joyne the more willingly in it.

9. It appeares to be a worke of god, for the good of his church in that he hath disposed the harts of soe many of his wise & faithfull servants (both ministers & others) not only to approve of the enterprize but to interest themselves in it, som in their psons & estates, others by their serious advise & helpe otherwise: And all by their prayers for the welfare of it, Amos

3. The lord revealeth his Secretts to his servants the Prophets, it is likely he hath some great worke in hand w<sup>ch</sup> he hath revealed to his prophets among us, whom he hath stirred upp to encourage his servants to this plantation for he doth not use to seduce his people by his owne Prophets, but cōmitts that office to the ministry of false prophets and lyinge spirits.

*Divers objections w<sup>ch</sup> have been made against this plantaçon w<sup>th</sup> their answeares and resoluçons.*

*Ob. 1:* We have noe warrant to enter uppon that land w<sup>ch</sup> hath been soe long possessed by others.

*Ans<sup>w</sup>. 1:* That w<sup>ch</sup> lies cōmon & hath never been replenished or subdued is free to any that will possesse and improve it, for god hath given to the sonnes of men a double right to the earth, there is a naturall right & a Civill right the first right was naturall when men held the earth in common every man soweing, and feeding where he pleased: and then as men and the cattle increased they appropriated certaine pcells of ground by enclosing, and peculier manurance, and this in tyme gave them a Civill right, such was the right w<sup>ch</sup> Ephron the Hittite had in the feild of Mackpelah wherein Abraham could not bury a dead corps w<sup>th</sup>out leave, though for the out parts of the Country w<sup>ch</sup> lay common he dwelt uppon them, & tooke the fruit of them att his pleasure, the like did Jacob w<sup>ch</sup> fedd his



cattle as bold in Hamors land (for he is sayd to be the lord of the Country) and other places where he came as y<sup>e</sup> native inhabitants themselves & that in those times & places men accounted nothing their owne but that w<sup>ch</sup> they had appropriated by their owne industry, appeares plainly by this that Abimelecks servants in their owne Countrey when they oft contended w<sup>th</sup> Isaacks servants about wells w<sup>ch</sup> they hadd digged yett never strove for the land wherein they were, Soe likewise between Jacob & Laban he would not take a kidd of Labans w<sup>th</sup>out his speciall contract, but he makes noe bargaine w<sup>th</sup> him for the land where they feed, and it is very pbable if the countrey had not been as free for Jacob as for Laban, that covetous wretch would have made his advantage of it, & have upbrayded Jacob w<sup>th</sup> it, as he did w<sup>th</sup> his cattle, And for the Natives in New England they inclose noe land neither have any setled habitation nor any tame cattle to improve the land by, & soe have noe other but a naturall right to those countries Soe as if wee leave them sufficient for their use wee may lawfully take the rest, there being more then enough for them & us.

2<sup>dly</sup> We shall come in w<sup>th</sup> the good leave of the Natives, who finde benefitt already by our neighbourhood & learne of us to improve pt to more use, then before they could doe the whole, & by this meanes wee come in by valuable purchase: for they hav of us that w<sup>ch</sup> will yeild them more benefitt then all the land w<sup>ch</sup> wee have from them.

3<sup>dly</sup> God hath consumed the Natives w<sup>th</sup> a great plague in those pts soe as there be few in-habitants left.

*Objec.* 2. It wilbe a great wrong to our church to take awaie the good people & we shall lay it the more open to the judgment feared.

*Answe.* 1. The departinge of good people from a country doth not cause a judgment but forshew it, w<sup>ch</sup> maie occasion such as remaine to turne from their evill waies that they may prevent it, or to take some other course that they may escape it.

2<sup>dly</sup> Such as goe away are of noe observation in respects of those whoe remaine & they are likely to doe more good there then heer, & since Christ's tyme the church is to be considered as universall w<sup>th</sup>out distinction of countries, soe as he who doeth good in any once place, serves the church in all places in regard of the unities.

3<sup>dly</sup> It is the revealed will of god that the gospell should be preached to all nations, and though we know not whether those

Barbarians will receive it at first or not, yett it is a good worke to serve gods pvidence in offering it to them, & this is fittest to be done by gods owne servants for god shall have glory by it, though they refuse it, & there is good hope that the posterity shall by this meanes be gathered into Christ's Sheepfold.

*Ob:* 3. We have feared a judgment a great while, but yett wee are safe it were better therefor to stay till it come, & either wee may flie then or if we be overtaken in it, we may well content our selves to suffer w<sup>th</sup> such a church as ours is.

*Answ:* It is likely this consideraçon made the churches beyond the seas, as, the Palatinate, Rochell &c. to sitt still at home & not to looke out for shelter while they might have found it, but the woefull spectacle of their ruine, may teach us more wisdom, to avoyd the plague when it is foreseen, & not to tarry as they did till it overtake us, if they were now at their former liberty, we might be sure they would take other courses for their saftie & though half of them had miscarried in their escape, yett hadd it not be soe miserable to themselves nor scandalous to religion as this desperate bakeslidinge, & abjuringe the truth, w<sup>ch</sup> many of the Antient p<sup>f</sup>esso<sup>rs</sup> among them, & the whole posteritie w<sup>ch</sup> remaine, are now plāged into.

*Ob:* 4. The ill successe of other plantaçons may tell us what wilbecome of this.

*Answ:* 1. None of the former susteyned any great damage, but Virginia which happened through their owne sloth & securitie.

2. The argum<sup>t</sup> is not good, for thus it stands, some plantaçons have miscarried therefore we should not make any, it consists in p<sup>t</sup>iculars & soe concludes nothings, we might as well reason thus, many houses have been burnt by Kilnes, therefore we should use none, many shippes have been cast away, therefore we should content our selves w<sup>th</sup> our home commodities, & not adventure mens lives at Sea for those things w<sup>ch</sup> wee might live w<sup>th</sup>out, some men have been undone by being advanced to great places therefore we should refuse our p<sup>r</sup>ferment, &c.

3. The fruite of any publicke designe is not to be discerned by the imediate successe, it may appear in tyme that former plantaçons were all to good use.

4. There were great and fundamentall errors in the former w<sup>ch</sup> are like to be avoyded in this, for first their maine end was Carnall & not Religious, secondly they used unfitt instruments a multitude of rude & misgov<sup>n</sup>ed p<sup>s</sup>ons, the very scumme of the people, thirdly they did not establish a right forme of government.

*Ob*: 5. It is attended w<sup>th</sup> many & great difficulties.

*Answer*: Soe is every good ac<sup>o</sup>n, the heathen could say Ardua virtutis via. And they way of gods kingdome (The best way in the world) is accompanied w<sup>th</sup> most difficulties, Straight is the gate & narrow is the way that leadeth to life, againe the difficulties are noe other then such as many dayly meet w<sup>th</sup> and such as god hath brought others well through them.

*Ob*: 6. It is a work above the power of the undertakers.

*Answer*: 1. The welfare of any body consists not soe much in quantity as in due p<sup>o</sup>portion & disposi<sup>o</sup>n of p<sup>tes</sup> & wee see other planta<sup>o</sup>ns have subsisted divers years & prospered from weake meanes.

2. It is noe wonder for great things may arise from weake contemptable beginnings, it hath been oft seen in kingedomes & states & may as well hold in towns & planta<sup>o</sup>ns. The Waldenses were scartered into the Alpes & mountaines of Piedmont, by small companies, but they became famous churches whereof some remaine to this day & it is certaine that the Turkes, Venetians & other states were very weake in there beginninge.

*Ob*: 7. The country affords noe naturall fortifications.

*Answer*: Noe more did Holland & many other places w<sup>ch</sup> had greater enemies & nearer at hand & God doth use to place his people in the middest of perills that they may trust in him and not in outward means & saftie, soe when he would chuse a place to plant his beloved people in he seateth them not in an Ileland or other place fortified by nature, but in a plaine country besett w<sup>th</sup> potent and bitter enemies round about, yett soe long as they served him & trusted in his help they were safe. Soe the Apostle Paule saith of him self & his fellow labourers that they were compassed w<sup>th</sup> dangers one every side, & were daily under the sentence of death that they might learne to trust in the liveinge God.

*Ob*: 8. The place affordeth noe comfortable meanes to the first planto<sup>rs</sup> & our breedinge heer at home have made us unfit for the hardshipp we are like to indure.

*Answer*: 1. Noe place of it self hath afforded sufficient to the first inhabitants, such things as we stand in need of are usually supplied by gods blessing uppon the wisdome & industrie of man & what soever wee stand in need of is treasured in the earth, by the Creato<sup>r</sup> & is to be fetched thence by the sweat of o<sup>r</sup> Browes.

2. Wee must learne w<sup>th</sup> Paule to want, as well as to abound,

if we have food & raiment (w<sup>ch</sup> are there to be had) we ought to be contented, the difference in the quality may a little displease us but it cannot hurt us.

3. It may be by this meanes God will bringe us to repent of our former intemperance, & soe cure us of that disease, w<sup>ch</sup> sends many amongst us untimelie to their graves and others to hell, soe he carried the Israelits into the wilderness & made them forgett the flesh potts of Egypt, w<sup>ch</sup> was soe pinch to them at first but he disposed to their good in th'end. Deutron. 30. 3. 16.

*Ob*: 9. We must looke to be p<sup>r</sup>served by miracle if we subsist & soe we shall tempt God.

*Answer*: 1. They who walke under ordinarie meanes of saftie & supplie doe not tempt God, but such will be our condiçon in this plantaçon therefore &c.: The p<sup>p</sup>osiçon cannot be denied, the assumption we prove thus, that place is as much secur'd from ordinary dangers, as many hundred places in the civill p<sup>t</sup>s of the world, & we shall have asmuch p<sup>v</sup>ision before hand, as such townes doe use to p<sup>r</sup>vide ag<sup>t</sup> a seige or dearth, & sufficient meanes for raysinge a succeeding store against that is spent, if it be denied that wee shalbe as secure as other places, we answere that many of o<sup>r</sup> sea Townes, & such as are upon the confines of enemies countries in the continent, lye more upon & neerest to danger then we shall, & though such townes have somtymes been burnt or spoyled, yett men tempt not God to dwell still in them, & though many houses in the country amongst us lye open to theeves & robbers (as many have found by sadd experience) yett noe man will say that those w<sup>ch</sup> dwell in such places must be p<sup>r</sup>served by miracle.

2. Though miracles be now ceased, yett men may expect more then ordinary blessinge from god uppon all lawfull meanes, where the worke is the lords, & he is sought in it accordinge to his will, for it is usuall w<sup>th</sup> him to increase or weaken the strength of the meanes as he is pleased or displeas'd w<sup>th</sup> the instrum<sup>t</sup>s & the action, else we must conclude that god hath left the gov<sup>r</sup>m<sup>t</sup> of the world, & comitted all power to the creature, that the successe of all things should wholly depend upon the second causes.

3. Wee appeale to the judgment of the Souldiers if 500 men may not in on moneth rayse a fortificaçon, w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> sufficient munition & victuall they may make good against 3000 for many monethes, & yett w<sup>th</sup>out miracle.

4. We demand an instance if any Prince or state hath raised 3000 souldiers & victualled for 6 or 8 monethes w<sup>th</sup> shipping &

munitiōn answeareable to invade a place soe farr distant as this is from any forraigne enemy & where they must runn a hazard of repulse & noe bootie or just title of Sov<sup>r</sup>aigntie to allure them.

*Ob.* 10. If it succeed ill, it will raise a scandall upon o<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>ession.

*Answ.* It is noe Rule in Philosophy (much lesse in Divinitie) to judg the ac<sup>t</sup>ion by the successe, the enterprise of the Israelitis against Benjamen succeeded ill twice, yett the ac<sup>t</sup>ion was good & p<sup>r</sup>espered in the end. The Earle of Begiers in France & the Earle of Tholouse miscarried in the defence of a just cause of Religion & their hereditary right, against the unjust violence of y<sup>e</sup> Earle Montford & the Popes Legate, the Duke of Saxony & the Lantgrave had ill successe of the Gospell against Charles the 5. wherein the Duke & his children lost their whole inheritance to this day. The King of Denmarke & other princes of the union had ill successe in the defence of the Pallattinate & the lib<sup>t</sup>ie of Germany yett the p<sup>r</sup>ession suffered not w<sup>th</sup> their p<sup>r</sup>sons, except it were w<sup>th</sup> the adversaries of Religion, & soe it was noe Scandall given.

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“The dissolution of the Parliament of 1629 marked the darkest hour of Protestantism, whether in England or in the world at large. But it was in the hour of despair that the Puritans won their noblest triumph. They ‘turned,’ to use Canning’s words in a far truer and grander sense than that which he gave to them,—they ‘turned to the New World to redress the balance of the Old.’ It was during the years of tyranny which followed the close of the third Parliament of Charles that the great Puritan emigration founded the States of New England. . . . From the moment of the establishment of the little company of the ‘Pilgrim Fathers’ at Plymouth, the eyes of the English Puritans were fixed on the little Puritan settlement in North America. The sanction of the crown was necessary to raise it into a colony. Eight days before announcing his resolve to govern henceforth without Parliaments, Charles granted the charter which established the colony of Massachusetts, and by the Puritans at large the grant was at once regarded as a Providential call. Out of the failure of their great constitutional struggle, and the pressing danger to godliness in England, rose the dream of a land in the West where religion and liberty could find a safe and lasting home. The third Parliament of Charles was hardly dissolved when ‘conclusions’ for the establishment of a great colony on the other side of the Atlantic were circulating among gentry and traders, and descriptions of the new country of Massachusetts were talked over in every Puritan household.” — *Green’s History of the English People.*

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Five different copies of the famous “Conclusions” or “Considerations” for planting New England, the authorship of which is ascribed to John Winthrop, are now known to historical scholars: 1. The copy printed by Hutchinson among the Higginson Papers, and reprinted by Young in his “Chronicles of Massachusetts.” 2. The copy in more extended

form, from Governor Winthrop's manuscripts, printed in "The Life and Letters of John Winthrop." 3. The rough draft of the last, found among the Winthrop papers, and printed, with interesting notes by Robert C. Winthrop, in the Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1872. 4. The copy indorsed "White of Dorchester, his instructions for the plantation of New England," obtained thirty or more years ago from the State Paper Office in London by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, presented by him to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and printed in the Society's *Proceedings* for 1865. 5. The copy sent to the Massachusetts Historical Society by the Earl of St. Germans, from the papers of Sir John Eliot, and printed in the same volume of the Society's *Proceedings*, with valuable historical notes by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

The last copy is that which is printed in the present leaflet, not only because it is less accessible to the general reader than the first two, but also and chiefly because of its peculiar historical interest. The original manuscript of this document is in the handwriting of Sir John Eliot. Copies of the paper were sent to various friends of the proposed Massachusetts colony, for their consideration. A copy was clearly sent to Eliot in the Tower, and he, while a prisoner there, prepared a copy with his own hand for his friend John Hampden; for this manuscript is indorsed by Eliot, "The project for New England, for Mr. Hampden," and there is among the Eliot papers a letter from John Hampden, dated December 8 [1629], copied entire in the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings*, 1865, in which Hampden says, "ye paper of considerations concerning ye plantation might be very safely conveyed to mee by this hand & after transcribing should be as safely returned if you vouchsafe to send it mee."

Concerning these various copies of the "Conclusions," Mr. Winthrop says: "They all differ more or less from each other, not only in spelling, but in substance. But all had evidently a common original; and the rough drafts found among Governor Winthrop's papers leave little room for doubt that the original was prepared by him. That the copy which was transcribed by Sir John Eliot came directly or indirectly from Winthrop would seem to be put beyond a question by the fact that it includes the 'Particular Consideracons of J. W.,' being Winthrop's private memorandum of the views which were applicable to himself personally. This copy, however, contains a preamble which has not been found among Winthrop's papers, and which may, perhaps, have come from Eliot's own hand." To substantially the same effect writes John Forster: "I can hardly doubt that, whatever additions or amendments it may have received in transcription as it passed from hand to hand, the substance of this (as of the other papers which constitute the various Reasons, Considerations, and Conclusions) had been derived in the first instance from Winthrop himself. At the same time it would hardly present itself wholly in Sir John's handwriting, as it does, if he had not himself taken some part in its production as we now see it; and the tone of the communication between him and Hampden goes far to imply this."

Governor Winthrop was not only a great governor and leader: he was also the great historian of the Massachusetts colony. His "History of New England" performs the same service for the Bay colony which Governor Bradford's history performs for the Plymouth colony. It begins "Anno Domini, 1630, March 29, Easter Monday," with the Governor "riding at the Cowes, near the Isle of Wight, in the Arbella," just weighing anchor for New England, and comes down almost to the time of his death, in 1649. See account of the discovery of the manuscript of the third volume, long lost, in the tower of the Old South Meeting-house in 1816, in Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, 2d series, vol. iv. "The Life and Letters of John Winthrop," by Robert C. Winthrop, is a thorough biography. There is a brief popular life by Rev. Joseph H. Twichell. See also the various volumes of Winthrop Letters published by the Massachusetts Historical Society.









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