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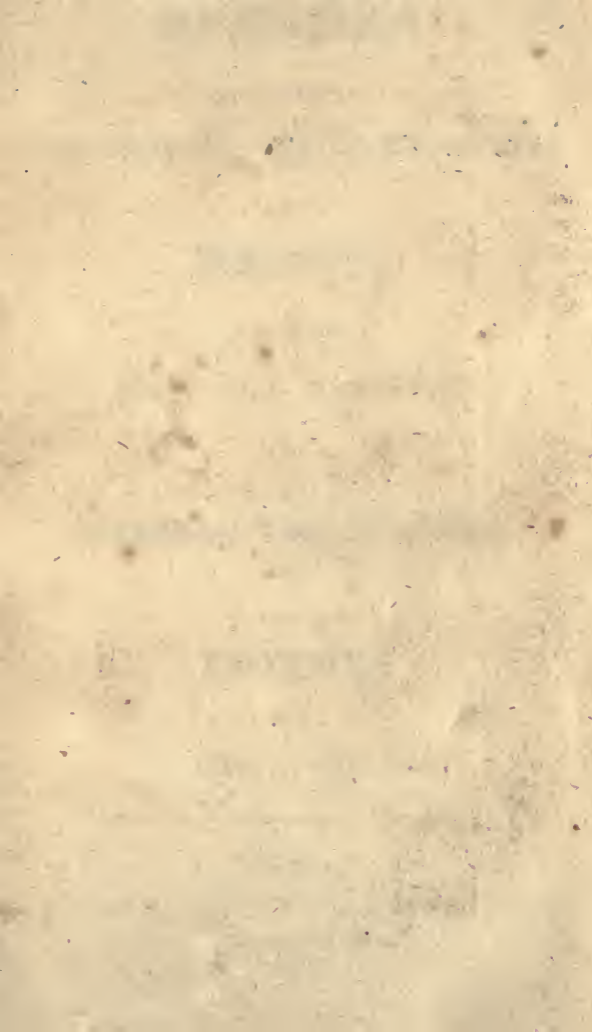
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ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SURVEY

SURVEY





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REMARKS

MADE DURING A

TOUR THROUGH THE UNITED STATES

OF

America,

IN THE YEARS

1817, 1818, AND 1819.



BY

WILLIAM TELL HARRIS.



IN A SERIES OF

LETTERS

TO

FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.

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LETTERS

FROM THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

No quarter of the globe has engaged more general attention, than that vast Western Continent, which was made known to us in the fifteenth century, by the enterprising genius of an obscure Genoese: till then, its natives freely ranged over their wooded mountains, and through their well-watered plains; and in the pleasures of the chase found content. But they were doomed to perish as the victims of the barbarous avarice of their more civilized, yet more depraved, fellow men.

Few pages in the Spanish history, not even those which detail the career of the infamous Duke of Alva, present us with greater atrocities than what were committed by that *most Christian* people on the inoffensive natives of the western world: rapine and violence marked the track of the invaders, and with the name of Montezuma are associated execrations on his perfidious and savage conquerors.

Other European nations, alike ambitious of foreign territories, projected settlements on the northern section of the new world; the early histories of which, are a series of injuries, aggressions, and cruelties, on the part of the whites, retaliated by

revengeful massacres on the part of the Indians. Yet here, when the most violent passions of the soul were in motion, when savage and civilized were equally ferocious, a Pocahontas exhibited feelings which the most refined modern might be proud to own, but which received a reward that will remain an indelible disgrace on the memory of the unworthy objects of her humane interference.

Many circumstances conspired to retard the prosperity of the different European colonies, till they passed under the dominion of Britain. Their importance was then better known; the natural advantages of the country became conspicuous; and many inducements were held out to settle it with the excess of home population. Then Britain, while she swayed her trident over the seas of both hemispheres, viewed this as the fairest portion of her dominion. Under enlightened governors, her North American colonies flourished, grateful for the blessings they enjoyed, and sincere in their attachment to the country whence they derived their origin. Had the liberal policy which her illustrious Chatham urged, been followed, Britain had not been charged with attempting to exercise tyranny and oppression; neither had her military and naval forces been humbled by surrender or defeat. Determined and successful in resisting all encroachment on their civil and religious liberties, the Anglo-Americans deserve respect from all who style themselves free-born Englishmen, and not that scurrilous invective, which has been so liberally lavished upon them by the parasites of despotism. That man must be of a very credulous turn, who can believe that this country, at once possessing so many advantages in soil, climate, &c. should by rendering itself independent

of foreign authority, and progressively increasing in wealth and power, experience such a change as to warrant the contemptuous and vilifying epithets bestowed upon it by some, even in the nineteenth century :—but the reproach of some is praise. The transatlantic Republic has decidedly attained such solidity and strength, as to bid defiance to all the haughty menaces of her jealous parent country, who, in every respect, will find here a powerful opponent. Having generally one origin, one language, and one common interest in the government of the country, the citizens of the United States enjoy many advantages over the subjects of the European Powers, who, groaning under taxation and oppression in various ways, here seek and find relief, as agriculturists and labourers, the only classes who can expect much amelioration of circumstances from exchange of country. Many of these, however, who crossed the ocean with the absurd expectation of finding the vast western continent similar in soil and climate to their little garden, England, have been surprised at meeting with rocks, forests, and swamps there ;—that the same method of culture is not practised ;—that many of its numerous advantages have been exaggerated, and that some they were led to expect, did not exist. Such have become discontented, and have returned, to meet the demand of taxes and of tithes. But these are not the persons to be comfortable in America, in England, or (could they reach it) in Paradise.

The emigrant whose desires are moderate, principles correct, judgment sound, and disposition happy, is not disappointed : he has calculated on some inconveniences, the necessity of exertion, perseverance, and sobriety,—and, for the first few

months, a number of privations he was probably a stranger to before : but he is cheered with the prospect before him ; his land with every stroke of the axe, or turn of the plough, becomes more valuable ; having a voice in the constitution of the country, he hesitates not to obey laws he has assisted in framing, or to pay the taxes laid on with his consent, necessary for its support ; eligible to office from merit, he feels his importance in the scale of being, and that

“ The mind’s the standard of the man.”

As this Tour was undertaken with the view of estimating the advantages the United States were represented to afford, it may not be amiss to offer the Narrative to the public, in its original form of Letters, as they were addressed by the traveller to his friends in England. Though the incidents of a voyage are seldom peculiarly interesting, and one journal is generally similar to another, yet as some hints tending to assist the emigrant are necessarily connected with it, no apology is offered, in inviting the reader on board the *good* American ship *Favourite*.

LETTER I.

Favourite, May, 1817.

HAVING completed our lading, consisting of British dry goods, with thirty-seven passengers, men, women, and children, and passed the usual ceremonies at the custom-house, we dropp'd down the Mersey, at two *p. m.* Wednesday, 7th instant, and, with a fair wind, stood out in company with many other vessels; an interesting spectacle, presenting to a person unacquainted with the distresses of the country, a most imposing idea of the wealth and prosperity of Britain.

While reconnoitring them through the telescope, I observed the Ganges bound to Calcutta, with our friend surgeon T. H. C. on the poop, in conversation with the missionaries destined for the idolatrous regions of Hindostan. I hailed him with the trumpet, and in return received his parting cheer, each of us leaving friends and home for distant lands. The gratification of supposing a mutual interest in each other's welfare is perhaps reciprocal.

Friday 9th, clear the coast of Ireland, meeting with heavy seas, and continued squally weather till the 15th, carrying away our fore-topmast stay-sail: most of the passengers begin to feel the usual inconveniences experienced on a rolling sea.

In their provision for the voyage, they have shewn very little knowledge of the undertaking they have engaged in; but fortunately for them, the *Favourite* is abundantly supplied, and the captain is disposed to relieve their necessities: the medicine chest I

find very useful, enabling me, in some measure, to attend to their indispositions, and giving me an opportunity to acquaint myself with their various motives for leaving their native country: the majority are farmers, who please themselves with the thought of being freed from what they choose to call slavery and oppression; though many of their prospects probably will not be realized, yet their ideas are far more correct than those entertained by some of their fellow-passengers, who seem to consider it as only necessary for them to touch the American shore, and all their troubles cease.

20th, at two *a. m.* awakened by the summons "all hands a-hoy," and going on deck, have a grand but awful sight in the fury of a storm. The different orders issued from stentorian lungs now meet the ear, in the intervals of the blast:—"lower the main-top sail, and fore-top sail yards,"—"ay, ay, Sir;"—"let go the main-top bowlines,"—"all gone;"—"mind your weather-helm,"—"weather-helm, Sir,"—

"Lo, o'er the welkin, the tempestuous clouds
 "Successive fly, and the loud-piping wind
 "Rocks the poor sea-boy on the lofty shrouds;
 "While the skill'd sailor, o'er the helm reclin'd,
 "Lists to the changeful storm."—

Heavy-blowing weather continues through the day, and the following night.

23d, make the island of St. Mary's, one of the Azores, bearing N. W. four leagues, continuing our course S. W. by W. to (June 2), lat. $32^{\circ} 40'$, and long. 33° . A sail on our larboard quarter, apparently steering the same course, with another on the weather bow, bearing down under American colours, relieves the eye, weary with ranging the watery waste. The *Favourite* returns the signal, and each

vessel prepares to speak the other: much alarm is excited among the passengers on the approach of the stranger's boat, their fears leading them to consider it a presage of plunder, and perhaps captivity: she proves to be the *Rosalie* of New York, bound to Canton, out 14 days; and hands us a packet of letters, with a request that we will report her. Each vessel is desirous to profit by the breeze, and spreading her sails anew, is soon lost below the watery horizon. Lat. $32^{\circ} 53'$, long. 34° .

In our isolated state, we feel keenly the influence of that distinction made by the Creator between man and the rest of the Creation, in those instinctive attractions that lead him to seek the converse of his fellows, and say to each, "Am I not a man, and a brother?" There is a pleasure in meeting this "fragment of a world" like ourselves, that few who have not been similarly situated can realize.

Having little society, reading, writing, and music serve to relieve the tedious hours during the voyage. Chess would be an agreeable auxiliary, had I a second who understood the game. The small stock of information our company brought with them, is by this time exhausted; so that were it not for my library, and attending to the two little boys committed to my care, the confinement would be indeed irksome, and I might sing from day to day "the heavy hours."

Calm and warm weather, with light breezes at intervals, attend us till June 12th, succeeded by rain, fogs, and heavy seas now and then breaking over us, and washing all hands to leeward:—continues squally till the 16th, losing a jib and foresteering sail boom:—speak the ship *Braganza* of New York, bound for Liverpool, out six days, lat.

41° 47'. long. 55°. The Braganza compliments the Favourite on the richness of her cargo! Much foggy weather, and so dense as to render objects indiscernible within the length of the ship, Merc. 54°.

22d. Sunday.—Find bottom with 30 fathom, on Banquereau, a shoal to the N. E. of Sable Isle, from which we draw a very seasonable supply of fine halibut, as the long use of salt and bad provisions has much disordered many of the passengers. Rice and potatoes are the two principal articles, next to biscuit, with which the voyager ought to be supplied.

From Banquereau, with its continual fogs, we steer W. and by S. to avoid Sable and Nantucket shoals.

The nearer our approach to land, the more anxiety is evinced, and every eye is strained to make out the wished-for object:—at length it appears—

July 5th, Saturday, 5 *p. m.* The man at the mast head cries aloud “Land ho,” which soon is echoed through the ship, and followed by various expressions of joy, at the prospect of release from long and tedious confinement. The Favourite steadily courses W. and by S. and at nine, the forward watch is heard, “Light a-head half a point on the lee-bow,” and soon after, the order, “let go your anchor.”

The refreshing land-breeze, charged with all the odours of the meadow and the wood, tempts me to change the cabin for the deck, and leads fancy almost to suppose herself on the confines of Elysium: the eye is no less charmed, when Aurora enables her to range and feast on the rich luxuriance,

with which the season decorates this noble bay. The lighthouses on Sandy-Hook, the high lands of Neversink, the several islands with their forts, with here and there a neat farm seen through the woods, form a picture which I am sorry you cannot enjoy with me: the effect is no doubt heightened, by contrast with the one so long fatiguing the eye, and tends to prepossess strongly in favour of the new world.

Moving up with the tide, the beauteous prospect varies every minute, unfolding new charms as we proceed towards the city of New York,—twenty-seven miles from the Hook. The scene is much enlivened by the different vessels passing in all directions. At about nine miles from the city, the two shores of Staten and Long Island near each other, forming what is called the Narrows; a strong fortification on Staten Island, commands the passage: several others present themselves higher up, the principal of which are on Governor's Island, at the junction of the East river, Bedlow's and Ellis Islands, midway to the Jersey shore.

On entering the bay, two officers from the custom-house board us; a class of men very different from those who attend us in an English port: gentlemen in their manners, candid and honourable in their official conduct, and behaving to the passenger in a manner calculated to impress his mind with the most pleasing ideas of the people with whom he is about to associate. Alas! how very different the impressions made by these gentry on the British coast, on the mind of the foreigner!

At noon, the Favourite drops anchor in the Hudson, abreast of the town, whose extent, buildings, shipping, &c. lead one almost to credit the tales of

fairly land. It is difficult to suppose, that the chief of it is the work of less than half a century,

“Opulent, enlarged, and still increasing.”—

Knowing your desire to hear of my arrival, (and the — is just weighing anchor for Liverpool,) I conclude with observing, that the very strong and flattering introductory of Mr. B——, Liverpool, Dr. R——, Bristol, Mr. H——, Battersea, &c. &c. have at once procured me very particular attentions, such as tempt me to fancy myself among old friends, rather than, till that moment, total strangers. I am now in good accommodations, and am much pleased with this city, as far as I have hitherto had opportunity to see it.

Your's, &c.

July 8th.

W. T. H.

LETTER II.

New York, Aug. 1817.

THOUGH there is a considerable similarity of habit and manners in the seaports of most countries, that have much intercourse with each other, yet such peculiar features and characteristics distinguish the different portions of the Eastern Hemisphere, as assure the Englishman he has left the "fast-anchored isle."

In this commercial capital of the United States, with the population exceeding that of the port where I embarked, the same language prevails, but generally free from the local barbarisms which mark the different classes of society in your country, rendering them sometimes unintelligible to each other. Many traces of its Dutch origin are observable in names and buildings, but as these are common in many parts of England they are not sufficiently striking to remove the frequent illusion, that I am still on British ground. That illusion, however, is removed by noticing the air and manner of independence, which by those who are accustomed to, and pleased with, the servility of behaviour apparent in the lower orders of European countries, is termed impertinence. You must not, however, suppose that I would banish that respectful behaviour which nature herself inculcates, from the younger to the elder, the pupil to his instructor, the child to the parent, and from all to official characters, or, if you will, office-bearers; without this no society can long exist; but I do deprecate

that false servile homage which ignorant pride claims and receives from indigent poverty,—that vassalage in which the greater portion of our species still remains, possessing no will, no incentive to exertion, but ruled by the nod of some despotic being, whom superstition, ignorance, or violence, has placed over them. In this enlightened age, though the rapid diffusion of knowledge has given an impulse to the spirit of freedom, yet much remains of feudal darkness.

“ ——— All constraint,
 “ Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
 “ Is evil, hurts the faculties, impedes
 “ Their progress in the road of science, blinds
 “ The eye-sight of discov’ry, and begets
 “ In those that suffer it, a sordid mind,
 “ Bestial, a meagre intellect, unfit
 “ To be the tenant of man’s noble form.”

With what different feelings do the Americans recollect the characters of Chatham, and of North! the one respected, yea, venerated, for his noble defence of the privileges of man; while the avowed determination and vain attempt to subvert those rights, have sunk the other into contempt:—

“ That man should thus encroach on fellow-man,
 “ Abridge him of his just and native rights,
 “ Eradicate him, tear him from his hold
 “ Upon th’ endearments of domestic life
 “ And social, nip his fruitfulness and use,
 “ And doom him, for, perhaps, a heedless word,
 “ To barrenness, and solitude, and tears,
 “ Moves indignation.” ———

But methinks I hear you mildly whisper, “ Is not this rhapsody about liberty rather premature?—wait till you have spent a few months in your boasted land of freedom, and among her children,

and then tell me what are your more experienced views upon the subject." I take the hint, and return to my narrative, pledging myself to recant, should experience and observation warrant it.

Many of the Favourite's passengers have shewn their inability to conduct themselves, by indulging in constant intoxication; a propensity which is unfortunately encouraged here by the low price of spirituous liquors, and which exposes them to the arts of swindlers:—of this description there are many, who having themselves suffered by similar means, have acquired a habit of licentious idleness, and become harpies in their turn. Some have lost every thing since they landed, and are now declaiming against this country with as much violence, as before they did against that which they have left, and are cursing their own folly in listening so easily to the suggestions of others. These you must consider as illustrating the observation I made before, that some cannot be content any where; paradise itself would afford them no felicity. They well deserve the harsh appellation by which one of our modern statesmen arrogantly designated the great body of the people,—“the swinish herd.”

But others of our ship's live cargo, after obtaining the best information they could meet with, have more prudently left the city with their families, and gone up into the country. The manners of the people, and aspect of the neighbouring country, are rather different, it seems, to what they expected; but the air of comfort and freedom from anxiety that marks the habitations and conveniences of the farming proprietors, fully reconciles and satisfies them, that, with sobriety and industry, the steps they have taken must be crowned with suc-

cess: every thing around is calculated to invigorate and stimulate them;—the fields with their rich covering of Indian corn; the peach and apple orchards, all promising a full harvest to their owners, unencumbered by any thing like tithe, and so lightly taxed that it scarcely warrants the use of that word; form a sight they have not been accustomed to.

The great spirit of speculation in commercial affairs (by which, though the property of some has been improved, yet that of others has been reduced or annihilated) has introduced habits of luxury and extravagance, and rendered living very expensive here. Boarding and lodging from six to fifteen dollars per week. There appear to be no bounds in rents; nothing too high either to ask or to give, for what is thought a good situation for business. To those who have nothing to lose, it is immaterial; but a commerce undertaken under such ideas, depending upon what is usually termed the lucky hit of the adventurer cannot ultimately benefit any country. Why do not these sagacious people take warning by the example of Britain, and by avoiding the snares of the paper system, and fictitious credit, escape the difficulties and distress under which she is now suffering?

In situation, New York, as a commercial city, stands unrivalled: accessible at all times, even when the neighbouring ports are locked up by ice she has a manifest advantage, being thus enabled to supply the interior regularly, at the same time requiring less investment of capital. Her merchants are intelligent and enterprising, and as to correctness in dealing, our own country assuredly should not be forward in censuring them, lest, with all her pre-

tensions, she should prove liable to the same condemnation. Independent of what might have been expected in consequence of my introductory letters, I have been treated with attention as an Englishman, evincing an attachment to the country whence they derived their origin, and a desire to continue in friendly connection: I wish our countrymen would cultivate the same feeling, instead of that ridiculous affectation of superiority so many of them exhibit, subjecting them to deserved neglect and contempt.

The philanthropic exertions of a Wilberforce and a Clarke have of late years called forth the general indignation of the British nation at the enormities committed on the coast of Africa, and at the degradation and misery to which her unfortunate natives have been subjected, to indulge the cupidity of some who assume the high character of Christians. North America, when a part of British dominion, and since her independence, has shared in this iniquitous traffic; and though she has listened to the voice of humanity, by entirely abolishing slavery in some states, gradually doing it in others, and by a clause in the constitution, refusing admission to any new state, unless it renounce the practice of it, yet the situation in which persons of colour have been, and the light in which they were viewed, is so recent, that many circumstances unavoidably occur, from the very nature of man, that expose her citizens to strong censure. The thralldom in which this hapless race is still kept in several of the states, affords a vantage ground which is eagerly seized by all the party writers on American economy, whence they launch their invectives against the whole community, and endeavour to

ridicule their declaration of independence as an absurdity, in proclaiming that "Nature has endowed man with certain imprescriptible rights, &c." when at the same time they act in the most flagrant violation of them. You cannot consider these remarks as any intended apology for the detestable practice, but merely to notice the effrontery with which some writers expose and exaggerate the blemishes of the transatlantic Republic, and pride themselves as representing a people, not only free themselves, but alone in extending the blessings of liberty to other climates: surely these gentlemen forget the condition of our West India islands, and the vast population of our Eastern possessions: do these enjoy the same privileges with their fellow-subjects in England? or, have the appeals made to Britons, the champions of liberty, by the Haytians and the South Americans, been attended to?

Another objection is raised from the climates: they tell you of sultry enervating heats, and of fevers, wasting the numbers of those unfortunate beings who have been tempted to exchange the pure and healthy atmosphere of England for the noxious vapours of America; nay, they wish you to believe it to be so unfavourable to population, that even the human species degenerate, and that not only bodily weakness, but imbecility of mind, is the necessary result of translation to its soil. To mention the names of Washington, Hancock, Hamilton, Gates, Franklin, Henry, Fulton, Clinton, Monroe, &c. will be sufficient to confute such a preposterous assertion.

The weather is now very warm, but not more oppressive than what I have experienced in England at the same season; the mercury ranges from

80 to 85 in the shade at noon. Yet I take a great deal of exercise, and am freer from indisposition than at any former period. Many cases occur of strangers suffering from the imprudent use of ardent spirits and of cold water.

One or two of the Favourite's passengers have squandered away their little property in intoxication, and are now seeking the means of returning to their native land; these people will, no doubt, represent the country in an unfavourable light: but will any person of information and judgment confound the disorders induced by intemperance and carelessness, or the insalubrity of the southern territory, with the general climate of a country extending from twenty-six to forty-five degrees of north latitude and comprising every variety of aspect and soil? with equal propriety might an American or Asiatic assert that the whole continent of Europe is unhealthy, because he reads of the frequent visitations of Malaga, Alicant, Gibraltar, &c. with the yellow fever.

Three packets with passengers from New Orleans and Savannah are now under quarantine below the city, to which delightful neighbourhood they resort for the benefit of the air. I embrace the opportunity of writing by the Phocion, Capt. C. to assure you, the little prejudices, which I am ashamed to own, were entertained, are fast removing, and of my remaining as heretofore,

Yours, &c.

LETTER III.

New York, Aug. 1817.

THIS city is sufficiently attractive from the beautiful scenery with which it is surrounded, combining every requisite to render a landscape delightfully interesting; but it also engages the visitor's attention, by the judicious manner in which the more modern part is laid out. No town with which I am acquainted can boast a vista equal to that of Broadway, commencing at the Battery, whence a most imposing view is enjoyed of the bay and islands, and extending in a direct line nearly parallel with the Hudson for three miles. Several public buildings contribute to distinguish it; among which, the City Hall appears pre-eminent. This beautiful structure, though defective in many points, is one of the principal ornaments of the city. Its elegant front, of white marble, indicates the purity and serenity of the atmosphere, and pleases more than the gorgeous composition of those expensive erections, that waste the strength of a nation. The portraits are highly interesting, both from their execution, and from their conspicuous share the heroes have borne in the annals of their country. The revered and lamented Washington, the Alfred of his country, and her pride, appears in foremost rank, attended by others, emulating his example in the noble defence of their country and their privileges. There are few public monuments, but those few are at once simple and expressive. A neat tablet on the eastern front of St. Paul's church, reminds

the passenger of the brave Montgomery, who, after reducing St. John's, Montreal, and Trois Rivieres, fell in the unsuccessful attack on Quebec. A similar tribute to the memory of Major-general Alexander Hamilton is placed in Trinity church, and in the yard is a pretty specimen of emblematic sculpture, raised to the much regretted Lawrence, commander of the Chesapeake: a fluted column broken, and the Corinthian capital lying at the base, express the violent abridgment of a life which bid fair for usefulness and fame. At Weehawk (New Jersey) opposite the city, is a monument erected by the Masonic society, to Hamilton, on the spot where he sunk the victim of honour, falsely so called. Fatal moment! when a man like him, who was formed for the highest offices in the state, could sanction, by example, this horrid practice, and at a time too when his country required the exercise of his talents. This spot has frequently since been selected by *fools* and *madmen*, to offer up their lives to the Moloch of duelling; as though one fatal instance of folly in a respectable character would sanction this villanous, brutish custom.

“ ——— Oh! better far,
“ Still had he slept in uncreated night.”

I have been taking an excursion on Long Island; by some styled “the Garden of the States;” but an improvement in cultivation must take place, before such a distinction can be assigned to it: the soil is light, and on the east marshy; some good land is interspersed through the island, which is almost divided by a ridge extending from south-west to north-east. These heights had temporary fortifications during the late war; the citizens of New

York turning out *en masse* to throw up the entrenchments. The pleasant villages of Newtown, Brooklyn, Jamaica, Bath, Flatbush, &c. diversify the island, and invite the citizens to repose from the cares of business. Near Flatbush was fought the battle of August 26, 1776.

In bold and majestic scenery, no river can perhaps exceed the Hudson,

“ Which, as it glides along, surveys its banks
 “ Girded by mountains that appear to bend
 “ Beneath the woods they bear.”

Its advantages, both actual and in prospect, to the city and state of New York are incalculable; through the enterprising spirit of the executive, it is connecting with the western lakes, and participates largely in the trade of the St. Lawrence: hundreds of craft constantly ply on its waters, and scarcely a port throughout the globe that does not welcome vessels from the Hudson. The vigorous powers of Fulton's mind, when slighted by other governments, were here exerted to extend the commercial greatness of his country, and in contributing to its defence. Steam packets pass regularly between New York and Albany three times in the week, and between the former city and Philadelphia daily. In consideration of the benefits likely to result from this application of steam, the legislature has granted to Mr. Fulton's family the exclusive privilege of navigating the waters of the state on this principle for a term of years. Fertile in expedients, the Americans have rendered it contributive to their defence, and not only propel their vessels for merchandise thus, but also those of war: the one built at the close of the last war, to aid in the defence of

New York, and named, in honour of the projector, Fulton the First, is considered by competent judges as likely to answer the intended purpose fully. Her sides and deck are ball proof: she carries thirty-two 32 pounders on the lower deck, the upper being intended as a shelter for the men and machinery: all which is in the centre, and protected from all danger of shot entering by the port holes. The last war has shewn, in some measure, the power and disposition of the Americans to resist any attempts on their independence, has tended to unite them still more closely, and led them to improve many advantages they had long neglected.

The supposed sensations of Omai are frequently my own, and various feelings are excited "on sight of ship from England." Your interesting letter of last month is a pleasing assurance, that in remembrance I am still with you. Do not withhold them, or forget to consider me,

Yours, &c.

LETTER IV.

Philadelphia, Sept. 1817.

My route from New York to this City has been through a part of the country that was the earliest settled, the best cultivated, and the theatre of the most sanguinary scenes in the revolutionary war. I left New York on the 15th ult. by the steam packet Olive Branch; a large handsome vessel, where every accommodation is afforded to the passengers, in books, draughts, backgammon, newspapers, &c. and a bar room presenting any refreshment he may wish for. Passing through the Narrows, and round the southern shore of Staten Island, we entered the river Raritan, previously touching at Perth-Amboy, an inconsiderable port of New Jersey, to land, and take in company.

The generally unvarying breadth (about 200 yards) of the Raritan, upwards to New Brunswick, with its meanderings through a fertile tract,—the substantial mansions which frequently present themselves to the passenger, giving him the idea of ease and plenty,—and now and then the spires of Elizabeth town and Newark, in the intervals of rising ground, all contribute to form the strong resemblance of English landscape.

Several stages were in attendance at New Brunswick, to convey us to Trenton, not much unlike waggon on springs: they are calculated to hold twelve persons; and being open on each side, are provided with leather curtains, in case of wind or rain: in the summer, they are much more comfortable than our close coaches; and being built

low, there is no apprehension of being overturned. The roads are good, and run nearly in straight lines. The eye is pleased at first in looking so far forwards, sometimes perhaps four or five miles, from an eminence; but after a while, it is fatigued with having the same prospect so long in view.

Princetown, a pretty town, situated on high ground, midway between New Brunswick and Trenton, attracts attention by its college, and the severe successive engagements in its neighbourhood during the revolutionary contest.

The soil varies much, in gravel, sand, clay, swamp, and rock: the abundant crops of grain and fruit are sufficient indications of its general fertility; yet it might be rendered still more productive, by the application of that labour, in scientific cultivation, which the English farmers are obliged to use, to provide for heavy rents, tithes, and taxes both assessed and parochial: most of the occupiers are proprietors, and not being goaded on to exertion by such stimuli, are indifferent about raising more than sufficient for the comfort, and to maintain the independence, of their families. The Englishman who is accustomed to estimate a person's property by pounds, is apt to sneer at the American when speaking of his dollars; but it should be recollected, that the latter has not that serious deduction from his dollars, which the former meets with from his pounds.

Land near New York and in New Jersey values at from ten to two hundred dollars per acre, according to situation, quality, and state of improvement. Many have been induced by these high prices to sell their estates on the Atlantic side, and purchase government land in the western parts.

From Princeton, a gentle declination of thirteen miles, through a richly varied country, introduced me to Trenton, the capital of New Jersey, seated on the falls of the Delaware: immediately below which, is a handsome wooden bridge, connecting the states of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. This bridge is built on the suspension principle, the arches of timber resting on piers of masonry-work; from these the bridge is suspended by chain and other iron work; over all is a shingled roof, to defend it from the weather; and at each pier a Frankling rod, as a precaution against lightning. A neat building, for the keepers, ornaments each end of the bridge. The rates of the toll are exhibited, and the caution “keep to the right, as the law directs,” gives an idea of the manner in which the passage is divided.

It was here the persevering Washington, in Dec. 1776, after a series of disasters, and left, by desertion, with a handful of men, when his opponent lord Cornwallis considered his army almost annihilated, recrossed the ice, and, by his skilful manœuvres, surprised and captured the regiments of Rall, Lossberg, and Knyphausen. This unexpected turn of affairs induced lord Cornwallis to defer his departure for England, and endeavour to regain what he had lost. He commenced with vigour, establishing a strong line of posts from Brunswick to Trenton, where he commanded in person; intending, by one blow, to destroy the almost hopeless cause of independence. But the British commander mistook the abilities of the man he had to contend with: instead of waiting an attack on his weak intrenchments on Sanpink Creek (near Trenton), the American Fabius, with his little band, roused Cornwallis from sleep, by playing his cannon upon the post at Princeton.

On the opposite, or Pennsylvania bank, general Moreau, successively the subaltern and the opponent of Bonaparte, had a handsome residence which has been sold, since his death, for the benefit of his widow.

Considerable capital was invested during the late war in cotton manufactories, under the expectation of being encouraged by the prohibition of foreign manufactures; but the amazing influx of British goods since the peace has generally led to their abandonment. One, however, is still carried on here for spinning, which supplies the weavers of the town and neighbourhood, and reflects great credit on the proprietors for the order and decorum observed through it.

No weaver or mechanic should emigrate to this country, who cannot turn his hand to any other employment than what he has been accustomed to. Hundreds of emigrants from England are now out of employ, and in distress, through these Atlantic districts, who in agriculture, would be immediately relieved from that indigence to which, in many instances, their indulgence in liquor has reduced them. The Germans who come over in great numbers, and generally bind themselves for a term to defray the expense of their passage, obtain, with very few exceptions, very considerable property: they are sober, industrious, and persevering. Oh! that our countrymen were wise enough to imitate them!

From Trenton, I descended the Delaware in the steam boat Philadelphia. The fine weather, the rich prospects on either side, and the very agreeable company in the packet, rendered it an extremely interesting passage. The villages of Bristol, Burling-

ton, and Bordentown, where the ex-king of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte, is laying out some of the spoils of Europe in an elegant mansion and grounds, break on the view at different windings of the river. As we approach Philadelphia, thirty miles from Trenton, the land becomes flatter, and the river gradually enlarges to about a mile in width. The extent of buildings and crowd of vessels, point out Philadelphia as an opulent commercial city, though its distance of 120 miles from the sea, and being incommoded by ice in the winter, prevents it from rivalling New York. The packet is scarcely secured to Market-street wharf, before a host of negro ticket-porters spring on board, and, by their violent endeavours to obtain his luggage, are a great annoyance to the passenger. While walking up Market or High street, which intersects the city east and west, and admiring the general cleanness and regularity, peculiar gratification was experienced in recollecting its amiable founder, who, in the name he gave it, testified his wish to perpetuate the benefits of that free and liberal administration, his mild, generous, and enlightened soul had devised and instituted; and to establish which, all the energies of his mind were called into exercise. No deeds of arms emblazon his name: his was a life of justice, beneficence, and peace, that requires, like the "Man of Ross," to be recorded by an "honest muse."

The site of Philadelphia presents a parallelogram, formed by the Delaware on the east, and the beautiful river Schuylkill on the west; the streets running parallel with the Delaware are named Front, Second, Third, and onwards to Thirteenth; then Broad-street, Eighth, Seventh, &c. with the addition of Schuylkill, and designated north or

south, according to their relative situation to High-street. No city can be laid out with more beauty or regularity, or better calculated to promote health and comfort. The principal, or High-street, is about 100 feet wide, and would have a noble appearance, if the old court-house, on a line with Front-street, and a range of shambles continuing to Sixth-street, did not obstruct the view: they are, however, a convenience to the inhabitants, and on market days present a scene of plenty, not to be surpassed probably by any market in Europe. Other parts of the city are accommodated with contiguous market-places, which are equally well supplied. It is in contemplation to remove a circular building, at present on the angle formed by High and Broad streets for supplying the city with water; when the view will be uninterrupted to the Schuylkill. From this river the water is raised by very powerful steam machinery to a large reservoir, on an elevation beyond the one-arch bridge; from which every part of the city is plentifully supplied: plugs are placed at proper distances, by which the streets are frequently watered and cleaned during the warm weather: many of them are shaded on each side by trees, which though their roots are somewhat injurious to the pavement; yet the cool and pleasant shade they afford, fully compensates for the little damage they occasion.

The court-house, occupying the square between Fifth, Sixth, Chesnut, and Pine street, is a good brick building of two stories; the lower part is divided into two apartments: one of them used by the superior court of judicature; and in the other, the deputies from the different states held their first congress. The upper story is appropriated as a

museum : it has a good assortment of specimens in natural history, collected by Mr. Peale, some portraits of the principal revolutionary characters, together with a number of oil paintings by Miss Peale and other artists ; a part of it is also used as a philosophical lecture room.

Among the rarities, and certainly one that excited no little curiosity, was a pair of Lancashire clogs ; and while my attention was directed to the enormous skeleton of the Mammoth, that of the company was chiefly engrossed by the " wooden shoes from the old country." The Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and Stephen Gerard's banking-houses, are neat structures : but what would probably please you most, for the neatness, order, and economy of the whole, is the Pennsylvania hospital for the reception of lunatics. In this excellent institution, the situation of these distressed beings is ameliorated by every method that even the philanthropy of a Howard could suggest. It is in an open, airy, situation, and has extensive grounds, with gardens, for the recreation of its inmates. I was gratified with the permission to visit it, through the politeness of S. C. Esq. one of the managers, and of the Society of Friends.

The Episcopal church in North-Second-street, dedicated to St. Mary, and the Masonic-hall in Chesnut-street, the only two buildings with spires, are also deserving of notice ; together with the College in South-Ninth-street, the second Baptist church in Sansom-street, being ninety feet diameter within the walls, with an arched roof and a dome ; and the Orphan Asylum in Arch-street, near the Schuylkill. This institution was formed, and is supported, by the exertions, and managed by a com-

mittee, of the ladies of Philadelphia; who have also formed another establishment for the comfortable support of old, indigent, but respectable widows, and single women. One of the visiting ladies paid me the compliment to accompany me over the two institutions: in the latter one, you would have smiled to observe the extreme caution these antiquated damsels manifested when Mrs. M. introduced me, and the prudent queries they whispered to her as to my object and probable designs, before they allowed me any further view of their comfortable retreat.

At the western extremity of High-street, a bridge of three arches over the Schuylkill, and roofed in the same manner as that at Trenton, communicates with the great western road to Pittsburgh; to which place waggons are always to be met with in the High-street, for the conveyance of goods, at from five to seven dollars per 100lbs. wt. About half a mile above this bridge is another, light and elegant in its appearance: it is of one arch, 340 feet span; also covered, and lighted by openings at the sides, and by lamps at night. The river has some picturesque and beautiful landscapes, as its meanders are traced upwards; of which many wealthy citizens have availed themselves, by erecting their villas in the finest situations for enjoying them.

The bridge over the Falls, six miles above the city, having been lately carried away by a heavy flood, the proprietor of the iron works there has substituted a singular medium of communication for his workmen living on the opposite bank. A boat was at first used; but this was found very inconvenient, on account of the rapids. He then threw a wire bridge across, by first securing strong wire-rods to a

large tree on one side, and the wall between two windows of the mill on the other: upon these he then suspended the wire-work bridge, and laying planks upon it, has completed a secure though trembling pathway of above a hundred feet in length for foot passengers. I saw several lasses trip over it very gaily, accommodating themselves very adroitly to its motions.

A canal is about to be cut round these rapids; by which the city will be more easily supplied with coal, firewood, &c. from the upper parts of the state; and in return will accommodate them with her imports.

The environs of Philadelphia are pleasant, presenting many handsome country seats and villages, that remind the English traveller of the avenues to the British metropolis. Frankfort, Bustleton, Chestnut-Hill, Mount-Pleasant, and German-Town, (where the severe skirmish took place between lord Cornwallis and general Washington, Oct. 1777,) are pretty specimens of the style in which the industrious American enjoys a dignified ease and comfort:

“ From toil he wins his spirits light,

“ From busy day the peaceful night.”

You may form some idea of the plenty that prevails, when I tell you that peaches are now selling under my window for $\frac{1}{4}$ dollar per peck, apples $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents, to $\frac{1}{2}$ dollar, per bushel; melons and other fruit equally abundant and cheap; of vegetables there is a greater variety than we are accustomed to see in our markets; one of them, the Indian corn, while green, either boiled or roasted, makes a very good dish,—when boiled and dressed with butter and pepper, very similar to young peas; it is

generally brought to table on the stalk, or as it is called the cob, and taken off with the knife, and sometimes with the teeth. When I first saw it eaten in this manner it reminded me so strongly of our neighbour's Salvo gnawing a bone, that apology became necessary for the involuntary movement it occasioned of my risible muscles.

Numbers of our countrymen are here, as in New York, in very indifferent circumstances, and I am sorry to notice that their distress in most instances is caused by their own misconduct: independent of indulging in liquors, they seem to have come with the intention of accepting only such employment as they had been previously accustomed to. Such had better remain at home, and be supported by their parish, than be at the expence and trouble of coming here to starve, which they must, unless they take such employment as is offered, and relinquish their present habit of idleness: or by some means return home again. All that I have seen convinces me, that no man need be poor and in want, who is able and willing to work. But here it should be observed, that there is the same necessity in this as in all other countries, for every stranger to be upon his guard, as he will find a full proportion of cunning artful knaves here as in all commercial towns. My intention is to leave this beautiful city in a few days for the south; but as it is uncertain where my quarters may be on the arrival of letters, you will continue to address me at our kind friends at New York, who have very politely offered in this manner to assist our correspondence. Accept now the assurance of my remaining,

Yours, &c.

LETTER V.

Baltimore, Sept. 1817.

THE very agreeable society my English and New York letters introduced me to in Philadelphia, made me regret much to leave it. I had heard much odium cast upon the Philadelphians, as being inhospitable, uncourteous, and inattentive to strangers: and were the charge just, it ought not to excite surprise, considering the many deceptions that have been practised upon them, perhaps chiefly by the English, obliging them to assume a cautious reserve, which has been improperly construed, into rudeness and inhospitable neglect; but my experience convinced me that the very reverse is their real character, and that in the exercise of the social virtues there is no deficiency.

The size and extent of the American rivers allow the full operation of the steam engine in facilitating a ready communication between the various parts of this country: a mode of conveyance I prefer, and adopt whenever convenient. I left Philadelphia by the steam boat, and after a pleasant passage of five hours reached Newcastle, state of Delaware. In passing down this noble river (Delaware) though its banks are generally low, yet its windings, islands, vessels sailing in various directions, and now and then, as the distance increases, the lofty spire of St. Mary's peeping from among the trees, and marking the spot where, with all its faults, dwell industry, intelligence, and worth, all tend to form a prospect worthy the pencil, and render this an

interesting excursion. Several spots claim notice, as connected with the history of the revolutionary contest. One of them, a low marshy island near the mouth of the Schuylkill, called, not improperly, Mud island, on which was hastily thrown up a small battery, that for some time impeded the progress of the British vessels destined for the support of lord Howe, then (1777) in possession of Philadelphia, blowing up two of the largest (one a sixty gun ship) with their hapless crews. It is now a strong fort, and named, in honour of a late governor of the state, Fort Mifflin. At Red Bank on the opposite, or Jersey shore, a strong redoubt co-operated in defending the passage; in endeavouring to carry which, the brave count Donop, with his host of Hessians, was sacrificed in the vain attempt to crush the efforts of liberty:

“ The state that strives for liberty, tho’ foil’d,
 “ And forc’d to abandon what she bravely sought,
 “ Deserves at least applause for her attempt,
 “ And pity for her loss. But that’s a cause
 “ Not often unsuccessful.
 “ Those who once conceive the glowing thought
 “ Of freedom, in that hope at once possess
 “ All that the contest calls for; spirit, strength,
 “ The scorn of danger, and united hearts,
 “ The surest presage of the good they seek.”

As we descend, the town of Wilmington, Delaware, appears in sight; situated on high ground, with the hills in its rear, and the river expanding in front: it is an object the eye rests upon with considerable pleasure; it is noted for its manufactories of gun-powder. About twelve miles below, we arrive at Newcastle, the first European settlement on the Delaware, laid out by the Swedes long before the founding of Philadelphia. In the early history of

the country, Newcastle passed under several masters, experiencing much change of fortune. During the revolutionary war, it was occupied alternately by the two contending parties, as the head-quarters of one, and seat of assembly for the other, whilst temporarily dispossessed of Philadelphia: its importance is now, however, lost in that of the latter city, deriving its principal advantage from travellers passing to and from Baltimore to the north, and from vessels touching here for provisions. The neighbourhood is pleasant, and the soil productive, but it is not probable it can ever attain the prosperity it once anticipated. An agreeable ride of fifteen miles through foliage varied with all the golden tints of autumn, brought me to Frenchton on the river Elk, Maryland: here, recollecting the dispatches which announced to us the brilliant success attending our arms, in the late war, at this place, I was prepared to see a town, or fortified village at least; some place worthy of a conquest, where victory so bounteously strewed her laurels on our gallant countrymen. One or two farm-houses, a store-house, and a pier to accommodate the steam boats, are all that compose Frenchton, and we might have inadvertently passed through, without enjoying the interest generally attached to the scenes of former glory, had not some of the party expressed a wish for eggs to breakfast, when, to their disappointment, they were told the British had taken away all the poultry. This appears to have been the principal part of the British trophies at Frenchton, and which, at the breakfast table on board the steam-boat, formed no small amusement at the expense of those, whose appetites were thus disappointed by John Bull's attachment to good living.

Our table is spread in such a manner, as you would seldom see (except the eggs) at the first hotels in England, while we are continuing our progress down the Elk, and, when our attention can be diverted from the good things before us, enjoying the prospects which surround us. An instance of that humanity and tender generosity which I have often witnessed as characteristic of our American brethren, occurred on board our boat: I say, tender, in opposition to that harsh overbearing semblance of generosity, which manifests only ostentatious pride. It was particularly pleasing here; as the casual notice just taken of the late war, could not but kindle in the breast of an American, a temporary resentment against the country that should attempt any thing against the liberties of his own. A poor woman was noticed by some of the gentlemen as not partaking of our plentiful repast, and seeming to elude observation, in attentions to her babe: from her dress they supposed her to be an European; and to be a stranger in a distant land, was sufficient to engage their sympathy and aid. In answer to their inquiries, she said, she was from near Manchester in England,—had landed in Philadelphia a fortnight before, where she was confined; and was then going to her husband, who had employment as a bricklayer, in Washington,—that her little fund was nearly exhausted, but still hoped, by economy, it would be sufficient to bear her expenses to that city. She was immediately handed to the table, and soon found, that though unknown, and, as she thought, friendless, yet she was among those “who could feel another’s woes.” A collection was afterwards made for her; and on its being mentioned to the captain, he very handsomely

wrote her name in the way-bill as “free to Baltimore.” Ennobling passion of the human soul! that, in the multiplied variety of human kind, knows no distinction, but to each would say,

“Thy fellow creatures, we,

“From the same parent Power our beings draw,

“The same our Lord, and laws, and great pursuit.”

By the increased motion of the vessel, it is perceived we are entering the Chesapeak, whose eastern coast and islands being low and sandy, have a monotonous effect, and its width does not allow of contrast with the opposite shore: some high land looming in the distance, however, points out where the Susquehanna rolls its tribute to the ocean. Ascending the Patapsco, we passed on our right, North Point, where the British army landed in the late war, with the intention of reducing Baltimore: some of our company were in the engagements that took place; but in the recapitulation of the principal circumstances, no remarks were made, that could in any way affect the good understanding and harmony which prevailed.

The entrance of the Patuxent, on which Baltimore is built, is narrow, and affords a most eligible situation for defence on the right; this, and a narrow passage nearer to the city, were both fortified with care; and other obstructions were laid in the channel, in case a passage should be attempted by the ships of war in aid of the troops. The results of this contest you are acquainted with; and Baltimore, a port from which our trade was more annoyed than from any other in the States, though severely threatened, still exists in *statu quo*.

Above the second narrows, defended by Fort

Henry, the river widens, and presents a fine harbour, at the head of which stands Baltimore, in the form of a half-moon. In this direction the city, gradually extending up the hill in the rear, with the active movements of business in front, has a very imposing appearance. Most of the vessels in the harbour are of the description which the British dispatches stated, of light burden, and swift sailers, "eluding all the vigilance of our cruisers."

As much of the prosperity of Baltimore has arisen from bold and successful speculations, with the double advantage the contending powers of Europe gave to the United States, in their endeavours to destroy each other, much more capital and more hands have been engaged in its mercantile pursuits, than can be now profitably employed, on the return of trade to its former channels. As a manufacturing town, which character it had assumed during the late war, it has declined, so that a greater pressure in a pecuniary point of view is felt here than in most other towns: artisans, mechanics, and those whose property and inclination does not attach them strongly to the place, are removing to the interior, or embracing agriculture.

The streets of Baltimore, though not regularly laid out in the manner of Philadelphia, are commodious, and in the upper parts airy, well-lighted, and, in some of the principal, with gas. It partakes with Philadelphia in the trade with the western country, and, for emigrants to those parts, is an equally desirable port to land at; the same conveyance offering, and sometimes on more reasonable terms. The private houses are good, and some of the public buildings deserve inspection: a monument is erecting near the city by its inhabitants, to

testify the respect in which they, in common with the whole country, hold the memory of Washington.

Taking a southerly course from Baltimore, I passed through a tract of rocky and indifferent land, with some exceptions of rich soil, occupied in the culture of tobacco. A number of negro slaves were employed in repairing the roads, who, by their importunities for alms, reminded me for the first time of my being in a state that tolerates slavery; inasmuch as this legislature has not yet limited the period when it shall cease, as Pennsylvania, New York, and some other states, have done. Maryland, however, recognises persons of colour who have been freed, as free, and has severely punished some of those monsters who had dared to outrage humanity by kidnapping and selling their fellow men. Much do they deplore the existence of such an evil, and various plans are projected for its removal: one is, to form an establishment on some part of their native country, similar to the British settlement of Sierra Leone, and there colonize such as are disposed to go, at the expense of the States: this gives but a faint idea of the intentions of the Colonization Society, composed of some of the first characters in the Union.

Continuing my route to the intended seat of government, I passed through Bladensburg, a small town within a few miles of the metropolis, consisting of one long street in a low situation, and is known by the stand commodore Barney here made, against the progress of the British army. The position he chose was good, and though obliged by superior force, and the desertion of the militia sent to his relief, to abandon it, he is entitled to credit for the spirit he displayed on this occasion: at the foot of

the hill on which his little band was posted, lie covered with sod some of the combatants of this day.

From this place to Washington the road is indifferent, the land poor, and apparently unfit for any purpose but that of building. Whatever were the views of the British commander in the destruction of the public edifices at Washington, it had one great effect,—that of uniting the whole country in one determined opposition. Previous to this, a great portion of the population were much averse to the war, hoping, from the professed disposition of the British administration for peace and amity, and its deprecating any thing like arbitrary measures, that conciliatory steps might have been taken, and have prevented the abhorrent spectacle of brethren seeking each other to mortal combat.

The capitol is recovering from the late devastation, as is also the mansion appropriated to the President's use; which, had it been totally demolished, had not been much to be regretted, as it is a disproportioned structure: the interior arrangement is bad; and the idea of purchasing the furniture in France, on the ground of economy, is preposterous; surely it would have been more politic, as well as patriotic, to have encouraged the manufactures of the country; and their appearance would have been far more pleasing to the eye, than the present tawdry finery which offends the sight in every apartment. The unnecessary expense incurred by the importation of blocks of marble from Italy, to decorate the capitol, is equally censurable, when different marbles, of the finest quality, are met with in every direction throughout the Union.

The city is rapidly increasing, but many intervals

still occur between house and house : the streets are laid out at angles, radiating from the capitol, which, with the President's house, being considerably elevated, will form conspicuous objects from every part. The present population, including George Town, which is separated from it by a branch of the Patomac, is little more than 20,000. When standing on the capitol hill, or on that occupied by the President's house, I enjoy what may be called an enchanting prospect. If from the latter, looking down " Pennsylvania Avenue," a wide street of one mile in length, shaded by trees, the corresponding eminence is seen, surmounted by the capitol on the right, and in the rear George Town, the growing city and distant mountains, with the beautiful Patomac in front, meandering through the vale below, and as it flows,

" Large, gentle, deep, majestic,"

leads the charmed eye to follow in its maze. This was the favourite stream of the illustrious leader in his country's cause, on whose banks he passed the quiet of his days, and now reclines in death, remembered and beloved by all. Patomac, as she passes by his tomb, even seems to ripple accents to his praise.

The market is very indifferently supplied, and living is more expensive, and provision worse, than any I have yet met with ; this inconvenience will cease, when the increased population will offer a consumption sufficient to encourage the farmer's exertions.

The bank, general post-office, and other public buildings, are plain, and offer nothing to excite the stranger's curiosity : the navy-yard below the city,

is re-established, and the keel of a 74 is laid ; such is the effect of the last war on the minds of the people, that the expenses of a marine are scarcely considered. The country affords almost every requisite, and its extensive line of coast furnishes an intrepid race, who will soon warrant the sculptor to place a trident in Columbia's hand.

LETTER VI.

Richmond, Virginia, Oct. 1817.

It was a lovely evening, when, in the Washington steam-boat, I took leave of the embryo metropolis, descending its beautiful river, the view of which, my last, from the city, was intended to convey some idea of. It flows through a bold country, much diversified, its banks decorated with numerous country seats, many of them in commanding situations; Mount Vernon, the residence of the late venerated Washington, occupying one of the most conspicuous. It is now in the possession of his nephew, the Hon. Bushrode Washington, but will long engage that interest, which its original possessor must impress upon the spot where he reposed from the exhausting cares of public life. Not that he shrunk from its arduous and difficult duties; no, in the hour of danger, when assailed on every hand, when the treachery of some, the jealousies, cowardice, and desertions of others, seemed to render it a hopeless cause, his country found him calm, intrepid, and determined not to be seduced by the most tempting offers to surrender her rights to arbitrary sway; nor, on the attainment of her independence, when his fellow-citizens in their excess of joy, and admiration of his virtues, would have raised him to the most exalted station, could he forget the true meaning of patriotism. Impelled by no vain desire of moving in a higher sphere, or of appearing superior to his fellow-

citizens, Washington held out an example of greatness of soul, tempered with modesty in deportment, worthy of imitation ; and in retiring to the station of private citizen, gave a striking proof that honours can be enjoyed, far superior to that which consists in the power of dispensing stars and ribands.

Alexandria, ten miles below Washington, is a well-built city, and carries on a considerable foreign trade ; it is situated in the lower part of the district of Columbia, a small tract ceded to the Union by the States of Maryland and Virginia, for the use of the general government.

From Alexandria, I again passed down the river by steam-boat to Acquia Creek, about 36 miles, where were stages in readiness to take us to Fredericksburg, 15 miles. Four survivors from the ship *Lautaro*, which foundered in the passage from Greenock to Charleston, were part of our company ; the account they gave us of their misfortune was interesting. The *Lautaro* appears, in the first instance, not to have deserved the description of "a well-built ship : " her cargo was exceptionable, pig-iron and coals ; the iron being badly stowed, shifted during a gale off the Western Isles, in consequence of which she sprang a leak : on applying to the pumps, they were found useless, being choked up with the coals : no resource was now left but the boats, but so rapidly did she fill, that one of the boats was swallowed up in the vortex formed by her going down. Voyagers should be particular in ascertaining the quality and trim of the vessel, as well as the qualifications of the captain and crew, to whom they entrust themselves ; these being satisfactory, it will obviously

contribute much to their comfort to select one of a humane and friendly disposition.

The ride to Fredericksburg, is through a sandy indifferent country, part of it hilly; some spots, however, present a soil probably once rich, but now exhausted by severe cropping. On descending the hill, at the foot of which runs the river Rappahannock, Fredericksburg, with the bridge, presented a very pretty appearance; indeed so prepossessing, that we confidently anticipated the still more agreeable sight of a rich Virginian meal, the ride having prepared our appetites for the eager demolition of fowls, steaks, and all the *cetera* of an American repast. The feelings of the landlord, at whose door the stages drew up, did not, however, accord exactly with ours; and so indisposed was he to accommodate us, that a general disposition was evinced to change quarters, and report his conduct on the road.

Fredericksburg has an extensive trade with New York, and other ports, in flour, grain, and lumber, that employs several schooners of considerable burden. The surrounding soil is much reduced in quality, through inattention to manuring, of which the inhabitants appear now sensible, and are endeavouring to improve it. Leaving Fredericksburg, the country through which I passed is hilly; the roads are good, with the exception of a few spots, which might be rendered equally so at a trifling expense. These exceptions serve to shew the abilities of our drivers, and the strength of their apparently slender vehicles.

The planters are busily engaged in attending to their tobacco, now ripening; this is carefully cut, and hung upon rails, frequently turned, and then

removed to the drying-house; when packed into hogsheads, it is brought down to the nearest river or port, by means of a pair of shafts with a pivot at the end of each, which is fixed to the hogshead, and thus it is rolled along. It undergoes inspection by a proper officer before it is shipped. The price varies from six to ten cents per lb. according to quality.

The very name of slavery is revolting, but when the disgraceful circumstances that accompany it are brought into view, its aspect is hideous. The Virginians pride themselves on the humanity with which they treat their slaves; and really, keeping out of sight their state, which subjects them to the caprice of their owners, I have seen them, on many plantations, in more comfortable circumstances than the poor peasantry of my own country. They have no anxieties, all their wants are supplied; and their mental darkness (perhaps not greater than of those in general, to whom I might compare them) prevents them from feeling acutely their degraded condition. In the course of our journey, we stopped for refreshment, where a court was holding. Persons from different parts of the country were assembled, and various merchandise exposed, as hats, cloths, cutlery, glass, and other wares; a number of negroes, male and female, of different ages, appeared for sale; the auctioneer descanting on their good qualities, pointed out their several excellencies of form and stature, and then recommended the bystanders to judge for themselves: one little creature, on being handled to ascertain her soundness and strength of muscle, seemed, by her playful attitude and smile, to suppose them playing with her; but in attempting to follow the hand,

whose aim she thus mistook, she was roughly forced back by the auctioneer's hammer to the stand, to await the deciding bid.

The tavern being full, we agreed to adjourn our appetites, and jog on a few miles farther, where at a very neat substantial house, called white chimneys, we were recompensed for the delay by a well-furnished board: fruits of the finest kinds, as apples, peaches, plums, &c. were set before us as a dessert, in abundance. The grape, black and white, walnut, mulberry, cherry, black-berry, and persimmon, are common in the woods: the persimmon, (*diospiros virginiana*) in addition to the medicinal qualities of its bark and unripe fruit as an astringent, is used when ripe as a preserve; and a fermented liquor, not unpalatable, is prepared from it. I have drunk excellent wine made from the wild grape; and from peaches, of which there is a profusion, they distil a spirit not inferior, when allowed to attain age, to French brandy or arrack; it generally receives an agreeable flavour from the kernels.

I have before mentioned the migratory disposition of the Americans; we are continually passing families, sometimes in large bodies, removing with their furniture and negroes to the Alabama. The condition of these negroes is frequently pitiable: where they have betrayed any intention of running away, they are chained to the waggons; when there is a gang of from twenty to a hundred, the poor creatures are arranged two abreast, secured by a long chain that passes down between them, and in this manner are driven forward; all prospect of escape being cut off, by the loaded rifles on either hand.

In continuing our route, as the evening draws on, our drivers frequently caution us, "Look after your baggage." It seems, that notwithstanding every precaution, some poor fellows have effected their escape into the woods, where they live by plunder. This is the first time I have been reminded of the dangers of travelling in England.

Richmond, the capital of Virginia, is generally a well-built city, situated on the falls of James river, 130 miles above Norfolk at its mouth: within the last few years, through the attractions of trade, its population has considerably increased, being now about 14,000. Tobacco is the staple, but flour and grain are also shipped in considerable quantities.

Scotchmen, and Yankees, (as they are called, or persons from the north-eastern States,) with English and Irish, form the principal addition, of late, to the population of Richmond. The hotel where I am now writing, is kept by a New-England man, and few on your side can surpass it in arrangement, or in the covering of the table. Pork, poultry, fish, and game, are plentiful and fine, but their beef and mutton are indifferent. At the west end of the town, on an eminence, stands the capital, noticed not so much for its elegance, as for the prospect it affords of the river, with its falls, and the country on each side. The offices of government are here, and a museum lately erected, contains among a variety of articles, many oil paintings that give a very favourable impression of the abilities of Virginian artists. The houses of the more wealthy citizens are in this direction, who have their offices in the town. The pretty village of Manchester, on the right bank, is chiefly inhabited by this class, a well-informed hospitable people.

The amusements of the Virginians, are hunting, horse-racing, cards, chess, and theatrical exhibitions. A melancholy catastrophe occurred here a year or two since, while gratifying their taste for this latter diversion, which has in some degree checked it. During the performance of a favourite piece, the alarm of "fire" was given; the house being crowded to excess, and the outlets being low and narrow, the scene of confusion that ensued was horrible,—many were separated from their companions never more to meet,—the young, the lovely, the gay, were confounded and consumed with the aged, in the indiscriminating flame: the remains of the unhappy sufferers were collected, and a church erected on the spot, over the deposit, as a memorial of an event, which in one sad hour blasted the hopes of some of the chief families in Virginia.

Your acquaintance with the early history of Virginia, will throw an interest over this part of my tour. The generous reception given to the first settlers by the natives on James river,—the peculiar and trying situation of capt. Smith,—and when the wanton aggressions of the whites had led their chief Powhatan, to resolve on the extinction of the colony, you recollect, with emotion, the generous efforts of a savage to avert the hand of vengeance,—that honour, duty, love, and mercy, can dwell in the untutored mind: for her exertions in behalf of their offending countrymen, Pocahontas deserves the gratitude of Englishmen.

The manners, customs, and appearance of the planters, remind me of our old-fashioned gentry; their houses, too, are of the style introduced at the accession of the house of Orange; plenty prevails

in them, and unaffected hospitality presides. Stone coal is abundant, and in general use. Residents of the southern states are passing through continually from the north, where they have been spending the sickly months; the accounts from Charleston and Savannah are still unfavourable, and induce me to delay longer than previously intended, though this delightful district, and the agreeable society in which I am, may have some influence in prolonging my stay.

At length leaving Richmond by the bridge over the falls, and gaining the top of the hill, I am fairly on the road to Petersburg. The morning air is bracing, and, with the rising sun peeping over the heights, puts all creation into motion: the drumming of the pheasant strikes the sportsman's ear; the negro is going to his daily labour; and not far distant before me is a cavalcade, apparently proceeding to the hymeneal altar. The damsels have fine-featured, healthy, blooming countenances, bespeaking so much good nature and intelligence, that I do not wonder at the smiles of complacency with which their swains regard them.

After a pleasant ride of twenty-five miles, through woods tinted with every shade of autumn, and interspersed with plantations, Cæsar, my sable driver, who has been highly gratified in being allowed to indulge his volubility of tongue, cries out, "Petersburg, Master." This town, which has recently suffered very severely by fire, shews no marks of its misfortune; bustle and activity are every where seen. Elegant brick buildings, with streets leveling and paving, are some evidence that though Petersburg may not only have suffered by fire, but has also shared with other towns in the effects of the last war, yet its resources are not destroyed,

viz. a rich neighbouring country, and a navigable stream, the Appomattox, whose bank near the town is lined with large boats and schooners, taking in tobacco, grain, &c.

It is now the time of the races; and the qualities of horses are descanted on, in connection with the probabilities of good or bad European harvests affecting the prices of produce. Notwithstanding their attachment to sports, the Americans are men of business, and suffer nothing to escape their notice, that can in any way promote the main object. The general similarity in dress must be observed by Europeans, accustomed as they are to see the different ranks in society distinguished in this particular. Here, you know not the merchant, the lawyer, or the mechanic from each other, by their appearance; neither are any provincialisms or dialects observable; or that awkwardness of manner, which in Europe marks the difference between the higher and lower orders. The effects of education and intercourse are every where apparent, in an expansion of intellect, and ease of expression, instead of the coarseness of speech and manners observed in a large proportion of the English population.

The freed negro of Virginia, and indeed of the states through which I have passed, from early associations, is generally profligate and abandoned, and much upon a level with the *low* Irish; who by the bye, are here so termed in distinction from their enlightened countrymen, who, by their talents and industry, acquire considerable property, and are often found in important official situations.

LETTER VII.

THERE is a gratification enjoyed by the traveller, perhaps arising from pride or vanity, that while he is treading his wearying way others are probably tracing his rout and sympathizing in the remark :

“ He travels, and I too :—I tread his deck,
“ Ascend his topmast,—thro’ his peering eyes
“ Discover countries ;—with a kindred heart
“ Suffer his woes, and share in his escapes.”

I left Petersburg in company with two gentlemen, citizens of South Carolina and Georgia, and a Pennsylvanian, intending to purchase land on the Alabama, should it answer the high character given of it.

Crossing the rivers Nottoway and Meherring, which when united form the Chowan, and also the Roanoke, all discharging themselves into Albemarle sound, we entered the state of North Carolina, providently taking leave of Virginia with a substantial dinner at major Gholson's, a man of large landed property, who is at once a store-keeper, stage-proprietor, farmer, member of the legislature, and commander of militia. Virginia has the character of retaining much of the spirit of aristocracy, but I did not perceive that this man expects or receives any peculiar marks of deference above his fellow-citizens ; his conduct in the legislature here is canvassed, and if not accordant with the interests of his constituents, (who are not confined to certain privileged individuals, but embrace all paying taxes

to the state,) some other more competent is chosen. On the rivers last mentioned the soil is rich, but when we leave them it becomes indifferent: much of our road is through thick woods, pleasant in the day, as affording a desirable shade from the sun, but gloomy when the night draws on. No sound is heard but that occasioned by our vehicle jolting on the logs of which part of the road is formed; the snorting of the horses, or Jehu's horn warning all carriages to "keep to the right as the law directs." As we approached Warrenton, a small town about fourteen miles from our entering North Carolina, he gave due notice, and by four distinct notes announced the number of knives and forks requisite at the tavern table: the landlady, as is the custom, unless the husband be at home, performed the honours of the table, and by her courteous manner would have compensated for a less solid entertainment; but in this particular, her table presented a strong contrast to that complained of at Fredericksburg. Warrenton derives some little benefit from being the seat of justice for Warren county, and as a posting town on the great northern road. From it to Raleigh, a distance of sixty miles, is an uneven country, comprising much barren, with some intervals of good land: limestone appears as we draw near the river Nuse, whose foaming rapids threatened to carry our light carriage and slender horses down the rocks; the bridge being under repair, obliging us to ford. On the southern bank, rises Raleigh, the capital of the state, named after that eminent man, who, in honour of his sovereign, called the country he discovered, Virginia. The part where he landed is now included in North Carolina.

Its central situation, as well as the elevated and healthy spot on which it is built, entitle it to the preference as the seat of legislature; at present there seems but little business, as the planters prefer to take their produce direct to Newbern, near the mouth of the river. The state house is a mean structure, occupying part of the public square, facing the entrance from the north, but there are several handsome private houses within the precincts of the intended city. The state bank and other public offices being here, will conduce to its improvement, though the removal of obstructions to the navigation of the Nuse would tend more than any thing else to its prosperity.

The farther I proceed south, the more obvious are the evils of slavery; few places of public resort where are not posted up handbills, describing the persons of runaway negroes, with offers of reward for their apprehension. One of these, under the the seals of two magistrates of Newbern, Craven county, after commanding the two described slaves to surrender themselves to their master, directs the sheriff of the said county to use all means for their apprehension; and should the poor wretches not return immediately after publication of the said notice, sentence of outlawry is pronounced, and any person is permitted to destroy them in any way he may think proper.

A miserable conveyance took me from Raleigh; it was an old carriage, the broken springs of which were replaced with bars of hickory wood, and to these the body was attached by cords; our horses were poor, fitter for the currier than for harness, and indeed the owner seemed aware of this, for neither of them had breech bands, so that at every

descent, we actually goaded them forward. The country is either sand, producing low brush and pine, or rock; the road for miles, in many parts, is constructed of trunks of trees laid parallel, the interstices filled up with earth, sand, or any material near at hand. This being frequently washed away, you may easily guess with what ease or rapidity we travelled along: however, we rode safely about forty miles, when night coming on, and a thick wood being between us and Fayetteville, the driver and his passengers concurred in the prudence of obtaining fresh harness; especially when with great seriousness the poor fellow told us that, "in this wood Lorenzo Dow once held communication with the Devil:" offering up an ejaculatory prayer, and repeating all the psalms and hymns his memory could furnish. We began to felicitate ourselves on escaping the dreaded interview, when Nero's haunted imagination mistaking the sparklings of the fire flies for the appearance of an infernal, placed us in no trifling danger; for in his fright using the whip rather heavily, the horses ran furiously down the hill, and with difficulty were prevented from rushing into Cape Fear river at the bottom. A flat bottomed boat, or scow, was in waiting, into which the carriage was driven, and being pushed over to the opposite bank, set us down in a short time at Jordan's hotel, Fayetteville, where a repast and tolerable beds proved a welcome refreshment after the adventures and fatigues of the night.

The wan and sickly countenances that now presented themselves, were by no means prepossessing in favour of the country; most of them are remnants of such as endeavoured to escape the ravages of the yellow fever in Charleston and other southern towns.

This is a thriving place, doing much business in cotton, tobacco, and some grain; many of its citizens are Scotchmen, who with New-Englanders are to be found wherever money is to be obtained. Notwithstanding the accounts from the south of the mortality that has prevailed so dreadfully during this last summer, the tide of emigration is not in the least stemmed: many families have encamped near this town during my stay of three days, and to all queries of "whither bound," the same answer is received, "Alabama."

In this warm climate, the turkey buzzard of the vulture kind, proves a very useful bird, by discovering the putrid carcasses of animals; their sense of smelling, or of sight is so extremely acute, that when floating in the air at a height that diminishes them in appearance from the size of the largest turkey to that of a blackbird, they may be seen dropping down upon the fetid mass. The serpent tribe is more numerous and dangerous to the southward, particularly the rattlesnake; many of them ten feet and upwards in length: they generally however, endeavour to escape, and I believe always give warning of their darting upon an object, by sounding the rattles, very similar in sound to the buzzing of the large bee, though much louder; the number of the rattles is according to the age of the snake, one for each year. We now meet with the alligator, of whose subtle movements the traveller over the swamp must be always on his guard; sometimes with his body hid, or lying on a log, from which it is not easy to distinguish it, till some man or beast pass, when with open mouth it runs with a swiftness that almost ensures its prey, were it not that the difficulty with which the alligator

turns gives opportunity of escape : the only vulnerable parts are the eye, mouth, and belly. A letter this summer from the Catawba, a river separating part of the two Carolinas, details a melancholy instance of this creature's ferocity. A man and woman were crossing a swamp near the river, when an alligator darted forward, and endeavoured to seize the woman's horse ; this so alarmed the animal, that he threw her : the reptile then attacked the woman, and before assistance could be obtained, so much injured her, as to render her recovery doubtful.

Fayetteville is but indifferently built ; the courthouse is old, and, when not occupied by the court, is used as a place of worship ; the lower part serves for a market-place, tolerably well supplied with poultry and pork, but the butcher's meat not fit for any creature but a dog. The country not affording pasture, few horned cattle are to be seen, and rarely one to be found to give more than a quart of milk per day. During the winter, and indeed in the summer, the food of cattle and horses principally consists of the leaves of Indian corn.

The aspect of the country from Fayetteville southward, does not improve ; and the wan languid countenances of the inhabitants is a distressing evidence of the manner in which disease has sported with its victims ; scarcely a house that I entered between Cape Fear river and the Great Pedee, a distance of about seventy miles, but one, two, or three, of its inmates had sunk beneath the pestilential blast, leaving the remainder so debilitated as to resemble moving spectres more than human beings. The chief of the journey lay through what is called the Pine Barrens ; being large tracts

of sand, producing pitch pines, with little or no undergrowth ; nearer the rivers, some variety is met with, as the oak and cypress ; and in these swampy situations the constant humidity produces a moss that gradually covers and destroys the tree ; this is gathered, cleaned, and sent to the northern states, where it is used as a substitute for horse-hair in mattresses, chairs, &c. The dismal appearance of these swamps, whose trees seem to be thus mantled with the emblems of death ; the dark sluggish streams tinged by decayed roots, and ruffled only by the alligator and the frog ; together with the stillness that prevails ; lead my recollections to the descriptions of the fabled Styx and Lethe.

The condition in which I found the family of an innkeeper, a few miles from the Pedee, will give you some notion of the devastations of the fever in this part of the continent. He had advertised his house with all its conveniencies, for travellers, about a fortnight before ; having passed a number of houses, where unfortunate strangers had shared the fate of others, and been carried out unheeded and unknown, we came to this man's,—but not to witness the usual activity of an inn ; on our knocking, and then opening the door, a faint voice was heard from a bed near the fire, requesting us to give him a little water : here lay the poor man, with his remaining child, having lost in that short time his wife, two sons, and one daughter.

One of my fellow-travellers was now seized, but, as no relief could be obtained here, we persuaded him to proceed with us to Camden, a considerable town near the river Wateree, where we left him, though with little prospect of recovery. The country for some distance to the northward of Camden

is elevated, the upper stratum generally sand, in some parts resting on clay, and, near the river, on limestone. Pitch-pines are the principal growth, but oak, chesnut, and walnut, are also found; and in the undergrowth are the whortleberry, cranberry, and myrtle-wax. Owing to the low situation of the town, and the Wateree making a bend round it, Camden is subject to fogs, and a general humidity of atmosphere, the fruitful source of agues and intermittents. A severe engagement took place in this neighbourhood, August 1780, between lord Cornwallis and general Gates; and another between lord Rawdon and general Green, in the following April; in both which the British claimed the advantage, though the latter terminated in the evacuation of Camden by Rawdon. This portion of South Carolina, including the district of ninety-six, and continuing to the important post of Augusta on the Savannah river, you will recollect as having been the theatre of active and important operations during those two years, where Britain lost much blood and treasure in a useless conflict, gaining little or no military credit, and sullyng the high character for mildness and humanity she had previously claimed.

Camden was at that time one of the principal towns next to Charleston; it now enjoys a good trade in cotton, tobacco, and deer-skins, which will no doubt be much increased, should the proposed communication by canal be made between the Santee river, (into which the Wateree discharges near the old fort Motte,) and the river Ashley, at the mouth of which stands Charleston, the emporium of the state.

Leaving my invalid, and just recovering myself

from an attack of typhus, I crossed the Wateree, here a quarter of a mile wide, and after traversing the same description of country for thirty-six miles, reached Columbia, the seat of legislature; a situation far more agreeable and healthy than Camden. This city is well laid out on an extensive sandy plain, at an elevation of about one hundred feet above the bed of the Congaree, a river about the same width with the Wateree, its union with which, forms the Santee, the Congaree, itself being a junction of the Enoree, Saluda, Broad, and Tiger rivers. It is here broken by ledges of rock, causing in the numerous cascades, a lively contrast to the darkening foliage that hangs from the cliffs above, and presenting on the whole a picturesque scenery far different to what I have for some time seen familiar with.

Columbia has been selected on account of its central, as well as its salubrious situation. The present state-house is a mean building, but another more suitable is in contemplation. Its chief ornament, and from which it is beginning to acquire some notoriety, is the college, an extensive building east of the town, of which it commands a complete view.

The violence of the fever has much abated under the influence of the frost, whose return has been hailed as the harbinger of the greatest blessings. Joy at escape from such a scourge, endeavours to shew itself on the pallid cheek, and all exchange congratulations as on the commencement of a new era. The weather is pleasant for travelling, and every thing still wears the garb of summer: the dog-wood is in bloom, the orange-tree exhibits a beautiful variety of colour in the ripe and unripe

fruit, and the walnut seems still loath to shake off its load. The mercury at noon varies between 65° and 70°; mornings and evenings cool and frosty.

Leaving Columbia, the country becomes more varied: extensive plantations of cotton, which are at this time ripening, have (to use an American phrase) an elegant appearance. The white tufts of cotton peeping from their dark enclosures, and embellished with the rich green leaves, have a singularly beautiful effect:

“Wide o’er the speckled fields, as swells the breeze,
 “A whitening wave of vegetable down
 “Amusive floats; the kind impartial care
 “Of nature nought disdains.”

The Palma Christi also flourishes, and by the oil its nut affords, forms a profitable article of agriculture. The finest I have seen were in colonel Lee’s garden, a few miles before we reach Edgefield, a small indifferent town, either as to its buildings, inhabitants, or neighbourhood. Edgefield courthouse has to record some of the most horrid instances of depravity, that have perhaps ever disgraced the human character. Here is nothing to engage attention, at least of a pleasing nature; and the sight of one or two victims to the brutal practice of gouging is sufficiently sickening to stifle the wish for any intercourse with a people capable of, or even winking at, such a practice. The manner of their executing this horrid act is, by one of the parties throwing the other to the ground, when, by dexterously entwining the fore-finger in a lock of hair to give it the effect of a fulcrum, and using the thumb as a lever, the eye is scooped out.

From Edgefield my route lay through pine land, plantations of cotton, and swamp, till the Savannah

river, dividing South Carolina from Georgia, appeared, with the city of Augusta on the opposite bank. From this eminence, named Liberty Hill, (in commemoration of an event dear to every American, in the attainment of which it was the theatre of many signal enterprises while Augusta was in the hands of the British,) a fine prospect is obtained of the town and surrounding country; the day was favourable, and being in the afternoon, no fog obstructed the view, and the sun throwing his rays on the green and gilded china trees interspersed through the city, gave it an imposing and beautiful appearance. Between the hill and the river is a swamp nearly half a mile broad, over which is raised a causeway, communicating with the bridge, lately erected at a vast expense by Messrs. Schultz and M'Kinne of Augusta. The bridge is of timber resting on piles of the same, placed at such distances, as it is supposed will allow the drift-wood to pass through in heavy freshets without endangering it, as was the case with the former one. The proprietors are allowed, by grant of the legislature, to remunerate themselves by a toll, and by the privilege of issuing notes under the title of the "Augusta Bridge Company."

The site of Augusta is perhaps the best in every respect that could have been selected on the river; it is an extensive plain of sand, elevated about forty feet above the Savannah, which is here navigable for boats of large burden, and being the centre of a large planting district, the present great speculations in cotton have rendered it unusually busy; no fewer than six thousand bales were brought to the town in one day. It is the seat of justice for Richmond county, has a handsome court-house, jail,

two churches, and a population of about five thousand, including persons of colour; the whites are chiefly New Englanders, with some Europeans, drawn hither by the hope of gain: but eligible as is its situation for business, the marshes that nearly surround it, charging the atmosphere with pestilential miasma, forbid the prospect of a long or comfortable residence: the last summer has been very fatal; two brothers, nurserymen, from the neighbourhood of Liverpool, intending to settle here, were seized soon after arrival; one was carried off, and the other is not expected to recover.

Having letters of recommendation to this place, I have met with much attention, rendering my stay more agreeable than it could otherwise have been.

The manners of a tavern company are not engaging, nor would their avocations permit much sociableness were they even so disposed. They consist of doctors, lawyers, merchants, clerks, mechanics, &c. summoned three times in the day, by the tavern bell, sounding twenty minutes preparation for meals; negroes are stationed at each door of the dining-room, and when the second bell announces that all is ready, they turn the key, and escape as for their lives,—a general rush is made by the hungry company who were eagerly waiting outside, and without ceremony they commence a general attack upon the smoking board. I found it vain to contend for my share with them, and therefore prudently gained admittance privately first: still I found it necessary in some measure to imitate their unceremonious manners. The titles which the landlords of the Globe Inn, where I now am, bear, sound unusual in such a connection to an Englishman, and I find it difficult some-

times to address them without a smile: one of them is a general of brigade, and a member of the legislature; his partner is a colonel, and sheriff of the district: their bar-keeper is distinguished as major; and the superintendent of the negroes, or head waiter, is a captain: so, if it be the prerogative of high rank (as many on your side of the water imagine) to have titled attendants, few have been more honoured than your humble servant.

Augusta, with the exception of the public buildings, consists chiefly of wood-frame houses, neatly painted. A substantial range of brick buildings have been erected by the Bridge company on the street leading from the bridge to the principal or Broad-street; others are following the example, which will tend much to allay apprehension from fires, to which they have lately been subjected by the spirit of revolt manifested by the negroes. Poor creatures! their state is pitiable; several I have seen flogged with very little mercy in front of the jail, and not a newspaper of the state, but what is disgraced with advertisements of different lots to be sold, or rewards for runaways, with their descriptions.

Accounts have been received from Fort Hawkins, on the Apalachicola, of some successful expeditions of the Seminole Indians against the whites, which demand the services of my military host, and prevent the execution of my intended journey through the Alabama to Mobile, and thence to New Orleans. Farther advices from the frontiers led me to quit Augusta rather sooner than intended; and bending my course south-east, I travelled over alternate sands and swamps,

“ ———— Where creeping waters ooze,
“ Where marshes stagnate, and where rivers wind
“ That cluster rolling fogs.”

I cannot better describe the wretched appearances of the inhabitants of this wild, than by comparing them to the half-starved cotton-weavers in Manchester, and the neighbouring manufacturing towns.

The road I now passed is by the Savannah river, presenting only one eminence before I reach Ebenezer. The summit of this hill, at the distance of one hundred miles from the sea-coast, is stratified with marine shells, and in such quantities as to afford a good substitute for lime.

The little town or village of Ebenezer, situated on the border of a large swamp bearing the same name, has nothing in appearance to excite a wish in the mind of a stranger, to stay; the same pallid cheeks and sunken eyes are seen, and he would shun it as the nursery of disease and death; yet here an incident occurred, that imparted an interest even to Ebenezer. Stopping for refreshment, I casually went into a house, (as I frequently do, *sans ceremonie*, to observe any peculiarity in the domestic economy), when the first object that caught my eye, was a portrait, in oils, of the Rev. Mr. Triebner (who was some years ago the Lutheran minister in Hull), in the attitude of speaking; also in other parts of the house I noticed other paintings by his amiable daughter, whom you knew. The lady of the house observed my attention thus arrested, and was, as you may suppose, much pleased at seeing one who was acquainted with her late husband's family; she had not heard any thing of them of late, and I was the only person whom she had seen for a long time in any way acquainted with them.

Her husband, one of the venerable minister's sons, was carried off by the fever last summer. The stage was departing, and cut short an interview which was highly interesting to both parties. Passing the little church where our respected acquaintance declared the word of life to the German settlers here, prior to the revolutionary war, I proceeded on my journey towards Savannah, where I arrived the second day after leaving Augusta, a distance of 130 miles.

No business being done in Savannah during the summer, or sickly months, it is now all activity; nothing is heard near the water but the negroes' song while stowing away the cotton; and every traveller from the country is questioned as to what prices produce bears, what quantities brought to market, what number of boats loaded are coming down, &c.

The city is built on a bluff, about fifty feet above the river, twenty miles distant from the sea, to which the country is one continued swamp, appropriated partly to the cultivation of rice. A large island, opposite to the town, formerly used for this grain, has been purchased by the corporation, and drained, with the hope of rendering the place more healthy; but the continual exhalations from many miles' surface of marsh, will long prevent its citizens from enjoying a salubrious climate. Game is plentiful, such as partridges, quails, rice birds, and squirrels, offering abundant diversion for the rifle. Balls, assemblies, and the theatre, afford their quota of amusements.

Savannah is improving in buildings, good brick and stone houses occupying the place of wood: its form is a parallelogram; the streets running at right

angles, and open squares being left alternately, tend to its improvement both in health and appearance. The market is tolerably well supplied with fish and poultry, but not with butcher's meat : boarding and rents are high, which, with the great competition in trade, as at Augusta, must render the profits to the adventurer scarcely equal to the risk, or the inconveniences to which he is subject.

The only defences of the city during the late war were—entrenchments of earth thrown up round it, commencing at, and terminating with the river ; a small fort near the mouth of the river ; and the unerring rifles of a few back-woods men : the Palmetto was also made to yield its aid, with its roots strengthening the rampart, and in its lance-like leaves presenting a formidable barrier to the approach of man or beast : some great guns commanded the passage of the river, the entrance by the Louisville turnpike, and the Thunderbolt road : the last leads down the coast, and is the only pleasant ride near Savannah. Walking in the town, is rendered exceedingly uncomfortable by the sand, which is from three to six inches deep, becomes very hot by the sun, and is driven by every little breeze. The only favourable opportunity for walking, is after rain. Here are also great numbers of turkey buzzards, which the law protects, on account of their fondness for putrid flesh, thereby removing what in this hot climate would very much increase the insalubrity.

The population of Savannah does not exceed eight thousand, and a great portion of these are coloured, slave and free—by no means desirable members of the community ; though of this indeed they are not allowed to be a part, being considered,

like the peasantry in some parts of Europe, an inferior order in creation : some of the coloured females are kept mistresses to the whites, causing every variety of shade.

Accounts of fresh successes on the part of the Seminoles, have arrived here, with orders from general Jackson, (who has taken the command) for a general draft. My residence in the country has been long enough to render me liable to militia duty ; and the plea of alienship not being allowed, from the urgency of circumstances, I prefer the risk of a coastwise voyage for the northward, to the amusement of bush-fighting with the Indians. Hoping to write again from my old quarters in Philadelphia, I subscribe myself,

Your's, &c.

Savannah, Jan. 1818.

LETTER VIII.

*Ship Mary Augusta, Jan. 1818,
off Tybee Light.*

In making my escape from the fatigues and dangers of a campaign among swamps and wilds, I certainly had no intention of going before the mast; this, however, seems likely to be the case with me and nine others, who have a similar distaste to a Georgian campaign against the Seminoles. The fact is, our crew have mutined, with the intent of obliging capt. P. to release them from their engagement, that they might try their fortune in a privateer under Venezuelan colours, now refitting in the harbour. They are now confined in the forecastle, and, till hunger drives them to duty, we have offered our services to the captain in working the ship.

Cape Hatteras light bearing N. N. W. five leagues, three days out, and the ship's company, after an ineffectual attempt to force the scuttle, offering to return to duty; the cook had deposited in his birth a few bushels of pea-nuts, anticipating a profitable sale of them at New York; with these the mutineers had satisfied the first cravings of hunger, but the want of water with such food was so sensibly felt, that after strong and repeated promises of submission, captain P. allowed them to muster at the gangway; and a heavy squall coming on, gave them an opportunity of proving their contrition, and of relieving us from the troublesome employment of setting and taking in sail.

Weather very stormy all that day, increasing during the night, which obliged us to beat off till morning: we are well supplied with provision, as meat, poultry, vegetables, liquors, and fruits, and endeavour, round the cabin fire, to make ourselves as comfortable as possible; on nearing the land the next morning, we saw the tops of a vessel above water, supposed to be a brig which left Savannah the day before we did. Continued to meet with boisterous weather to the seventh day, when the wind blew strong right a-head; in this situation, we remained beating about within sight of Sandy Hook lighthouse, till the 8th, when it suddenly veered round to N. E. and by E.; our situation now became critical, and the appearance of a heavy snow-storm coming on, induced our captain to crowd all the sail the vessel could bear, to get within the bar, if possible: her lading was but light, consisting of cotton, so that you may imagine how we were tossed about from wave to wave. For three hours I sat within a cable coil on the quarter deck, watching the bearings of the different lights, and trying to discern some friendly pilot putting off, in answer to our signals of distress; but in vain. Captain P.'s calmly-delivered orders, "mind your weather helm," and, "stand by your haulyards," met with the quick reply, "ay, ay, Sir," and were as steadily obeyed: when darkness was beginning to obscure every thing from sight, save the lights which now and then glimmered through the falling snow,—when our sense of danger was increased, by hearing the furious surf loud breaking on the shore,—our ship obeyed the helm, and our anchor was dropped within the Horse-shoe. Happy did we think ourselves resting in safety, when in the course of the night

were heard the minute-guns of other vessels contending with those dangers we had just escaped. A few hours sleep, and a hearty breakfast the next morning, seemed to obliterate all recollection of past perils, especially when with a fine breeze we found ourselves standing into the harbour of New York. The first intelligence I received on landing was, of the heavy loss Britain had sustained in the death of Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, who, by her virtues and courteous manners, had endeared herself to the whole nation, and bid fair to correct, by her noble example, that dissoluteness of manners which was so prevalent in all ranks, that it ceased to be disgraceful; to this cause may Britain attribute many of her disasters, and much of her internal uneasiness. The change from a Georgian winter, at a temperature from 45° to 70° , to that of New York at 25° and upward, is very perceptible; but severe as it is, 'tis preferable.

Numbers of our countrymen are now suffering the effects of their intemperance and idleness, and may be met with soliciting means to maintain them in the same course of miserable existence. The majority deserve no commiseration, unless it be for their ignorance and misery, which reduce them far below the negro slave in the scale of reason. In no particular is the distinction between the two countries more apparent, than in the capabilities every American (at least in the northern and eastern states), possesses of profiting by the talents of others. The education of their children has been considered to be of the greatest importance; all receive the first rudiments, and, according to their inclinations and intended spheres of life, are farther advanced in the acquirements of knowledge. It is to the moral,

as well as physical strength of her population, that the new world owes her present greatness, and on this basis alone must she expect to stand; while Europe, from its heterogeneous composition, is continually exposed to the machinations and caprices of a few despots, who live but for themselves, and look upon the mass of people over whom they rule, as brutes created for their pleasure.

Excuse this digression, and, if you please, once more cross the Hudson, and join me at Elizabeth Town, in New Jersey, a neatly built town, situated in a fertile, well-cultivated district, which supplies not only the markets of New York with fruit, vegetables, poultry, &c. but exports large quantities of cider and apples to Charleston, Savannah, and other southern ports: it has also derived considerable benefit from carriage-building, and, by the steady industry of its inhabitants, has suffered less, perhaps, than any other place, by the vexatious fluctuations of commerce.

Prevented by the frost from travelling by the steam-boat, and a heavy snow-fall impeding the progress of wheel-carriages, I avail myself of the convenient and pleasant mode of sleighing. The skin of a buffaloe at my back, and that of a bear under my feet, with a well-spread table every two or three hours, perfectly reconcile me to an American winter. This is the amusement of the young people, parties of whom I frequently meet enjoying themselves, at a season which does not admit of business. In this way I rambled through a considerable part of New Jersey, and at length reach Philadelphia, to the surprise of my friends there, who had given me up as one of the numerous victims to the sweeping fevers of the south.

Philadelphia has sustained a heavy loss, by the death of Dr. Caspar Wistar, president of the Philosophical Society, and Professor of Anatomy, a man who had the happy art of engaging the affections of his pupils, and by his talents, had raised the university of this city to a very high degree of respectability.

As the season is not favourable to farther wanderings, I purpose to take up my quarters here till the spring opens, when you may expect to hear of the progress of

Yours, &c.

LETTER IX.

Philadelphia, May, 1818.

JUST returned from New York, after arranging for the regular communication with my English friends, I now prepare for my projected western tour: my luggage is forwarded to Pittsburg, at the rate of five dollars per 100lb. it being my intention to leave Philadelphia on foot, with a farmer from Hertfordshire, and to vary my plan according to circumstances.

The number of emigrants to this country continues to increase, notwithstanding the reports of the misery and distress they are likely to suffer, which are carried back to England by the disappointed individuals who return. They seem to be driven from their own country, by the distresses that prevail there; increased by oppressive taxation, and the haughty spirit manifested by a portion of the population, who arrogate to themselves the distinctive title of *higher orders*. Were vice, immorality, or any thing the opposite of what their established religion prescribes, the honourable distinctions of man, then such a title may be their due. But, with all your liberality and full conviction, that mankind is bound to obey the great Creator,—that understanding and conscience are given them for guides, and not to obey the capricious mandates of their fellow-mortals; you say, a truce with such reflections. In compliance with your supposed request, I drop them,—cross the Schuylkill, and enter on the great western

road, not a solitary traveller, but in view of multitudes passing and repassing, on foot, horseback, and carriages of various kinds.

The counties of Chester and Lancaster, through which I pass, do credit to the judgement and industry of the German settlers, most of them being in their possession. Well-cultivated fields and gardens, with good barns and stables, mark their comfort and prosperity; the plenty that spreads their table, shews also the difference between their situation here, and what it would be if in Europe, where from the continual round of taxes, tithes, and rents, the farmer is under the necessity of sending the choicest part of his produce to market: should his friends visit him, he may exhibit his flocks, his fields, his stock, but they only serve to point him out as the servant of others, who allow him a trifling compensation for his care: he cannot take a turkey or a goose from his yard for their entertainment, without entrenching upon his means of paying the next assessment.

The country much improves in appearance, compared with the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia, where the soil is but indifferent. The mower sharpening his scythe, with the busy haymakers, present a sweet relief to one tired with the bustling din of a city life: my companion, the farmer, frequently remarks the fruitfulness of the lands, at the same time censuring their mode of culture, and inveighing strongly against the apparent indolence of the people. A short residence among them will probably convince him, that in some respects, their system is judicious, and may perhaps render him equally indolent. It is strange to him, to see them so much at ease, forgetting that here the agriculturist is not goaded by oppres-

sive burdens, and perplexed how to meet his expenditure; he sees no printed notices in their houses, "all taxes to such a date, must be paid at my office, &c.;" what taxes are levied, are by the consent of all, and are readily paid without such a galling summons.

The neat little town of Westchester, seat of justice for Chester county, first receives and entertains us with a sample of the living we may expect: the sight of his national favourite roast beef, tempts the wanderer from Hertfordshire, to bless the constitution and the government which does not intercept the fruits of honest industry.

The sweetly scented rose, peeping over the enclosure, regales me as I walk along; and the healthy countenances which appear at every house, so different to the miserable lingerers among the Georgian swamps, excite a wish to remain an inhabitant of this delightful region.

Strasburgh, an inconsiderable place, and Lancaster, one of the largest inland towns in Pennsylvania, are pleasantly situated, and attract the traveller's attention by an air of general neatness. At a few miles west of the latter, we reach Columbia, a little thriving place, beautifully situated on the Susquehanna, enjoying a good trade in lumber and grain, and drawing from the river additional variety for their tables in the fine rock and other fish with which it abounds. By a wooden bridge of a mile and a quarter in length, with a roof and openings on the sides to admit light, and the usual notice, "keep to the right as the law directs," and "a penalty for smoking segars while passing over," I reach the opposite bank. Here the romantic prospect formed by the river, broken by rapids that contrast them-

selves with the dark rocks, varied with green foliage, the buildings of Columbia, the bridge, the fishing parties on the river, altogether form a rich treat to the eye. Turning our backs on this rich landscape, we journey onward to York, whose spires and good brick buildings impress us, while at a distance, with a favourable opinion of it, and we are not disappointed; it has a handsome market-house, and, if I may judge by our tavern table, it is well supplied. We now find ourselves gradually on the ascent; pass the night a few miles distant from York; and enter on the month of June, with a sight of the first range of mountains.

Our host is an unlettered German, who sold himself for two years, to defray the expense of his passage thirty years ago, and has now amassed upwards of thirty thousand dollars, by farming, trading, and his tavern: his children enjoy the benefits of education, and the daughters, emulous of their mother, show so much notableness, and good domestic management, that our young farmer, perhaps counting the dollars, fancies them equal to the Hertfordshire lasses. In the morning, we take leave of the old German, much amused, and perhaps benefited, by his history; and with spirits light, take up our line of march—

“ Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet

“ With charm of earliest birds.”

As we ascend the mountains, our eyes continually wander over the vast extent of wooded vale, beautifully dotted with hamlets and towns, the residence of liberty and ease. When we have gained the summit of one hill, others present their brush mantled ridges, and extend far as the eye can reach.

The next town of any consequence is Chambersburgh, 143 miles from Philadelphia, where I leave the farmer, continue my route by the old military post, Fort Loudon, and come to Bloody Run, so named, in consequence of the massacre, by the Indians, of a party who were escorting provisions for the unfortunate Braddock, and had incautiously encamped in this narrow pass for the night: their fires betrayed them to their watchful enemy, who left but one or two to relate the fate of their companions. From this theatre of carnage, I pass on to Bedford, a small town, on a branch of the river Juniata, lately come into notice for its medicinal springs. It is at present crowded with company from all parts of the Union; the merchant of New York, the Kentucky planter, the critical Philadelphian, the hospitable Marylander, and the polite Virginian, here meet, and, by their general conviviality, contribute perhaps more than its springs to the benefit of the invalid. The winding and rocky Juniata, reminds me of your favourite Wye: its banks offer many very romantic spots, and furnish the best iron ore in the country. From Bedford to Shellstown, at the foot of the Allegany, is principally sand and gravel, interspersed with some good land, with a clear and delightful air. Up this great barrier between east and west America, many a traveller tugs his weary way, and with frequent gasp, turns him round to view the progress he has made; but far he cannot see: behind, before, appears the mountain covered with wood

“ _____ of wildest growth,
“ That forming high in air, a woodland choir,
“ Nods o'er the mount beneath.”

The dogwood, the locust, and the mountain ash,

with their gay and varied bloom, are handsome reliefs to the sombre oak, whose sturdy arms protect him from the blast.

Descending the western side, I rest awhile at Stotler's inn, where, to witness the numbers that pass in each direction, one is ready to ask—

“ Who can recount what transmigrations here

“ Are annual made ? what nations come and go ? ”

Waggoners, and travellers of all descriptions, stop at this far-famed inn, which you will smile to hear is but a rudely constructed log-house, only calculated for a small family; a brick wing has lately been added. In one of the apartments, I touched a very soft-toned pianoforte. You must not suppose the elegant accompaniments of civilized life, are confined to your quarter of the globe; though the excessive refinement that characterizes a small portion of European population does not generally prevail, yet you will not meet here with that coarse vulgarity, and obsequious servility, which disgraces the majority in the old world. A few miles of indifferent swampy road bring me in sight of Stoystown, a healthy elevated situation; and I take up my quarters at Graham's tavern, a well-furnished house, offering a ready answer to the traveller's wants. Mr. Graham's manner manifests that he does not consider himself under any obligation to his guests; neither do they think of endeavouring to convince him to the contrary, excepting a young countryman of ours, who for his ridiculous airs was ordered to quit the house. Every thing we can wish for is provided, and so much real attention paid, that all the party wishes another visit to Graham's inn.

June 21st. I turned now toward the south, and had a pleasant ride of ten miles, to Somerset, through woods where mulberries and cherries, with the may-apple (*podophyllum peltatum*) ripening, offer themselves to allay the traveller's thirst, and to gratify his taste.

Somerset is the seat of justice for the county, and did derive considerable advantage from its being a posting town on the great western road, till that was carried through Stoystown, which has affected it materially. My landlord, whose house is not unaptly styled "The Traveller's Rest," is a remnant of the revolution, and feels a pride in recounting the campaigns shared with his distinguished leader, whose portrait, in a gilded frame, decorates the dining-room, together with his signature, constituting captain Webster a member of the Cincinnati Society.

Early on the 23d, I took leave of the veteran, and directed my course towards Connellsville, by a most rugged road over Laurel Hill: after walking about fourteen miles, I overtook a middle-aged man, and finding that he was bound to the same place, we agreed to keep in company. Society beguiles the way, and we jog on, though not without a hearty wish that our lodging were in sight. Weary as we are, we halt a few minutes to enjoy the rich prospect before us, over the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, from the summit of the last eminence, before we descended into Connellsville, a neat brick-built town, extending down the hill to the river Yoghiogany, which joins the Monongahela a few miles below, winding towards it through a romantic vale.

This town is dependent chiefly on the iron-works

in the neighbourhood for support ; there are also paper, fulling, saw, and grist mills, for which the numerous streams rising among the surrounding hills are well adapted.

Here I found a comfortable resting place for about three days, under the hospitable roof of Mr. T. to whom I had an introduction. You who have never been so far from home, can scarcely realize the solace I enjoyed in this remote part of the world, in the society of those who knew many of my relatives, and who testified the respect in which they held their memory, by the most friendly treatment of me as their representative.

In my way from Connellsville to Brownsville, I crossed general Braddock's line of march, lying among narrow defiles and fastnesses, of which his enemy well knew how to take advantage. Human bones were turned up lately near the former town, which are generally supposed to be the remains of that unfortunate party.

Brownsville is well situated on the Monongahela and Dunlap's creek, which separates it from Bridgeport. Its importance is likely to be increased, by the national road from Washington city running through it. The remains of an old fort are still seen near the town : and it is known as much by the name of Old Fort, as by that of Brownsville. Here are manufactories of window-glass, black-glass, and some earthenware, which with fruit, cider, spirits, grain, and castings, are sent down the river to various parts of the country. In point of climate and aspect, this part is perhaps the finest in Pennsylvania ; rich and extensive prospects are seen on all sides, similar to what you have in Herefordshire and Monmouthshire ; the sunbeams point-

ing out (as there) the windings of far nobler streams: broken as it is by rocks, much of it is rich soil; and where not so, it is rich beneath in coal and iron. The veins of coal appear in the sides of the hills, not requiring the trouble and expense of most of your mines in England.

Several arks, or flat-bottomed boats, dropping down to Wheeling with glass, afforded me a favourable opportunity of viewing some of the beauties of the Monongahela. Without any other engagement than that of now and then lending a hand at the roughly-shaped oars, I joined them; and if you recollect our excursion up the Wye, to Tintern-Abbey, you will have some idea of the scenery around me: at every turn of the river, farms, towns, bold and impending rocks, and fertile slopes, successively presented themselves to my delighted eyes.

Wishing to see an Englishman, settled about twenty miles below Brownsville, I left the floating box or ark about nine at night, and made towards a light glimmering at a distance, frequent flashes of lightning affording the only light by which to scramble up the bank:

“Then issues forth the storm with sudden burst,
 “And hurls the whole precipitated air
 “Down in a torrent.—
 “The mountain thunders; while
 “The dark way-faring stranger breathless toils,
 “And often falling, climbs against the blast.”

After wandering in this manner about half a mile, I came to the sign of the Eagle, glad of shelter for the night.

The next morning I went to Mr. A. A.'s. He has been in this country about twenty years, and

expresses not the least wish to return, though it is highly gratifying to him to hear of England, and of his friends. He took me in the evening through a thick wood of maple trees, from which he makes annually several hundred pounds weight of excellent sugar, to see one of his brothers-in-law, a farmer also; whose situation, &c. may be described as a fair specimen of the Pennsylvanian, or rather west-country farmer. His house is of hewn logs, divided into two rooms below, with a chamber over one part of them; a kitchen, smoke-house, spring-house, used as a dairy, detached; besides a large log-barn, stables, and cider-press. The family were at supper, (at seven in the evening,) to which the friend of their relative was invited to join them; it consisted of tea, coffee, buckwheat cakes, corn-cakes, bread and butter, toast, biscuits, chickens roasted and fricasseed, poached eggs, dried beef and venison, cheese, apple and pumpkin pies, pickled cabbages, cucumbers, beets, and peaches; preserved apples, grapes, quinces, peaches, plums, and cherries, with rich clouted cream; the tablecloth was home made: after supper we adjourned into another room, carpeted also with home manufacture; the beds and the dresses of the family were furnished in the same way, which would be with difficulty distinguished from English. The evening concluded with a dessert of peaches, apples, cherries, mulberries, cider, currant wine, and cherry brandy. Every thing, except the tea and coffee, was the produce of his farm, about two hundred acres; the taxes upon which do not amount to six dollars in the year. With Mr. A. and his brother I remained two or three days: taking leave about four in the morning of July 4th, in passing the

house, which exhibited so much of patriarchal luxury and simplicity, I saw the daughters (who the evening before did the honours of the table, with as much ease and gentility as any of our city ladies,) each on a three-legged stool, attending to the first duty of the dairy: here is a spot,

“ Where simple nature reigns.”——
 “ Progressive truth, the patient force of thought,
 “ Investigation calm, whose silent pow’rs
 “ Command the world: the light that leads to heaven,
 “ Kind equal rule, the government of laws,
 “ And all protecting freedom, which alone
 “ Sustains the name and dignity of man,
 “ These are theirs.”

Those were England’s best days, when domestic duties were attended to, when her daughters were not ashamed to use the distaff, untainted by the ridiculous absurdities of fashionable life.

For six cents I am ferried across the Monongahela at Elizabeth-town, seven miles from Mr. A.’s:—an additional fourteen miles over hilly ground, bring me within sight of Pittsburgh, successively the French fort Du Quesné, the British fort Pitt, and the American fort Fayette. This is the anniversary of Independence, and is celebrated by discharges of cannon, parading of the different militia and volunteer corps, parties of pleasure on the heights round the city, and on the river: the Irish, who are numerous in this neighbourhood, are testifying their sense of the blessings resulting from that day, by copious libations of their favourite whisky.

A ferry-boat for three cents more, landed me on the right bank of the river, where I endeavoured to meet with a quiet house, for rest from this day’s fatigue: other travellers came in, and among them one, who, in answering the common salutation,

“ You are travelling, stranger, I guess ?” soon confessed his native soil, “ Whoy, ayé, I’ne bowght a bit o’ lond like, dane th’ river.” — “ Man !” was the reply to this unintelligible jargon ; which was continued by “ A terrible thick wooded kuntry this, for sure ; I dunnert know ha ever ’th ’owd woman ’ll stond it,” to the no small amusement of the company, who by this time had gathered round to hear the stranger’s tale ; and of none in it more than,

Yours, &c.

LETTER X.

Pittsburgh, July, 1818.

To this place is the attention directed of every one, who speaks of America and her prospects. To it the emigrant looks; and if he asks, which is the most flourishing town, or where he is the most likely to succeed, in almost any branch he may mention, "Pittsburgh," is the answer. Advantages it certainly has, perhaps equal to those of any other town in the Union. Situated at the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegany rivers, each of which is navigable at certain seasons, for two or three hundred miles, it receives the produce of a great extent of country; and being at the head of the Ohio, (the name those two confluent rivers now assume,) it becomes the *entrepot* of all goods purchased by the Western from the Atlantic states. In addition to this, its inexhaustible beds of coal and iron point it out as an eligible spot for the establishment of manufactories. The last war with England brought it into notice in this respect; and had those who engaged in various branches acted with more caution, their property might not have suffered such diminution by the influx of British goods since the peace. But the American, like the British merchant, seems to have been duped by the glittering prospects held out by speculation. This delusive hope it was, which, like magic, raised the various manufactories of glass, iron, lead, and linen, whose chimneys, like so many volcanoes, send forth their darkening volumes, and frequently

obscure the town from view; the hills around it preventing the smoke from escaping, and returning it upon the town. Hollow glass ware, black and white, with flint glass, are made in considerable quantities, and sent down the river. Iron castings, cabinet-work, tanning, saddlery, tin-ware, and boat building, are carried on largely, employing numerous hands, and large capitals, either real or fictitious.

I now address you from under the hospitable roof of Mr. P. who, with his accomplished lady, reflect credit on the English name. He has lived in the United States eighteen years, convinced that every comfort attainable in this life, may be procured here. He has repeatedly visited England since his first passage across the Atlantic, but always returned with a higher opinion of this country.

Owing to the continuance of drought at this season, some inconvenience is at times felt by boats in attempting to pass the shoals below Pittsburgh. The water has now risen a few inches, which causes much activity among those who wish to descend, and I must not neglect the opportunity; though I assure you, in the language of Virginia, that I leave Pittsburgh with a heap of regret.— You now find me,

July 22d, with six other travellers, on board the Commodore M'Donough, of fifty tons, floating down the smooth surface of the Ohio. Some of my fellow-travellers are store-keepers or merchants, returning from Philadelphia and New-York, where they have been purchasing goods, which constitute the principal part of our lading. Each of us has laid in provisions for the voyage; and a spirit of accommodation prevailing, it is agreed to form one common stock. One of the party, in consequence

of drinking too freely of water, porter, and coffee, and of exposure to the night air, has suffered severely from a bowel complaint, and experiences the advantage of my medicine chest; twenty drops of laudanum, and an additional covering, have relieved him.

July 24th. Yesterday we grounded three times, requiring the united exertions of crew and passengers to move the barge. The last time, it got so far on a bar, owing to the strength of the current, but more from not attending to the channel, that we were obliged to discharge the cargo. Having procured a flat boat as a lighter, and additional hands, we landed the chief of it, forced the barge over the bar into deep water, and are this morning reloading her, having passed the night in an active though not very agreeable manner, with the mortification of seeing four boats pass us. Our misfortune is, however, in some degree counterbalanced by the luxury of some fine Indian corn and rich milk, from a farm at a little distance from our encampment; it is a log-house, (which from its appearance a Berkshire farmer would hesitate to turn his cattle into,) occupied by a man, his wife, and fourteen children, in regular gradation from six feet to one; with a fair prospect of farther enriching the happy father, instead of his impoverishment, as in some countries. Mr. Malthus would not be understood here. Two beds appear below; and how many above, I know not. Having completed our lading, we get under weigh, and passing the town of Beaver, again strike upon a ledge of rock and gravel, about three miles below: our men are too much fatigued with the exertions of yesterday and this morning, to think of any thing farther

than reconciling ourselves to our situation for the night.

25th. Early this morning we commenced unloading, and though a heavy and continued rain affords some prospect of releasing us, yet it increases our present discomforts. A bad landing place, a clay bank, with very high ground above, from which the waters descend on our encampment, are great inconveniences, which may tend to enhance our future pleasures. The country people tender their assistance to remove the *plunder*; an expression which conveys no favourable opinion of them, nor supposes they think well of us.

26th, Sunday. Whilst you are keeping this a day of rest, we are in the Ohio, using our utmost endeavours to move our grounded vessel: by laborious perseverance we succeed, work her nearly a mile up stream, reload, and prepare for fresh adventures.

27th. A night's rest enables us to resume our course with fresh spirit: the sun rises as with renewed strength, and dissipating the morning mist, opens to our view a delightful prospect, which with all due deference to Dr. Syntax, is truly picturesque. Imagine a stream above half a mile wide; its lofty and alternately sloping banks clothed with a luxuriant verdure; the woods varied with every hue and shade, through which may frequently be discerned the woodsman's hut of logs, squared by no rule of architecture, but admirably adapted to form the rural scene; and you will acknowledge the appropriateness of its French name, "*La belle Riviere.*" I want only the triple enjoyment of participation, to increase the pleasure felt in contemplating the beauties of this majestic river, deserving to be celebrated by the poet and the artist.

We touch at Georgetown, consisting of about a dozen log-houses, one-fourth of which are taverns, designated by a creaking sign in front, and probably a barrel of whisky, for the entertainment of travellers. The "calculations" of the landlord are entertaining, though sometimes tedious to his guest, who is more desirous of satisfying his own appetite, than the other's curiosity, who calculates he is travelling,—calculates he is a merchant, or mechanic, or seeking work,—calculates he is going to the territory,—and calculates till all his powers of arithmetic are exhausted.

At noon we pass the boundary of Pennsylvania, exchanging it for Ohio on the right, and Virginia on the left, and secure the barge for the night at a plantation or farm on the Virginian side, from which we supply our stock with vegetables, poultry, fruit, and milk. It is a log-house, neatly furnished, and the family (man, wife, two sons, and three finely expressive-featured daughters,) well clad in home-manufacture.

Next morning early, we put the oars in motion, making a short stay at Steubenville, a place of considerable business on the right bank, named in compliment to Baron Steuben. A woollen manufactory has lately been established here, which, after encountering many difficulties through want of experienced hands, high wages, and sometimes a scarcity of the raw material, seems likely to succeed. The inhabitants perceive they are interested in promoting the prosperity of their own country, and not in supporting another, which may probably be their enemy. Steubenville is better situated than many towns on the Ohio, being on elevated ground, and not liable to be inconvenienced by any sudden rise of the river.

Lower down, we call at Wellsburgh, (formerly Charlestown), on the left, to land some packages addressed to it: much business is done here in delft and stone ware, besides the storage of produce from the neighbouring country. Thence floating down, Warren, with a few straggling huts, dignified by their projectors with the title of towns, are seen at different bends of the river. Passing many romantic wooded islands, we arrive at Wheeling on the same side, (Virginia), a place growing into importance, being on the national road; and the river being at all seasons navigable from it downwards, many prefer it to Pittsburgh as a place of embarkation.

It would prove a needless repetition, to continue the attempt to realize the beauties of this noble river to your imagination, as I pass down. On the dawn of one of the loveliest days this month, (July) can boast, we entered a bend of the river, named Long Reach, which for boldness and grandeur of prospect exceeds what I had hitherto thought incomparable:—the banks on either hand trimmed with farms, some, whose owners possess ideas not merely of comfort and ease, but also of elegance; good brick buildings, commanding fine views of the water; over which is seen the weeping willow, and, planted by the hand of nature, the lofty branching sycamore. Our glasses discern them to be well furnished, and excite our appetites with the sight of many a well-spread table.

Three islands, at nearly equal distances, covered with oak, willow, and other trees, divide the stream, furnishing a fine contrast to the light shade of distance: the sounds of boats' crews tuning to their oars, and of the planter's horn calling the family

to meals, all unite to make a delightful impression on the senses, which I long for you to participate in.

30th. Marietta, at the mouth of the Muskingum, settled and inhabited chiefly by persons from New-England. The injudicious situation of the streets fronting the water, has very much retarded the prosperity of the town, and prevented its being, as was intended, the depôt for the district contiguous to the Muskingum. On every rise of the water, the front houses are inundated, even to the second story; an inconvenience which, at the distance of six or seven hundred yards from the river they would have been exempt from. Two brick churches, rather handsome structures, a bank, court-house, land-office, log-jail, and many good, even elegant private buildings, (in some of which, letters procured me very polite attentions), and you have a description of Marietta. On the opposite or right bank of the Muskingum, are the remains of Fort Harmar; and on the left, near the town the attention of the curious is engaged by the remains of fortifications, concerning whose origin even tradition itself is silent, and conjecture is baffled. They were certainly the works of a people acquainted with the rules of active and defensive warfare. The plough has lately reduced these earthen monuments of antiquity, leaving only parts of two entrenchments, which appear to have been connected by a covered way, and a mound, probably intended as a memento of some event, or the cemetery of particular individuals: whatever be the date of their erection, what was their design, or who were their founders, as nothing satisfactory will probably ever

be known, they will perhaps form the basis on which a romance writer may found some wondrous tale.

The numerous islands that dot the surface of the Ohio, give a richness and variety to its views, which charm the eye, and lead me sometimes to regret the steady progress of the Commodore M'Donough, which bears us on by Point Pleasant, a name very appropriately bestowed on the outlet of the Big Kanhawa, noted in this part of the country for the quality, as well as quantity of salt, manufactured and forwarded on its waters.

Galliopolis, Gallia county, next appeared, with its neatly painted frame and brick houses, the residence of a body of French emigrants, who, in the choice of situation, have evinced their usual discrimination: it has some of the richest soil I have yet seen on the river,—is on a second bank, and rarely affected by inundation. To obviate the inconveniences arising from confusion between their titles to the land, and those of the Ohio Land Company, Congress granted to these emigrants a tract of land lower down the river, to which some of them have removed.

August 2nd, Sunday. Our captain is a New-Englander, and recollecting the observance of the sabbath, (to which from infancy they are accustomed, more particularly in the eastern states), directs the oars to be taken in, and suffers his vessel to float down with the current, now about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in an hour. The day is delightfully serene: silence prevails, save the woodpecker's hoarse note, resounding through the wood, with the blue-bird's warble of praise to nature's God, and now and then the sound of human voices, in concert offering their

tribute to the Supreme. It seems, indeed, a day of rest. We land at Portsmouth, a neat town on the Big Scioto, and attend public worship in the courthouse, where is exhibited a degree of decorum and attention on the part of the audience, and a zeal in the preacher, truly pleasing; many of his hearers are from a distance, leaving their light waggons and horses near the place.*

Again embarking, we drop gently down the stream, till the last ray of the setting sun invites repose; and as the water is rather low, it is deemed prudent to heave to for the night. Resuming our course next morning, we come to Maysville, formerly called Limestone, seat of justice for Mason county, Kentucky; an old accustomed landing place, on the route from Pittsburgh to Louisville, and whence much produce is forwarded to New-Orleans. An election for Congress is now taking place, which though it occasions little disputes between individuals, is not attended with those disgraceful outrages on civil order you have sometimes witnessed at contested elections. We sup and sleep at the house of major Chambers, under no apprehensions of broken windows or insult from the opposite party.

A part of our cargo directed to this place is discharged, which is replaced by a few bales of flax, and barrels of whisky, addressed to Louisville: the

* Here I recollected the objection often urged by many against the western settlements, that a serious person would be out of the way of those religious advantages he has been accustomed to in England. Whatever grounds may have been for this formerly, I am persuaded that at present, it is no more applicable to this country than to Britain. The attention paid in both countries, to moral and religious instruction, is a very encouraging feature of the present age.

cable is loosed, every oar in motion, and we soon lose sight of Maysville. We meet several boats coming up the river, some using a tow-line, but the greater part forced against the stream by poles. We hail each other with all the importance of merchantmen on the ocean.—“Who commands that boat?—Where are you from?—Where bound?—What’s your cargo?”—concluding with, “Will you report us?” Like the generality of inland navigators, their crews are a profligate lawless set.

4th. The pretty town of Augusta, Bracken county, Kentucky, detains us for a few hours; it is well situated on a second bank, adorned with a range of Lombardy poplars, fronting the river, and interests from containing antiquities similar to those on the Muskingum; many human remains have been found, with remnants of arrows, and baked ware; one collection, (which might lead to the supposition of its having been the scene of a sanguinary action), contained nearly a hundred skulls: near the spot where these were found, are the appearances of several graves lying east and west, trimmed round with flat stones, inserted perpendicularly. Here we met with a boat, furnished with a counter, shelves, and most articles of grocery, liquors, drapery, glass, iron, and queen’s-ware; the sounding of a horn, with a flag hoisted on a pole, giving notice to the inhabitants of either bank, that they may be supplied from its store.

On the morning of the 5th, we came in sight of the principal town on the river,—Cincinnati, Hamilton county, Ohio; which from being a small fort, twenty-seven years ago, to check the predatory excursions of the Indians, now boasts of a population of nearly 13,000. The numbers of vessels of

all descriptions and sizes, from the skiff to the brig, almost prevent our barge from finding moorings: on landing, some exertion is necessary to press through the crowd of men, carts, and horses, who are all engaged in the commerce of this inland port. The spot selected for its erection is the first, second, and third banks, the latter between two and three miles in extent, and one in width; the hills around, giving it the appearance of an extensive amphitheatre.

Through the unceasing kindness of Dr. S. (Philadelphia), since my arrival in the States, I receive the most polite attention from Mr. D. general G. and captain M. rendering my stay here very agreeable, and affording me much information, calculated to assist me in the main object I have in view.

Cincinnati, August 9th.

LETTER XI.

Cincinnati, Sept. 1818.

DATING this sheet whence I last addressed, you will expect to know how the last month has been employed,—perhaps not uselessly,—certainly not indolently. Provided with a pocket compass, maps of the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the condensed information of the gentlemen mentioned in my last, an umbrella as shelter from both sun and rain, and a change of summer clothing, I commenced my ramble, August 10th, by ascending the steep hills that are in the rear of Cincinnati on the north, and passing through the small towns of Reading and Mechanicsburgh, entered Lebanon as a pedestrian; a distance of thirty-two miles, through an undulating country of forest, interspersed with patches of corn, and orchards, from which I plentifully regaled myself with fruit.

Lebanon, the county seat for Warren, is a considerable town, well built of brick, near Deer Creek, has a brewery, two printing offices, and many stores, transacting considerable business.

Directing my steps eastward, I came to the Little Miami, at this time not more than twenty yards in width. There being no traveller at the ferry-house but myself, many hands were not necessary to ply the oar; but I did not expect (what some on your side would think a little complimentary,) to be attended by one of the prettiest damsels that ever descended from fairest Eve;—neat, expressive in her

person and features, and agile in her movements, she tripped gaily down the hill, loosed her canoe from its moorings, seated herself at the stern with the paddle in one hand, and, with a modesty that delighted me, requested the stranger to take his place in front; every thing adjusted, with great dexterity in the use of the paddle, she landed me in a few moments on the opposite bank, received the ferriage of three cents, and with good wishes for my journey, soon regained the bank she had left. "And are these," thought I, "the manners of the contemned inhabitants of the west? Ah, Europe! with pride might you exult, were such the characteristics of your population! improved understandings coupled with benevolence, hospitality, and virtue."

The banks on either side of the Little Miami are lofty, and covered with timber of larger growth than any I have hitherto observed, principally chesnut and hickory. On the summit of the eastern bank, I noticed another of those ancient forts, more perfect than those of the Muskingum. It is a square, covering several acres, having an inner and an outer work, and from its position must have been one of strongest posts in the country.

In the first settlement of the wilderness, as it was termed, (and a title by which most on your side think it ought to be still designated,) the cabin of a settler became the object of attraction to all who had occasion to travel through it; his name was passed from one to another, and at last became, with towns and rivers, a point of distance on the rout. I now inquire the distance to Van Maitre's (though he has been dead some years,) an old accustomed resting place; the daubed imitation of an eagle,

with the Dutchman's name beneath, tell the traveller where wanderers like himself were once entertained : the accommodations it offers, though at one time desirable, are not sufficiently engaging to prevent my weary limbs from bearing me on to Harris's, about two miles beyond, a large well furnished brick house, where, for sixty-eight cents (about 3s.), I am amply refreshed with supper, bed, and breakfast the next morning, presenting such a variety in fish, flesh, and fowl, as you would scarcely meet with at a first-rate hotel in England. The distance from Lebanon to this place is forty-two miles. About forty more through wooded swamp and highland, brought me to Chilicothe on the Scioto, accomplishing it in four days sufficiently at ease to allow observation, and when, by the thermometer (77° to 80°) you would suppose the heat oppressive.

The seat of legislature, previous to its present central situation at Columbus, vibrated between this town and Zanesville ; that circumstance tended to its advantage, together with its eligible position on the Scioto, being the route from Pittsburgh to Louisville, and having a rich back country. With all these in its favour, Chilicothe has had one serious obstacle to contend with, and which indeed must counterbalance those local advantages so largely possessed. From the charter granted by Charles to Virginia, her bounds were indeterminate ; Kentucky, now one of the first states in the Union, was but a county, and she claimed authority over the unexplored region beyond the river. At the independence of the colonies she contented herself with the Ohio for her western boundary, reserving a tract between the Miami and Hockhocking rivers, for the payment of

the troops furnished by her in support of the general struggle. As this district with the rest of the western country was then in the possession of the Indians, and many of them hostile, it was extremely troublesome, and often so dangerous, for the surveyors, that much confusion has risen from the inaccuracies they were led into: many patents are found interfering with one another, and frequently three or four parties come forward with attestations of their right to the same district. The town of Chilicothe is in this curious predicament, and likely to give some employment to the gentlemen of the long robe.

Mounds and tumuli are here met with, and about thirty miles up the river, was a very extensive work of a circular form; a town now occupies the site, and having the streets laid off in the direction of the entrenchments, has received the name of Circleville. In Chilicothe are two printing offices, a brewery, a branch of the United States Bank, a land office, two churches, many stores, and several well conducted comfortable taverns.

Leaving it in a direction due east, and crossing the Scioto a few miles below, I came to the house of major G. a substantial farmer, who does not object to entertain a traveller, as no tavern is near at hand: the family was at breakfast, on coffee, corn and buckwheat cakes, boiled Indian corn, poached eggs, bacon, fowls, beef, venison, and a great variety of pickles and preserves; when this was removed, the same profusion again covered the table, for another traveller and myself, each paying 25 cents (1s. 1½d.). Filling my pockets with apples and peaches from the major's orchard, I pressed forward, not on the same frequented road hitherto pursued, but on one which having been cut by the State, is still called

the Big road, though in some parts it is lost for miles among long grass and shrubs. The compass now became necessary, as from the very scanty population through this district, inquiry is precluded: indeed, when an inhabitant is met with, his instructions are seldom so clear as those which the needle gives, "Oh, *I guess* you can't miss it, stranger; only keep the Big road." Such was my route, unmolested by company or by sounds, excepting that of now and then a playful squirrel, or perhaps a snake escaping from me; till late in the evening of the second day after leaving Chilicothe, when Raccoon Creek appeared before me, too deep to ford, owing to recent rains, and the Indian bridge (a large tree cut down in such a manner as to fall across the stream) carried away by the torrent; too late to return to the last house, nearly eight miles, I was making myself content to endure some of the inconveniences a back-woodsman (the character I had assumed) is called sometimes to bear, that of sleeping in the woods, with a log for a pillow and a bed, and curtained by the spangled arch of heaven. Recollecting however, to have seen a deserted cabin about half a mile back, at a little distance from the *Big* road, I retraced my steps, and finding it unoccupied by any living creature, took possession of it for the night: it appeared to have been used by some hunting party, and on the present occasion was certainly a convenience. With part of the trunk of a tree, I barricadoed the door, and addressed myself to sleep on some dry wood and grass; but the howling and barking of wolves prevented the enjoyment of that repose which fatigue had promised me. As morning approached, the howling became fainter; at dawn, it ceased; and, rising with the woodpecker,

I found the creek sufficiently reduced to allow fording; an indifferent tavern a few miles farther, supplied a very indifferent breakfast, which, with the wild raspberries, enabled me to reach Athens on the Hockhocking; intended, in addition to its being the county town of Athens, to compare in literary fame with that ancient seat of learning: a handsome college has been erected on an eminence near the town, and a track of land appropriated for its support by the State. The river is navigable for thirty miles above the town, and, passing by it, discharges into the Ohio.

Leaving Athens, I travelled up and down hills, through woods, creeks, and swamps, and over land which I have no desire again to visit: the greater part of it is very indifferent and stony, producing little more than small brush wood, and but thinly inhabited. As I approached Wolf Creek, a tributary stream to the Muskingum, the soil improved, good farms were seen, which in neatness exhibited a strong contrast to those of the indolent slovenly settlers between them and the Scioto. Hearing that some relatives of Mr. A. were settled on this creek, I deviated from my intended route, to see them. Assisted by various directions to pass by *certain* sugar-camps, chesnut-trees, and runs, I came to the creek, on the opposite side of which appeared a neat cottage in a garden studded with hollyhocks, roses, and other flowers: stepping across, from rock to rock, and by the little wicket-gate through the garden, I addressed the old lady, who was carding wool at the door, by name; knowing her, from the family-likeness, to be Mrs. A. Surprised at being thus accosted by a stranger, her employment was for a moment forgotten; but when I mentioned the welfare of her

sons, Robert and Adam, the one in England, the other in Pennsylvania, her hands refused their wonted labour, the wool dropped from her fingers, and, but for the timely interference of the daughter, with "Mother, what are you doing!" would have continued rolling to the creek. Poor woman! every thing gave way to the pleasure of hearing of a son, whom twenty years of absence had not estranged from her affections: the welcome stranger was brought in, refreshment placed before him, and then requested to repeat again and again all he knew of the separated branches of the family. I was indeed sorry the arrangements I had made did not allow me to remain longer than two or three hours, as it seemed to be, what the old lady called it, "the happiest moment she had known for many years:" with tears she wished me safe across the seas, that I might assure her son, his aged mother had not forgotten him.

A few miles farther east, and I once more beheld the waters of the Muskingum from the little town of Waterford, eighteen miles above Marietta, and forty below Zanesville, the windings of the river increasing the distance by water.

In the morning I crossed the Muskingum, and took a direction through the woods to an English settlement on Olive-green Creek. By attending to such directions as "*certain* oak trees," "*certain* runs," and "*certain* improvements," instead of the surer guidance of my compass, the walk of eight miles extended to fourteen. At length I was gratified with the sight of one of the houses, built of logs, with its mistress cleaning the door step, whose attitude and answer, when accosted, were full evidence of her origin. "You seem to be from the old

country, madam.”—“A! what dun yaw say?”—“What part are you from?”—“Fro Billinge, nigh Wiggin.”—“May I ask your name?”—“Whoi, I reckon they call’n me Taylyor.” You will perhaps be angry with me, for these impertinent questions to the old lady; but in meeting with persons from England, it is some amusement to *guess*, from their varied dialect, what county gave them birth. She seemed to discover at length that her inquisitor must be a countryman, and in broad Lancashire called her husband, “Payter, hoigh thee, hoigh thee, here’s a mon fro Loncasheer.” Peter, obedient to the summons, leaves the tree, that four more strokes of his axe might have felled to the ground, and by the smile on my countenance, which was difficult to restrain, recognizes this “mon fro Loncasheer,” as a resident of a neighbouring town to that he had lately left. Margaret in her turn was now ordered to put the kettle on; and while preparations for tea were going on, Peter and his brother John were incessant in their inquiries after the state of England, how markets were, wages, &c. &c. We then visited their neighbours, consisting of two families of the name of Cadwell, another named Gore, and a fourth, Britton: these emigrated with them, and are settled on adjoining tracts. Their land is rich, contains excellent coal, limestone, clay, and good water; it has produced, the last winter, sufficient sugar from the maple, of a fine quality, for their consumption. They gave two dollars per acre, payable by instalments within four years, or at a discount of eight per cent. cash: they hired persons to clear and fence a few acres at the rate of eight dollars per acre. Though they have not been here more than fourteen months, they have grown corn, potatoes, pumpkins,

cucumbers, greens, melons, and tobacco, sufficient to render them independent of their neighbours for support. Two horses, some fine pigs, cows, and poultry, (the goodness of the latter I had opportunity of proving) increase their comforts, and their satisfaction in the exchange of country. Yet the wife is an instance, among multitudes, of discontent with present circumstances, because they differ in some respects from we have been accustomed to. She complains, that she is not able to go to market every week, as in England, with a basket of butter and eggs on her arm, and with the results of their sale, to call at the draper's and grocer's; forgetting that this, which she used to think a toil, is now unnecessary: but her husband sometimes checks her with, "Who! Margett, I dunnot know what you would hev, we'en no rent t'pay, no toithe, and as for th' tax, we'en no raison for t' spaik."

On the 27th, at break of day, I left the industrious settlers on Olive-green Creek, turning my steps northward across Duck Creek: the road is good, but sometimes steep, over hills, which, when cleared, will be favourable for sheep; but the rich lands in other directions, prevent many from settling in this healthy, and in many respects desirable district. It contains coal, iron, salt, clay, excellent water; the bottom lands are remarkably rich, and the hills are suitable for wheat: the navigation of the Muskingum is seldom obstructed. But as the mass of emigrants presses farther westward, it will be overlooked for some time to come.

A walk of twelve miles brought me to breakfast, whence I proceeded twelve more to the next house, meeting no one but the postman, with

"News from all nations, lumb'ring at his back;

"True to his charge, the close-pack'd load behind."

Something like a town was here building, but as I only stopped for refreshment, shall take you ten miles farther, and introduce you to Zanesville, an increasing town, neatly built on the falls of the Muskingum, communicating by two bridges with Putnum on the right bank. A canal is cutting round the rapids, which, as the river is free for a considerable distance above, and several navigable streams empty themselves into it, promises much service to the town. The interlocking of the Cayahoga with the Muskingum is another circumstance promising much advantage, as the former discharges into Lake Erie.

Zanesville has a court-house, land-office, bank, brewery, and a full complement of stores and taverns. It is on the stage road from Pittsburgh to Louisville, and carries on a good business in flour, for which the numerous mill-seats in the neighbourhood render it well adapted.

After a walk of thirty-eight miles in a warm day, you will readily suppose I was highly gratified with the sight of the court-house spire of New Lancaster, from the hill to the eastward of it. Two or three villages, bearing the name of towns, occupy stations on the road, but they are too inconsiderable to waste your time by any attempt of mine to describe them. New Lancaster is known as a posting-town on the Louisville road, well built of brick, near the head of the Hockhocking, forty miles above Athens. It was first settled by Germans, or their descendants, from Lancaster in Pennsylvania; and though at a distance from navigable water, has become by their industry a town of some importance. About a mile north-east of the town is a perpendicular rock of granite, between three and four hundred feet high; its ap-

pearance is singular, from its insulated position in an extensive plain of alluvial soil and sand.

At the summit, which I gained with some labour and difficulty, is a chamber hollowed out of the rock, with one or two apertures from the top, supposed by some to have been used by the Indians in their predatory and hunting excursions. The marks of labour by tools on the rocks are, however, at variance with the supposition that it was their work, as the Indian is averse to any thing like manual labour, as derogating from his ideas of manly dignity. It is in combating these notions, which are inculcated upon them from infancy, that so much difficulty is felt in attempting their civilization. War and the chase are considered by them as the highest objects of ambition; in promoting which, wrestling, hunting, contempt of danger, endurance of pain, hunger, thirst, and fatigue, with fidelity to their trust, are encouraged with the greatest care, and they are stimulated to these by the prospect of distinction.

The conjectures respecting the Welsh expedition under prince Madoc, in the 12th century, seem more plausible when in connection with these works. The reports of a tribe speaking the Welsh language having been found on some of the branches of the Missouri, appear to corroborate this idea. It is to be wished, that the attempts now making to ascertain their correctness may be satisfactory, as additional interest will be attached to these antiquities, and probably more light will be thrown on the early history of this country.

A slight acquaintance with a resident of New Lancaster when in New York, led him, on seeing me enter the town, to insist on my taking quarters at his house, where I am received with all the

attention and freedom of an old friend; he is building boats on the Scioto, with which he intends going down to New-Orleans with flour and other produce at the close of the year.

From this hospitable stranger, like a bird of passage, I took my flight on the 31st, in a north-west direction, and crossing Darby and Walnut Creeks, with twenty-eight miles of good land, reached Columbus, Franklin county, the seat of Government, situated on the Scioto, immediately below where the Whetstone forms a junction with it. At the commencement of 1812, where Columbus stands, was a forest, and now in 1818, it contains 1600 inhabitants. The buildings are neat, and not without some pretensions to elegance, particularly the government-house, the bank, and the state penitentiary; they are all elevated, commanding fine views of the river and adjacent country. Through the inadvertence of a fellow-lodger in leaving a window open, I suffered some inconvenience from exposure to the night air, which being noticed by the landlady, called forth her sympathy and care: the larder and the store-room were ransacked to suit the taste of the invalid, and every thing done which thought could suggest to render his stay comfortable. I detail these apparently trifling particulars respecting my worthy hostess, Mrs. Armstrong, of the "Republican Hall," Columbus, merely to shew, that though the Americans may be intent on their own interest, yet their feelings are not blunted nor callous to the dictates of humanity, nor to the tenderer impulse of sympathy.

Nine miles above, on the Whetstone, is Worthington, where an endeavour has been made by an association of individuals, to establish a cotton, a

linen, a shoe, and a hat manufactory. Such concerns have too frequently fallen under the influence of a few swindlers, to the great injury of the patriotic promoters; which, it is to be feared, is to a certain degree the case at Worthington. White marble of inferior quality is found on the Scioto.

Recruited by the attentions of my hostess, and impelled by a desire to attend a treaty to be held with the Indians at Fort St. Mary's, I crossed the Scioto early, September 2d: passed through Franklinton, the county town, directly opposite to the capital, and that night slept at New London, Madison county, twenty-four miles distant; thence continuing my way through a rich well-watered district to Urbanna, seat of justice for Champaign county, eligibly situated for business, on the road from Cincinnati to Sandusky, Fort Meigs, and Detroit; but in point of health will probably suffer for some time from an extensive wet prairie on the east, and the inundations of Mad river on the west. These inconveniences, however, will doubtless not be suffered very long, as from the extreme richness of the land on Mad river, with the practicability of rendering it navigable, measures are adopting to promote so desirable an object.

From Urbanna, my road is tedious: twenty-seven miles through thick woods and low swampy grounds, with few other inhabitants than squirrels, snakes, and racoons, lead me to hail the appearance of Picqua with some emotions of pleasure. The rapids of the Big Miami are before me, and as at present there is not the advantage of a bridge, I must ford it: after the heat and fatigue of the day, the water is refreshing, and soon every toil is forgotten in the accommodations of a very comfortable tavern, the

landlord of which and his wife I find on inquiry were, twenty-five years ago, residents near Seven-oaks, in Kent; he settled first in the upper part of New York state, and was afterwards induced, by the high character he had heard of the Miami country, to remove to this quarter. Several minor treaties with different tribes of Indians have been held at this place, which was a military station. In its neighbourhood, are found those antiquities which are common in this western country.

Eighteen miles from Picqua I came to Fort Loramie, on Loramie Creek, forming an angle of the late Indian boundary. It is a block-house, built of logs, and served during the late war as a resting place for the troops.

Its occupant, lieutenant Flynn, an Irishman, anticipates great improvement to his finances, from the numerous visitors to his hovel, and is amply provided with his favourite whisky, dealing it out with many encomiums on its real or supposed virtues. Showing some respect to his remarks, I journeyed on, passing waggons, cattle, hogs, sheep, Indians, and whites, going to the treaty. At the end of fifteen miles, I heard the drum, hitherto a discordant sound, but now delightful music, and soon after saw the American stripes waving over the council-house of Fort St. Mary's: from this day's walk, repose was necessary, and in a rudely constructed cabin, with a buffalo's skin between me and the earth, I forgot in sleep that I was in a wilderness among savages.

Two companies of military are here, more with the view of preserving order among the whites, and preventing the sale of whiskey to the Indians, than of overawing these, as their numbers on the present

occasion would overwhelm this handful, were they disposed to irregularities. It is supposed above eight thousand Indians are encamped around us; consisting of Miamis, Delawares, Tawas, Mohawks, Pottowattomies, Shawanese, Sioux, Mingoes, Chippawas, Kickapoos, Oneidas, Wyandots; many of these have no interest whatever in the land, for the disposal of which this meeting has been assembled, but are drawn by the prospect of good living, and for the disposal of their little articles of manufacture.

10th. An occurrence has taken place, unpleasant in its nature, and at first threatening in its consequences the good understanding, if not the safety of the whole body. Two Chippawa chiefs differing with each other, animadverted with some asperity on the part each took in the late war with England. One of them, fired at the idea of having reflections cast upon his honour, drew his knife, and in an instant buried it in the body of his brother chief. Knowing the wound to be mortal, his anger was satisfied, and giving himself up to the friends of his victim, awaited with calmness his own death, then in all probability necessary to appease their spirit of revenge. The agent of government interfered, assembled the principal chiefs of the tribes with the relations of the deceased, and then offered to cover (as they term it) the body, that is, by placing near it presents of cloth, silks, and various articles, till they were decided to be equivalent to the loss sustained. The agent opened the business, by an interpreter, to the Indians squatting on the ground before him in a semicircle; stating the object of the meeting, with his desire to mediate and preserve unity among them. On his concluding, a Shawa-

nese stood up, a fine athletic expressive figure, and (as interpreted) thus spoke :—

“ My red brothers, for brothers we are, and as brothers ought to be, we now meet in the presence of the Great Spirit, whose we are, and whom we serve, on an occasion painful, and calculated to rouse our passions of animosity ; but let us be cool, calm, collected ; be thankful to the Great Spirit for inclining our Great Father (the President,) to offer mediation in our differences, to be solicitous for our welfare. Let us hear him (pointing to the agent), consider well the counsel he has to give, that, if accordant with those principles of honour we have so proudly maintained, that sun may set without witnessing our hands imbrued in blood ”

A general acclamation of applause was returned by his red brothers to this animated speech, of which you are here presented with a very imperfect idea. The intonation and attitudes in the delivery, your first orators need not have been ashamed to imitate. Several others stood up, exhibiting great strength of mind, and copiousness of idea, in their speeches, as well as a full conviction of a Supreme, and some faint conception of their duty to Him as his creatures. A Chippawa chief then rose, and addressed the agent to this effect :

“ I believe I speak the sentiments of my nation in thanking our great Father, whose representative you are, for his interposition with us this day : that sun is nigh setting, which, but for your interference might have gone down upon our wrath ; night instead of removing, would have heightened our revenge, and to-morrow's sun had risen upon the murders of our tomahawks : but to you are we indebted for thus escaping the cries of blood.—

Before, our eyes were darkened by passion, we could not see; now we see. We had doubts as to the implication of our honour, and of our rights as men;—they are dispelled: and we now offer you our thanks for your friendly counsel and advice.”

A burst of “Yogh! yogh! yogh!” from the band of warriors, testified their approbation of this elegant expression of their gratitude. An old squaw was then led forward, and having been deprived by this catastrophe of her only son, on whom she was partly dependent for support, having lost her husband in the war, she stated her willingness to adopt his murderer in his place. The mark of death was removed, and with the bow, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife of his victim, he entered upon his new relationship. The affair closed by the agent bringing forward the presents, and a request from one of the chiefs to be comforted with a little of their great Father’s milk,* while watching through the night with the body of their deceased brother.

Fort St. Mary’s, 120 miles north from Cincinnati, was an important post in the Indian war, but has been suffered to decay; it is of wood, and surrounded with palisades. During the last English war it was used as a station for troops, and now serves as a store-house for the goods and provisions necessary while carrying on the present treaty. The lands round are rich, and its situation is such as will invite the building of a town, and insure its consequence.

The St. Mary’s river, at the head of which it is, nine miles east of that of the Wabash, about the same distance from Loramie’s Creek, which empties

* Whisky.

into the Big Miami, and not much farther from the source of the Au Glaise, which (with the St. Mary's) discharges into the Maumee of Lake Erie, all these navigable streams give this port such advantages for the disposal of its produce as few situations can command. I am particularly pleased with two prairies between this place and Fort Recovery, on the Wabash: one of them is two miles in length, by one in breadth; the other, seven by three miles, bounded by woods, which supply me, while rambling, with abundance of plums, apples, and nuts. A few miles distant from St. Mary's, on the east, is Wapakannetta, a neat town, inhabited by Shawanese, who, under the guidance of a person employed by the Society of Friends, live after the manner of civilized man. They have a saw and grist mill, and a tavern kept by an aged Indian, for the accommodation of strangers; this town, including eight miles square, they have reserved for themselves. Thence rambling in a northerly and then western course, I entered the part of Indiana, for the cession of which its wild inhabitants were invited to St. Mary's: falling in with a party of Shawanese, their chief, Scutesh, recognized me, handed me his tomahawk to smoke, and then presented me to the tribe. Fancy me now herding with a race of beings designated as savage, in appearance almost any thing but human, depending upon the chase for support, with no fixed habitation; and I am much mistaken if your curiosity would prompt a wish to be a fellow-visitor to Scutesh. Their provision being expended, it was necessary to turn out for supplies; and in joining them, I had an opportunity of contrasting my capability of continued exertion with theirs. Three deer were the fruit of the

morning's sport, which being brought to the encampment, were skinned and cut up, but neither cleaned, nor any part removed, except such of the entrails and filth as escaped during the operation. Two stout stakes, with prongs, being driven into the ground, a pole about eight feet long was laid across, and on it the venison suspended over a fire made and kept up by the squaws. The Indians and myself (by this time you will say half an Indian) then commenced dancing, or rather leaping, round it, using the most violent, yet regular, gesticulations, with shouts, answered with the shouts and drumming (that is, beating with deer hoofs on a distended skin) by two of the party seated on the ground at one side of the fire. Respite from this violent exercise became necessary, even to my companions; and those parts of the animal nearest the flames having become scorched, advantage was taken of the interval of rest: my friend, with his scalping knife (long noted for sporting with human flesh) cutting a slice, still wet with blood, handed it to his guest, who from motives of policy, not inclination, I assure you, swallowed it with many feigned expressions of satisfaction; and to dancing again. One or two rounds more, however, exhausted me, so as to oblige me at the second pause of rest, to drop the character of Indian, and retire from the circle; and even policy accepts with difficulty the bountiful portion assigned me by the kindness of my copper-coloured friend: the squaw was then ordered to bring some corn, which when boiled, and some whisky, enabled my stomach to retain its former dainty morsel. The whisky co-operates with the fatigues of the day, to induce sleep; in it I lose the recollection of every thing disagreeable, and though at one time fancy

hears the "yogh! yogh! yogh!" or receives the pipe of friendship, yet with equal facility she also transports me to

"My former partners of the peopled scene."

Pleasing as it is to gain the confidence of even a savage, it appeared in this instance likely to be attended with unwished-for results. A writer you are acquainted with, justly remarks, "A desire to please and to be pleased, generally causes a reciprocity of feeling." Scutesh, probably gratified with my conformity to their manners, seemed desirous to shew me greater marks of his regard; and tendering to my choice two young squaws, held out the possibility of my becoming one day the leader of a tattooed band, armed *alamode* with scalping-knife, tomahawk, and rifle. In this delicate situation, you think of the Indian's keen resentment of an insult, the determined perseverance with which he seeks satisfaction for an affront, and you wish Minerva's ægis to shield your friend. No paint had been spared by the damsels in decorating their persons, and certainly some credit was due to their taste in this respect: their black strong hair plaited, secured by silver, and relieved with tufts of feathers; large silver rings, bringing their ears almost in contact with their shoulders; some non-descript covering of the body, reaching to the knees, and the remainder closely bound with party-coloured silk; the feet covered with mocassins, very richly embroidered with silk; silver, and feathers; and over the shoulders a Spanish cloke of blue cloth, with three zigzag rows of silver round ornaments. Between joke and earnest, the intended honour was declined; but judging from his manner that it was not prudent to remain after this unintended slight of kindness

I took the earliest opportunity of escaping, and within forty-eight hours, with the assistance of my trusty guide, the compass, found myself again among white inhabitants. Passing Fort Recovery, through Picqua, and down the eastern branch of the Big Miami, I arrived at Dayton, the principal town of Montgomery county, well situated on an extensive plain at the junction of Mad river with the Big Miami. A resident of this town has enriched himself by accepting an offer similar to the one I have just refused; receiving several hundred acres of land with her as a dowry: to it he is welcome, and to the company of her relatives, one of whom, a squaw with her papoosies (children) at her back, came to the town while I was there to see her white brother. From Dayton I pursued my route by Centreville, through an uneven and variously rich country to Lebanon, September 26th.

In perusing Evans's "Sketch of Religions," you have perhaps felt some little curiosity respecting the Shakers, (as they are called, though by themselves styled Believers.) A woman, Ann Lee, whose reputation is not unblemished, appears to have been the founder of this sect, first in Manchester, England; but having there rendered herself and followers amenable to the laws, she crossed the Atlantic with many of them, in hopes of disseminating her principles, uncontrolled, through the United States. Had they, as a society, confined themselves merely to religious opinions, the American legislature would not have interfered with them; rightly considering that no human authority is warranted in attempting to control the conscience, and that the government which favours one particular division of religious profession, to the

depression or exclusion of the others, equally calculated for the promotion of the social virtues, injures the whole community, and is guilty of political suicide. But this new sect has certain traits which tend to dissolve the links of society, and which render it a proper subject for legislative animadversion.

27th. Early this morning I walked to Union, (or Shakerstown), four miles west from Lebanon, and introduced myself as a stranger desirous of knowing their several tenets, and of having an opportunity, by personal interview, of correcting any erroneous reports which may have been made, respecting them or their mode of worship. After some consultation among their leaders, I received permission to make any enquiries I might think proper; but their answers as to the character of the person claimed as their founder,—the essentials necessary to become one of their body, or “a Believer,” &c. appears to me so nearly allied to blasphemy, that you will readily excuse me for not presenting you with them. Their explanation of the terms on which what they term marriage is allowed, forbidding it on every principle by which it is sanctioned by that revelation they profess partly to believe, was so opposite to any thing like decency, that none but the filthiest pen could prostitute itself in detailing it. The bell for worship put an end to the discussion: the men, disencumbering themselves of their coats and neckcloths, formed into squares six deep; and a pair of folding-doors being thrown back, discovered the women drawn up in the like manner, each party having four upon their right, who in the sequel appeared to be the regulators of their motions: two men then

addressed the assembly on the manner in which the Divine Being has been pleased to communicate with some of his creatures, and that he still manifests himself to them by inspiration; quoting the examples of David and others, as proofs that dancing, singing, and clapping of hands, are acceptable offerings of praise to Him. A few verses, the burden of which was 'dancing, or agitation of the frame, a sign of devotion,' were next sung, accompanied with slight motions of the feet, increasing and exalting the voice as they proceeded: the hymn being ended, a short prayer was offered, that their hearts and lips might be moved in praise; a general movement now of the feet took place, accompanied by clapping of hands, twirling on their heels, leaping, shouting, screaming, while the regulators on the flanks sung with some little variation, "Lo diddle! ho diddle! lo diddle ho!" ceasing at intervals, to recover from the violent exertions; some, however, unable to resist the impulse of their feelings continued to start suddenly, screaming and leaping in such a manner, that a stranger could not suppose them any other than unfortunates who had eluded the vigilance of their keepers. At the expiration of an hour, their worship ceased, perhaps from mere exhaustion; the men put on their coats, the women such of their caps and handkerchiefs as had been displaced in twirling, the folding-doors separated them again, and each, by opposite doors retired to their own apartments. I then left them, convinced and thankful that to be a believer indeed, it is not necessary to be a Shaker. In neatness and industry the Shakers are patterns for imitation; and a traveller hearing of their towns, knows by the fences, fields, gardens, and houses, when he is near them.

With various manufactures, as straw hats, shoes, brooms, baskets, tubs, barrels; and grain, garden-seeds, fruit, &c. they largely supply the neighbouring country.

On the 28th, at day-break, I left Lebanon, having a warm and pleasant walk to Cincinnati, stopping to refresh at houses by the way on new cider and excellent wheat-bread; the cider $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents ($3\frac{1}{2}$ d.) per quart, with offer of as many peaches or apples as I chose to take. A welcome is given me to Cincinnati, after an absence of seven weeks, during which I had traversed nearly nine hundred miles. I here find your welcome letter, dated the early part of July, in which you express a wish to know the average expenses of travelling in this country, with their proportionate conveniences. Stage fare is rated 10 cents ($5\frac{1}{2}$ d.) per mile and an additional dollar and a quarter (5s. 7d.) may be reckoned for meals and lodging; by this mode the traveller passes expeditiously over the country, but, as his opportunities of observation must necessarily be limited, if his time and inclination will permit, more liberty will be enjoyed as a pedestrian or horseman; in either case, a dollar (4s. 6d.) per day may be taken as an average for his own living, and another for his horse. Families travel with much more economy, some in waggons, taking their bedding and provisions with them, and sometimes encamping in the woods, in preference, during the summer, to the supposed superior accommodations of a house. I have met with many parties early in the morning, cooking their breakfast, and feeding their horses previous to resuming their journey. Few English can do this, as by the force of habit, any temporary deviation from the mode of life to

which they have been accustomed, would be considered by them as almost the termination of existence. That you derive any entertainment from my communications is a gratification to me, as it leads me to expect you will in return write often to,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XII.

Covington, Kentucky,
Sept. 30, 1818.

To show you that the concluding sentence of my last from Cincinnati, was intended, as expressed, to keep up the communication regular, and lessen in idea the distance between us, I commence this letter on the day that was forwarded, at this place, opposite to Cincinnati, and which is laid out so as in appearance to form part of it. This town is built on the west bank of the river Licking, at its junction with the Ohio. On the eastern side is Newport, where the United States have an arsenal.

Oct. 1st. Rising early, I passed through a populous and fertile district, whose orchards of peach and apples are loaded with a redundancy of fruit; the inhabitants were busily engaged in drying them for the winter, and distilling brandy from them. To remove the quantities that cover the ground, the hogs are turned in, to feed on fruit, which on your side of the water are counted dainties only for the rich and noble.

Arrived at the Big Bone Valley, the cemetery of the Mammoths, I take up my quarters at a neat commodious tavern, near the spot where the adventurous colonel Boon reared his cabin amid numerous hostile Indians. Here he settled as a hunter, on account of game, which resorted in large bodies to the salt-springs; and for which, also, it is supposed the mammoth found its way hither, perhaps also to prey more easily upon the other animals. It is to

the exertions of the late Dr. Goforth, of Cincinnati, father to the lady of general G. that we are indebted for a more intimate acquaintance with this enormous creature. Unsuspicious, desirous of promoting the knowledge of natural history, affable and courteous to strangers, he became the dupe of a countryman of ours, who, under the pretence of taking drawings from them, obtained possession of them, shipped them for Europe, and then palmed them upon the British public as the fruits of his own exertions.

Large additions are making to the tavern, for the accommodation of visitors to the springs, the principal parts of which, on analyzation, are sulphur and magnesia.

After a night's repose, I pursued my walk, encircled with the morning mist; breakfasted at a neat farm-house, in company with a number of persons assembled on the anniversary of a missionary society established in this part of Kentucky; crossed the mouth of Sugar Creek; and proceeding along the banks of the Ohio for fifteen miles, reached Ghent, an inconsiderable town. At this place I crossed the Ohio to the pleasant town of Vevay, county town of Switzerland, Indiana, settled by a number of Swiss emigrants, who, with a view to the cultivation of the vine, were favoured by Congress in the time for the payment of their land; this is the commencement of the vintage, which induces me to protract my stay. The grape chiefly cultivated is the Cape, the wine from which, similar to claret, would, if allowed to get old, be equal to port; it sells from one dollar to one and a half per gallon. Besides their vineyards, they have extensive peach and apple orchards, from which

they draw large quantities of cider and peach brandy. Their houses, after the custom of their old country, surrounded by gardens, are pallisaded round, with each its gate surmounted by an arch. Interesting as Switzerland is to most of our circle, much pleasure is felt in loitering among these industrious people, who, for the sake of peace, have severed themselves from their favourite valleys, to enjoy more certain security as citizens of the United States. They still preserve the remembrance of that land, in its language and its pastimes, and in their houses are seen prints illustrative of its history, particularly that recording the enthusiasm caught by the people, as resulting from the well-known exploit of the heroic William Tell.

A few miles from Vevay, a small party of Scotch are enjoying a retirement from the fields of Waterloo, exchanging the weapons, with which they there supported the national character for military prowess, for the peaceful implements of husbandry; and foregoing the prospect of earning fresh laurels, for the quiet, peace, and comfort of a planter's life.

You are not strongly tinctured with the spirit of aristocracy, and yet I fancy a glance at the company which surrounds our tavern table would excite some ideas of precedence and rank in society, calculated to lessen the enjoyment you might otherwise feel. Near the head of the table sit two very elegant and accomplished females, then doctors, clerks, carpenters, merchants, lawyers, hatters, travellers, and printers, who by their general deportment gain your respect, and in conversation do not, by any technical expression or brutal barbarism, speak their line of life, or betray want of education. The hatter was known by his hands having received a portion

of the colour intended for the beaver, and the carpenter by the appearance of a square and saw peeping out of the pocket of a handsome blue coat.

October 10th. Observing a large covered skiff with a family on board bring to, off the vineyards, I hailed the man with the usual salutation of an American, "Well, stranger, I guess you are moving to the western country;" he, like his countrymen, scratched his head, and answered, "I think something *about* it." But recollecting the cautions which had been given him against designing persons, he seemed averse to any farther acquaintance. Knowing from his dialect whence he came, I inquired how long since he left Hull. At the mention of Hull by a person who he thought knew as little of it as the land in the moon, he threw aside his shyness, and in walking up to the town, we rambled in discourse over Holderness, Pidsey-Burton, (where he came from), Swanland, Cave, and the surrounding district. As his intention was to settle near Mr. Birkbeck, it was soon arranged that I should accompany him, and, leaving the family at the falls of Ohio, reconnoitre the country between it and the Wabash.

Parting from the agreeable society I met with in Vevay, in company with Mr. Ainley, (the farmer from Holderness), his wife, three children, and a man from Lincolnshire, after stopping an hour or two at Port William, Kentucky river, we reached Madison, seat of justice for Jefferson county, Indiana, a town of rapid growth, well built of brick, and, from the quality of the neighbouring country, having a fair prospect of increase. Thence changing turns at the oars, we continued our voyage, touching at New London, Westport, and Utica,

with no pretensions to the title of towns, except in the vanity or ambition of their several projectors.

On the morning of the 12th, we came to off Jeffersonville, Clarke county, Indiana, for breakfast, and to visit the land-office, where maps of the district, shewing the entered and unentered sections, may be seen. Leaving it, we crossed the river, and landed at Louisville, Jefferson county, Kentucky, seated above and at the Falls of the Ohio, which rendering it hitherto the depôt for merchandise sent by water, have raised it to its present state of prosperity. The amazing business carried on upon the Ohio has shewn the utility of cutting a canal round the Falls, the only serious impediment to its complete navigation. Cincinnati has taken the lead in the discussion of plans and forming arrangements for carrying it into effect. Party spirit and local interest have raised objections to it, and retarded the progress of this measure, calculated so materially to benefit this extensive country: the principal opposition has been made by Louisville, as, unless it be cut on the Kentucky side, much of her trade will be lost. Louisville is six hundred and ninety miles distant, by water, from Pittsburgh, and fifteen hundred from New Orleans. Boats, in descending, generally land their cargoes here, and reload at Shipping-port nearly two miles distant, below the rapids, thus conducing to the prosperity of this part of a country but lately known to the world. Besides numerous arks and barges, employing hundreds of hands, steam-boats, from one hundred to five hundred tons burden are seen, which in the elegance of their accommodations, vie with those on the Atlantic rivers and coast. Including two on the stocks, and three completing

their works and repairing, thirteen steam-boats present themselves at one view, for the conveyance of passengers and goods to New Orleans and intermediate places.

In case he should find it necessary to descend the river still farther, Mr. Ainley engaged a pilot for two dollars to conduct his boat down the rapids: then taking in his family, with myself, at Shippingport, within an hour we were landed at New Albany, Clarke county, Indiana.

Here he has hired a room for a month, at three dollars, leaving his wife and three children, while with the Lincolnshireman and myself he proceeded north; and at the end of eleven miles, we slept at a Welshman's house, on the 20th.

About two miles from New Albany, we ascended a range of high land, extending from Jeffersonville to near the Wabash, from the top of which our eyes ranged over the low ground, the river, rapids, islands, vessels, and the towns of Louisville and Jeffersonville.

With all the unfavourable reports of the backwoods, their savage inhabitants, seclusion from the world, total want of all the comforts which habit has rendered necessary to the enjoyment of life, of their requiring from the settler in their thickets a renunciation of all those ideas of pleasure which he might innocently indulge in, and of his being probably doomed to see his family dropping one by one, without one friend, one soul endowed with sensibility to tender his consoling aid,—persons are not discouraged. The road we are now travelling is an evidence of this; we continually meet persons returning to the eastward, to escort their families to new possessions, and are overtaking waggons,

conveying families to wild, uncultivated lands. Much is said of the dreariness of these solitudes:—"Wood—wood—interminable wood," is represented as bounding the prospect of the western settler, as excluding him from all connection with the civilized world, and as almost arresting the light of heaven in its endeavour to befriend the unfortunate exile. Much more comfort, on the contrary, have I seen enjoyed by the inhabitants of these dreary wilds, falsely so called, than is the lot of a vast majority of that country's population which is eulogized as the "Happy Island."

The aspect of the country to Paoli, seat of justice for Orange county, about fifty miles from New Albany, is hilly and stony, with small intervals of swamp: as this is principally occasioned by fallen timber obstructing the watercourses, it may be considered as only a temporary inconvenience. From Paoli our road is still uneven, and, keeping in mind that most of it has been settled since the census of 1815, is well inhabited. We are rarely out of sight of habitations, and these, though so recently erected, furnish us with every comfort in board and lodging; some of them intimating to the traveller, by the expressive notice, "Entertainment," their ability to supply his wants; where this notice is wanting, and a regular tavern is not near, any house is open to him.

At French Lick, a strong sulphureous saline spring, we left the usual route to Vincennes, and directed our course due west between the Patoka and White rivers. A block-house still remains at French Lick, formerly a military station between Louisville and Vincennes. Here we saw large flocks of parroquets, whose beautiful plumage

tempted the Yorkshireman to spend his powder, that he might handle "such bonny-looking birds." Not content with these, and exulting in the thought that no one dare, in this country, challenge his right to use a gun, partridges and squirrels fell beneath his aim. At length we suffered some uneasiness from the avidity with which he indulged in a gratification so long debarred him; for leaving the big road in quest of game, and fancying the path we were then in would again communicate with it, we continued wandering, till a boy who was looking after cattle, "guessed we were five miles off the road." A consultation immediately took place, but as the boy only *guessed*, my companions supposed, or wished to suppose, we were not so far astray. Mr. Ainley took one direction, and the Lincolnshireman with myself, another, making signals, for some time, to each other by shouts and firing. The path we took soon terminated at a spot where, by the marks of fire, we guessed some hunters had encamped, leaving us the alternative of trusting to the compass, or sleeping like them in the woods. This my companion dreaded, and very willingly agreed to follow, though without comprehending how the compass can show the way; and when the bushes scratched his face, hands, and legs, he bestowed many a hearty blessing on the sportsman. After breaking our way through bush and bramble, (whose luscious fruit was then unheeded,) for three or four miles, my companion shewing his ignorance and anger by frequently wishing "he had never been led by that foolish thing," meaning the compass, and myself an almost *sansculotte*, our spirits revived with the sight of cattle, enclosures,

“ And curling smoke from cottages ascend.”

On entering one of them, the good woman noticed my situation, very significantly *guessing* I had been in the bushes, invited me in, and pitying the stranger's plight, very kindly offered me some of her husband's clothes if necessary. So seasonable an offer was not to be slighted, and on trial finding them as convenient as those left in the bush, all his right and title to them were transferred. Two dollars are not mispent on this specimen of American domestic manufacture, as they appear strong enough to accompany me through a long peregrination, and probably may then serve to give an idea of the degree of independence enjoyed by the American farmer.

The land between the Patoka and White rivers, pleases me more than any I have hitherto seen, of what remains at the disposal of the government. The space between the two rivers varies from ten to twenty miles; high land in the middle, and sloping on either side. White river is a large navigable stream discharging into the Wabash, as does the Patoka, and so communicating with the Ohio and Mississippi.

In this extensive district are found the oak, chestnut, hickory, walnut, maple, cherry, mulberry, beech, strawberry, and white clover; it is not so heavily timbered as to present those objections to Europeans which other parts have done, and at the same time is sufficiently so to obviate the inconveniences occasioned by the want of wood to settlers on prairies. It is settling rapidly, and promises, from its advantages of navigation, to be a very important district.

27th. Crossing the Patoka, we came to Prince-

ton, Gibson county, a town known to British emigrants, by its vicinity to English Prairie, in Illinois, where Mr. Birkbeck has fixed his residence. Here are some brick buildings, but the chief are of hewn log or frame. Three English families are now living here, till dwellings can be erected for them at the Prairie.

Princeton is distant from the Patoka two miles, and nearly ten from the Wabash. As we approached it, the land, which before was hilly, became flat, and heavily timbered.

Continuing our walk, over land varying in quality, we arrived at Harmony, twenty-three miles from Princeton: this is a very interesting settlement of Germans, presenting a remarkable proof of the influence which opinion exercises over the human mind. Here is a large body of people, active, industrious, possessed of much physical strength, yet unanimously resigning all their individual energies to the despotic control and government of one man, whose word and nod are as imperative as the mandate of the Russian autocrat; yet he has no life-guards, no armed force, no bastille, no executioner, to give efficacy to his command. Mr. Rapp is, with them, over all things (ecclesiastical, civil, political, commercial,) supreme. The general appearance of health and content in the people, proves the wisdom with which he orders the diet, exercise, and association; while the astonishing abundance of produce, and of the various articles of manufacture, equally manifests his skill in arranging and guiding the physical powers of the community. Each individual has, or believes he has, an equal interest in the land and general stock, to which he at first contributed his property, and

daily adds his labour and skill; yet they are pitied by their American neighbours, for the implicit obedience they pay, and the absolute subjection they are under, to their leader, in whose sole name, it is said, the tract is purchased, and at whose sole disposal is all the property upon it. Their first settlement was near Pittsburgh, which, as the country round became populous, increased in value; upon which he sold it to great advantage, and removed with his whole colony to this much larger and richer estate.

The town displays much taste and judgment in the projector. A neat church, with a steeple, stands at the upper part of the street, at the northern corner of which is the residence of Mr. Rapp, a large brick building, with an observatory at the top whence he has a view of the whole place. Each cottage has a flower-garden in front, and on either side of the street is a row of Lombardy poplars, giving a very rural and cheerful appearance to the whole. At the southern corner is a tavern, provided with every necessary for persons resorting to the town for trade, and opposite to it is a large building used as a store, where the accounts of the establishment are kept; here payment is made for whatever is purchased and whatever work is done, by the wheelwright, smith, or other mechanics. Shorter streets intersect the main one at right angles.

Resuming our route on the 29th, after crossing several drains cut by the Harmonites, for the improvement of their low grounds, we came to the Wabash, along whose winding and thickly-wooded bank we ascended for four or five miles; then taking the advantage of a ferry, we landed in the state of Illinois.

Before we quit Indiana you would wish to know more of it, than merely the general character of the soil in that district to which I have invited your attention. Its constitution and government are subjects that materially interest such as are, or contemplate the probability of being, its citizens.

The appointment of governor and lieutenant-governor is for three years, and may be renewed once. The salary of the former is 1000 dollars per annum. The lieutenant-governor receives two dollars per day while the legislature is in session. Any person arrived to twenty-one years of age is eligible to the legislature, and at twenty-five years old may be chosen into the senate, but must hold no office when elected.

The supreme court of judicature is composed of three judges, appointed by the governor and senate, for seven years, having an appellate jurisdiction, and is stationary at the seat of government, with a salary not exceeding 800 dollars each. The circuit court consists of a presiding judge, and two associates, who are to hold courts in every county, in rotation. The president is ballotted for by the legislature, and the associates by the people; their term is also for seven years. Sheriffs, clerks, and justices are elected by the people, the first for three years, the two latter for seven.

The choice of militia officers rests with those who are liable to militia duty, excepting those above the rank of colonel, who are appointed by the commissioned officers.

Slavery is for ever excluded. The constitution may be amended at the end of twelve years, but never so as to allow slavery.

In passing an act for erecting Indiana into a

State, Congress appropriated, in addition to the school section in each township, one entire township for the support of a seminary of learning, and four sections for fixing the seat of government, which at present is held at Corydon, Harrison's county.

After taking this succinct view of this interesting State, I return to where I left you, at the ferry-house on the right bank of the Wabash, a log cabin, whose owner, from a love of indolence, and his time being partly engrossed by his ferry, cannot entertain travellers much to their satisfaction or his own; he recommended us, however, to Judge Thompson's, a few miles farther on the road to English Prairie, where our repast fully compensated for the disappointment at the ferry, and gave a pretty good sample of the produce of the country; for while a fine wild turkey was preparing for us, with excellent ham, French beans, and potatoes, the children rambled to a small distance from the house, and returned with a load of wild grapes and cherries, which, with wild honey and cream, made no contemptible dessert.

On approaching the Prairies, the timber is smaller and more scattered. At the end of twenty miles from the ferry, in a north-west direction, we entered what is distinguished as "The Big Prairie," many miles in extent, interspersed with small clumps of trees. From Mr. Flower and family I received a polite reception, which was extended also to my companion; this, considering their situation, is the more to be noticed, as their house was not completed, and their supplies of grain, flour, and vegetables, were drawn from Harmony: they were building other log-houses for the people; were

enclosing a garden, and had cut two large stacks of hay from the Prairie for their cattle during the winter.

The soil, (schistose), appears to disadvantage after the rich lands I have lately gone over, but they seem satisfied in being able to till it without the labour of clearing it of timber. The unfavourable reports which have been circulated respecting the settlement, (perhaps from sinister motives), appeared to me in a very great degree unfounded: they have good water at the depth of from four to ten feet: the situation is not swampy, neither is it exposed to the inundations of the Wabash.

By Mr. Birkbeck I was treated with the same attention I received from Mr. Flower: they reside about a mile and a half from each other; and each of the parties appears to feel as though it were the seat of his earliest associations. I asked one of the ladies "whether they had no desire to return to England, after experiencing the loss of that society to which they had been accustomed?" Her answer proved that they had not hastily or thoughtlessly put into practice a resolution suggested by the unfortunate posture of affairs in that country. "As long as those causes exist, which induced us to leave England, we can have no desire to return; as for society, even supposing no other could be obtained, our own families afford it; and as for seeking it in what on your side of the water is called 'the world,' experience has already convinced us that all it can offer is vapid and unsatisfying." Mr. Birkbeck is busily employed in making brick, to replace his present log buildings.

Three miles distant from him is another settlement; and on the northern part of Mr. Flower's

tract a town-plat was surveying, to be named New-Albion.

As the season was now too far advanced for me to visit St. Louis, as at first intended, I turned my steps southward, over an uneven country, diversified with wood and prairie; crossed the Little Wabash, at a mill-seat and small settlement whose name was not sufficiently established to enter in the journal, and travelling nearly sixty miles, with occasional injunctions to "keep the big road," varied sometimes to "keep the three-notch road,"* came to Shawnee town, on the Ohio, a few miles below the mouth of the Big Wabash. I passed many extensive ponds formed by the overflowing of this river, some of them one or two miles in length, abounding with wild ducks, geese and cranes.

From the situation of Shawnee town, its inhabitants might be supposed to partake of the nature of the wild duck, for every year they expect to be driven, by the waters, to their upper stories, as land high enough to avoid them is not to be found within a mile of the place; the consequent unhealthiness of such a spot is apparent in the sallow complexions of those who here deprive themselves of many comforts, and risk both health and life, for the sake of gain; considerable business being done here, as it is on the road from the southern States to St. Louis, and the Missouri, and the land-office is here. The number of waggons, horses and passengers crossing, and waiting to cross the Ohio, was so great, that a great part of the morning was spent in

* The tracks or roads from one settlement to another in the woods, are marked by one notch in the bark of the trees for a foot-path, two for a bridle-road, and three for a waggon route.

waiting for my turn, ; at length I grew impatient, and taking the opportunity of a skiff, turned my back on Illinois, and landed in the State of Kentucky. The walk to Morganfield, (eighteen miles), though partly through swamp, was pleasant, as for many miles we enjoyed a fine prospect of the river. The wild grape, now ripening in great abundance, offered a grateful relief from the thirst occasioned by the heat. The weather is now very similar to what you experience in England at this season; warm noons, with cold mornings and evenings.

Morganfield is but a small place, containing two or three stores, and as many taverns, at one of which I had a good dinner, supper, bed and breakfast, for eighty-two cents, (about 3s. 8d.), with this, and a plentiful repast on Indian corn and poultry on the road, I journeyed forward to Henderson, or Red Banks, on the Ohio, distant twenty miles. The next day to Owensburgh, or Yellow Banks, also situated on the river. Then leaving that beautiful stream, and passing over an extensive tract of sandy land, called the Barrens, with some rich soil producing tobacco and Indian corn, I came to Hardensburgh. This, though probably the poorest part of Kentucky, presents much land which an English farmer would consider very desirable. It is very little attended to, on account of the extensive tracts of rich land in other parts.

Nothing interesting me at Hardensburgh, except the refreshment from that day's walk which it afforded, I resumed my route in the morning, in hopes of reaching Louisville the following day; but a heavy storm coming on when I had proceeded about eight miles, obliged me to take shelter with Major A. whom I found busily employed in making

shoes for his family. Be not surprised, that a man of such rank, and possessing large property in land, negroes, &c. should be employed in a way so repugnant to your old-country notions. A nearer acquaintance with these independents would convince you that knowledge, comfort, and the embellishments of human nature, are perfectly compatible with the exercise of any lawful calling, and that no honest employment can increase the degradation of fallen man :—

“ Honour and shame from no condition rise ;
Act well your part, there all the honour lies.”

A waggoner not relishing the pelting storm, also claimed the rights of hospitality. The major's stable accommodated his horses, while Mrs. A. and her sister spread a table for our refreshment. Having to pass Sinking Creek, a mile or two onward, and apprehending it might be too deep for fording after the heavy rain, we accepted the waggoner's invitation to accompany him : a fortunate circumstance for us, as the rain continued, with little intermission, through the day. Crossing Green and Salt rivers, both considerable streams, and passing through very extensive swamps, we, a second time entered Louisville, one hundred and sixty miles from Shawnee town, and having released your expected packet from the post office, crossed over to New Albany, to learn if any tidings had been received of our late companion Ainley, the sportsman ; not finding him there, I felt some uneasiness, though many plausible reasons for his non-arrival were suggested, to allay his wife's apprehensions, who now began to reproach herself for suffering him to go without her. Two days were thus spent in

anxious suspense, when in the second night we were roused by his voice. It appeared that after our separation he rambled about for some time, till he reached White river, then wandering back again over a part of the route the Lincolnshireman and myself had taken; and being well pleased with the soil, proceeded to the land-office at Vincennes, and entered a quarter section. He was accompanied to New Albany, one hundred miles from the spot where he intends settling, by a young man at whose father's house he boarded during the two or three days he was engaged in surveying the land, and for which he would receive no compensation: this mark of hospitality Ainley adduced as one among many instances, of the preferable circumstances of the American farmer, who can thus afford to give both his time and property to befriend a stranger. Having engaged a waggon to convey his family and goods, we separated with mutual expressions of good wishes; he to erect his dwelling in the woods, and I to commit this sheet to the Louisville office, with the subscription of,

Yours, &c.

LETTER XIII.

November, 1818.

THE improvement of late in manufactures, and the peculiar situation in which Great Britain has been placed for some years back, have tended to the rapid increase of some of her towns; with this exception, their growth has been too gradual to excite any particular notice. We can therefore with difficulty picture to ourselves villages and towns starting into existence as they appear to do in these western regions; a stranger when he notices the activity and business of Louisville, the taverns crowded with travellers, the stores with traders, the number of boats of different descriptions from 50 to 500 tons burden, and the neatness if not elegance of its buildings, scarcely credits the assertion that all this has been the work of less than twelve years. It is true, Louisville was a military station in connection with St. Louis, Vincennes, and Fort du Quesne; but its importance as a commercial town is only of a recent date.

Here I met with many English families, some whose views were directed to St. Louis and the Missouri, others to Illinois, and some who being disappointed in their expectations of English Prairie, are undecided where to settle, or whether to return. One of them is certainly deserving of some commiseration; the husband having a slight knowledge of farming and of business, emigrated in the hope of preserving the little property he possessed, persuaded that had he remained in his own country, with all his care it must have dwindled away;

he seems to exercise some judgement in his manner of proceeding, if we except his imprudent choice of a wife, who when her desires are gratified is represented to be all that is amiable; but who now amuses (or rather torments) herself by thwarting all his projects; thus giving him a wretched prospect of the future: the novelty of the voyage, journey, and country, is gone, and she sighs to return to the former sources of her insipid joy; these, by her own confession, consisted of the amusements of Vauxhall, the gaiety of the ball-room, and the opportunity of displaying in the Park; proving her incapability of contributing to his comfort or prosperity. The poor simple creature is now endeavouring to persuade her husband to sacrifice all he has hitherto expended, and to recross the ocean.

The low situation of the land round Louisville, the draining of which has been hitherto neglected, is a source of much unhealthiness to its inhabitants. Leaving it in an easterly direction through a fertile and tolerably cultivated district, I came to Shelbyville, thirty-two miles, a considerable town well built on high ground, with a fruitful country round, watered by numerous streams tributary to Salt and Kentucky rivers: this is part of the limestone tract which extends through Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, to Georgia. Continuing in the same direction for twenty miles over uneven and in some parts rugged roads, Frankfort, the seat of legislature appeared in view, though not till I began to descend the hill at the foot of which is the Kentucky river, on whose right bank the city stands. It is well built of brick, and is increasing; but being surrounded by high ground, is not visible at any distance. A handsome bridge over the river, various improvements making

on the banks and on the roads communicating with the town evince a disposition on the part of the citizens to embellish their new capital. Thence taking a circuitous rout through Georgetown, a large town on an elevated situation, and passing through a rich and beautifully varied district, I entered Lexington, late the metropolis of the state; a spot so much more pleasant, as well as more central, that it appears difficult to conceive what could have induced the transfer of the legislative privilege to Frankfort, unless it be a supposed advantage in its being washed by the waters of the Kentucky.

Lexington is a handsome town (of brick) containing many respectable public buildings, among which the college is conspicuous, with the credit of being well regulated, and possessing good talents; one or two of the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches display much neatness and taste. The Athenæum is entitled to the remembrance of the stranger for the amusement he meets with in an extensive library of valuable works, and the most approved periodical publications and newspapers, to which, on the recommendation of a subscriber, he has access for one month. The market is well supplied from the rich surrounding country, but living is generally high: besides the comforts of life, which are here abundantly enjoyed, a taste for its elegancies and luxuries prevails; and the fashions and manners of polished Europe are found in this distant inland town, as in the gay emporium of New York.

One circumstance, however, must, while it exists, blast the prospects of this beautiful portion of the Union, which is exceeded by none and equalled by few. Slavery is here sanctioned by law, and though

divested of some of those terrific powers she exercises in other countries, still she casts a hideous gloom around in the unnatural distinctions of bond and free.

Leaving this city, I directed my steps northward by a good road, through a fine country, interspersed with farms and large mansions that speak the easy and opulent circumstances of their owners; and the cider press frequently invited me to allay my thirst. Twenty-eight miles introduced me, by a handsome wooden bridge over a branch of the river Licking, to Cinthiana, a town which, though of recent date, presents an assemblage of brick buildings not inferior in style to any of our cities; it enjoys great advantage in the Licking being navigable, which falls into the Ohio opposite to Cincinnati. The house where I passed the night is kept by one of our countrymen; and I was much pleased to notice the cheerfulness of his lady, though separated by some thousands of miles from all her connections: she was from Nottingham,—has been in the United States nearly twenty years, and for some time taught drawing in Lexington. After rambling through the town and part of the neighbourhood, the remainder of the evening was spent very agreeably in conversation about England and her native county, concerning which she inquired eagerly; in examining her own and her daughter's paintings; and listening to the interesting accounts of the people among whom she resides.

Early on the morrow I started again, over uneven, and in a great degree uncultivated land, crossing what is called the Dry Ridge, and some miles of burning forest, which, but for the heavy rains that

had fallen lately, would have been impassable.* On the fourth day from leaving Lexington I crossed the Ohio to Cincinnati, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. The view of this city from the hills on the Kentucky side, with its spires and buildings extending up the rising ground from the river, is very grand. The effects of overstrained speculation are severely felt here, as in other towns engaged in commerce, and are extensively increased by the impolicy of the legislature in granting charters to so many banks; but serious as are the inconveniences resulting from this, it is not productive of the mischief and distress which are felt in some other countries, where a superabundant population almost of necessity insures failure to the exertions of the most unremitting industry, combined with other too well known hinderances to success. But here, from the vast extent of territory, the many opportunities of employing a diversity of talent, and the very slight pressure of taxation, some ages must elapse before the means of obtaining an easy and comfortable livelihood will be beyond the reach of any of its citizens.

December 6th. I had been undetermined for some days how to leave this place, as no stage proceeds from it towards Pittsburgh or to Chilicothe,

* Firing the woods is an easy method of destroying the small undergrowth which impedes the progress of the woodcutter; but as this practice has been frequently attended with danger and damage, the legislature has found it necessary to restrict it to a certain period of the year, under heavy penalties. The latter end of the year is chosen, as the crops are then off the ground, and the rains are expected to check the flames, which have sometimes laid waste whole districts. The gloom observed in the atmosphere at this season, called the Indian summer, is supposed to be occasioned by the smoke of these conflagrations.

through which the Lexington stage passes; the only plan that appeared feasible was to hire a skiff to Maysville, where I could meet the stage; to this the weight of my luggage formed an objection. While at this uncertainty, I happened to meet a gentleman, who boarded at the same tavern with myself, at the house of a mutual friend, who was also intending to go to Pittsburgh. We soon became acquainted, and an arrangement to travel together was made to mutual satisfaction and advantage.

You may now trace me on the map with my companion Mr. C. of Philadelphia, in a light Jersey waggon and two horses, between Cincinnati and Lebanon; at which place, though only thirty-three miles, we did not arrive till the next day at noon, owing to the hilly road and our weight of luggage. As you have before travelled with me nearly the whole of this route, I shall not trouble you with any remarks on the quality or character of the country, neither would you wish such minuteness as a detail of the various delays we met with, from axletrees and shafts breaking in our progress to Chilicothe, where we arrived on the seventh day from the commencement of our journey. Here we rested two days to repair damages, and, if possible, guard against the inconveniences of breaking down out of the reach of assistance.

Leaving twenty-five cents at the bridge for the service it afforded us in crossing the Scioto, (now much swelled by rains, and covered with boats laden with flour, cider, fruit, whisky, and other spirits, for New Orleans;) we travelled without farther inconvenience, than what might be expected from roads affected by the rains and frost of winter,

which is now setting in rather severely. New Lancaster, Somerset, and Zanesville, in succession afforded refreshment: the clayey grounds, near the last mentioned town, were rendered by the rains very difficult to travel over, but as the frost hardened it, it became more passable; it also improved the roads for us over the low grounds, though on the declivities we were frequently obliged to alight, and

“Descending now, but cautious, lest too fast,”

assist the motions of our beasts. In this manner we proceeded to Cambridge, a neat town, seat of justice for Guernsey county: thence through Harrisville to Mount-Pleasant, where the society of Friends have two very large buildings in which they hold their annual meetings: our road was through a mountainous district variously cultivated, abounding with coal, clay, and limestone, sources of supply to future generations, but now almost unnoticed, from the vast forests which cover the soil in every direction.

Apprehensive of some difficulty in crossing the Ohio on account of the ice, we turned to Warren, an inconsiderable place on the river, seven miles below the Charleston ferry. Continuing along the river bank, with the grand prospect of conflicting masses of ice tossing up and down (though not a very desirable sight, with our desires to reach the opposite bank), we arrived at Steubenville eight miles above the ferry to Charleston, finding it impossible to effect a passage at that place. To increase our difficulties, the next morning was ushered in with snow; but having every reason to expect that farther delay would only augment the danger, we resolved to risk

the passage if the men would venture over : after an hours' toil in parrying off the large cakes or almost fields of ice, which breaking on one another with tremendous crashes threatened to sink us, the boatmen leaped on shore, and securing the scow, we drove most thankfully up the bank ; and having satisfied the well-earned demands of the boatmen, continued our journey to Pittsburgh, where we slept on the 14th night from leaving Cincinnati, a distance by the route we had taken of three hundred and forty miles.

I found your letters in waiting for me, and am again indebted to the very polite attentions of Mr. and Mrs. P. for readmission into the circle under their hospitable roof, where I enjoy social pleasures I might look for in vain among the heterogeneous associations of a tavern.

Business of every kind is much depressed ; many are extricating themselves from it with the design of commencing agriculturists. Several very respectable families from New York and Philadelphia are here, waiting for the opening of the river, then to proceed to purchase and cultivate lands beyond the Mississippi. No artisan or mechanic should come over to this country, depending only upon his exertions in the particular branch to which he has been accustomed, as neither this town nor most others stand in need of them. New settlements certainly want the assistance of a blacksmith, carpenter, shoemaker, and tailor, but they are very soon supplied with these out of the supernumeraries of older towns. The farmer, and such as will engage in farming, may improve their condition ; and with much less industry than is found necessary to meet the regular demands for rents, taxes, &c. in other

countries, may be here soon independent, and themselves enjoy the produce of their own land, which the very great demands made upon them, to compensate the real or pretended services of others, oblige them to send to market *in the old country*.

Since I left Pittsburgh, a wooden bridge of fifteen hundred feet, resting upon stone piers, has been thrown across the Monongahela, the benefit of which we found on entering the city, when we witnessed the crashing cakes of ice driving beneath us: a similar accommodation is forming across the Alleghany.

As I intend to pass the remainder of the winter here and in the neighbourhood, I must request a little respite from my part of our correspondence, till the spring shall offer favourable weather for farther wanderings. With the customary compliments of the season, I am,

Yours, &c.

Pittsburgh, Dec. 31st, 1818.

LETTER XIV.

April, 1819.

At length, after a winter neither long nor severe, the first season in our calendar has appeared: nature seems to awake out of sleep, trees and plants are seen to germinate, and the soft warble of the blue-bird invites the admirer of rural beauties to leave the dusky precincts of the town. Part of the winter has been spent at Connellsville with my much respected friends Mr. and Mrs. T. whose kind attentions will long attach me to that romantic part of the country. Some days were also very agreeably passed with Mr. B.'s family, brother-in-law to Mr. A. A. and the remainder with Mr. and Mrs. P. at Pittsburgh. Having delineated my proposed route to Philadelphia through the Canadas and the eastern states, Mr. P. expressed an idea of the benefit the journey might be to the health of his son, a tall youth of seventeen: I readily seconded the thought, into a proposal for him to accompany me, as testifying in a slight degree my sense of the polite attention I had long received.

Every arrangement being made for forwarding our trunks by waggon to Philadelphia, we took our leave, my young companion for an absence of four or five months, and I for a much longer period, of a society which will long dwell in vivid recollection. We were accompanied across the Alleghany river, and to some distance up the hill, by Mr. P. who, having assisted to adjust the wallet to the back of each, gave us his blessing, and till we had passed beyond

his sight, continued to look after the son, who, till then, had scarcely known what it was to depend upon other than a parent for the direction of his will; he seemed to regard him as now making his first essay in that world which ere long painful experience may prove to him,

- “ A region of outsides ! a land of shadows !
- “ A fruitful field of flowery promises !
- “ A wilderness of joys, perplex'd with doubts,
- “ And sharp with thorns.”

For some distance neither seemed inclined to break the silence occasioned by regret at parting with our friends; and as if loth to quit the neighbourhood, we stopped for the night at Montpellier inn, within seven miles of the ferry. Early on the morrow we resumed our walk, some part of it regaled with the odours of the peach and cherry blossoms, and the remainder through uncultivated woods, and extensive cranberry plains, to Harmony, thirty miles from Pittsburgh; the late settlement of Mr. Rapp and his associates, before their removal to the Wabash. Harmony is built on a rich flat, and from the surrounding heights presents an interesting picture; the neat church, brick buildings with high Dutch roofs, the cabins lately occupied by the labouring class, and the Conaquenessing Creek meandering through the vale, form a landscape which your pencil would not suffer to escape without adding it to the number of its gleanings.

We here exchanged our shoes for mocassins, as being more easy in yielding to the bend of the foot; they are made from deer-skin slightly tanned, and are bound round the ankle by a thong of the same.

Continuing our walk through a hilly country containing gravel, sand, and sandstone, with intervals of swamp, we came to Mercer, a small neat town, seat of justice for Mercer county. Though much amused with the remarks of the people at whose houses we chanced to call, yet being accustomed to their regularity in ascertaining every person's business, the implied question, "strangers, you're rafting I *guess?*" does not surprise me; nor, on answering in the negative, at their *calculating* us to be mechanics.

As my friend had not been accustomed to travelling, he felt the necessity of a little respite; and being in comfortable quarters, we remained there till the following day, when we again proceeded; but though the pleasure he at times enjoyed in the change of scene and air, and particularly when anticipating the termination of our tour, led him at the moment to forget all aches and pains, yet they would still recur, and though supported by a staff, the downcast eye and weary limbs dragging heavily after one another, showed the journey

"—Seem'd not always short; the rugged path,
 "And prospect oft' so dreary and forlorn,
 "Mov'd many a sigh at its disheart'ning length."

Two days more were spent in walking and resting between Mercer and Meadville thirty-three miles, for

"—when, o'erlabour'd and inclin'd to breathe,
 "The panting traveller some rising ground,
 "Some small ascent, has gain'd, he turns him round,
 "And measures with his eye the various vale,
 "The fields, woods, meads, and rivers, he has pass'd,
 "And, satiate of his journey, thinks of home
 "Endear'd by distance."—

Indeed, so dejected was the youth, that I expected

the necessity of returning him by the first conveyance to Pittsburgh; however, by the attention of major Gibson's family, at whose excellent hotel we remained some days, and the polite notice of several friends, his spirits revived, and his heart beat high for fresh adventures.

Meadville is eligibly situated on French Creek, a valuable stream, navigable from within eighteen miles of Lake Erie, to its junction with the Allegany; a distance, following its serpentine direction, of above a hundred and forty miles. Most of the houses are frame and painted, which contrasting with the orchards and surrounding woods, have a pretty effect. Some traces of entrenchments lead to the supposition that once it was a military post connecting Fort du Quesne and Presque Isle. An arsenal for depositing the arms of the State is erected here.

Desirous of attending the sessions to be held here for Crawford county, and of improving the interval, I accepted the invitation of Mr. R. of this place (whose relatives, Messrs. T. and L. T. of London, you know,) to visit his parents living on Sugar Creek, near Franklin; and by the kindness of Mr. B. a gentleman introduced to when at Pittsburgh, I was accommodated with a horse. Almost every variety of soil is observable by the way; on the creek it is rich, but, leaving that, gravel and swamp are met with. At present, the road between these two towns, one the county seat of Crawford, the other of Venango, distant thirty miles, is very little better than what might be expected from the passage of a few waggons over unturned soil, in some parts obstructed by large masses of rock, which our sagacious beasts would step over with well-timed caution; however, when the time is considered

since these parts have been settled, I am surprised at what has been done, and at the improvements that are in progress: one road is forming from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie, passing in the neighbourhood of Franklin; and another from Meadville, intersecting the state through Phillipsburgh, Centre county, and proposing to communicate with New York through Easton on the Delaware. Money thus applied, produces interest advantageous to the community, and much more satisfactory to the citizen, than if lavished in raising some of his fellows above himself: here, he calculcates the advantages likely to result from particular measures, knows he has a voice in their control, pays his quota readily, and the work goes on prosperously. In our way to Franklin, I was informed of another instance, in addition to numerous others, of the intelligent, independent spirit of the back-settlers; though in this instance, it was rather rhapsodical. Major C. at whose house we baited our horses, is a member for Crawford county: during the last session a motion was made and supported by some members for the eastern parts of the state, for a short recess; this he justly conceived would be unnecessarily squandering the money of their constituents in travelling expenses backward and forward; he therefore rose, and very warmly reprobated such a measure as inconsistent with those principles of justice and equity which ought to guide their deliberations; citing the renowned heroes of Marathon and Thermopylæ, as worthy imitation in defence of right; and calling upon the manes of the warriors of Bridgewater and of Erie, to avenge the invaded liberties of their country. Such an acquaintance with ancient classic, as well as modern history,

many of your fastidious countrymen would not expect to find in the inhabitant of a log-house. (I say nothing of the aptness with which he applied that knowledge in the present instance.)

Franklin, surrounded by hills, is well situated for business, at the mouth of French creek into the Allegany, though the land in its immediate neighbourhood is unproductive. The present population is small, and too much addicted to spirituous liquors. The remains of the French fort Venango are about half a mile below, on an angle commanding the passage of the river.

Mr. R. having concluded the business which drew him to Franklin, we left it; and passing over many a wearying height, and through lands which puzzle conjecture at the settlers' motive for selecting it, when immense tracts of rich soil were equally accessible to them, most of it being rock, we alighted at his father's door. Having some acquaintance with Mrs. R.'s family in England, I was received a welcome visitor, being the first person who knew any thing of their connexions, whom they had seen here since their settling, now twenty years ago; being at too great a distance from the route to the Western States. In their neighbourhood is a bituminous spring, yielding an article in considerable quantities similar to what is called British oil, from which the creek is named Oil Creek.

The difficulties encountered by Mr. R. and his family, on his first settlement, were such as would startle any Englishman entertaining ideas of emigrating to the new country. This part was at that time inhabited by different tribes of Indians, and also by numbers of the shaggy four-footed tenants of

the forest. Leaving Mrs. R. and family at New York, he and his eldest son (now settled at Meadville,) proceeded towards the west, and were by some means directed to this spot: a cabin was the first effort of their labour; the next object was the procuring a sufficient stock of provisions for young R.'s support, (then about seventeen,) while his father returned for the family. For five months did this youth dwell the lonely inmate of this cabin, aware of being among Indians, and Whites perhaps more savage, who coveted his little store of potatoes, bacon, and Indian corn.* Many a journey did he take to and from the settlement at Franklin, for what necessaries he required, with the hopes of hearing some tidings of the family, often disappointed; and after the fatigues of the day in attempts to clear some little portion of the land, would lie down at night with his rifle at his side, to dispute the entrance of any intruder on his rest.— On the morrow we mounted our horses, and by a different route, but rather worse, joined our friends at Meadville; my young companion repining at the little progress we had made, and that any temptation should have led him to undertake a journey so fraught with difficulty, and, to the exertions necessary for which, he now found himself so averse.

* This account may appear to contradict the repeated relations of the fertility of this country, and the honest simplicity of its inhabitants—but it must be considered, that it was at that time very thinly settled; that it was subject to all the inconveniences of a frontier; that the Indians who remained on the soil depended entirely on the chase for support, which they seldom exerted themselves in, when they could obtain provision in any other way. They considered the white settlers as intruders, and as lawful prey whenever they could master them.

“ Self-flatter’d, experienc’d, high in hope,
“ When young, with sanguine cheer and streamers gay,
“ We cut our cables, launch into the world,
“ And fondly dream each wind and star our friend.”

The commencement of the county sessions afforded fresh diversions to the mind, and some strong instances, that without cultivation, and some other restraint than the fear of human laws, the depravity of man is the same in any society, and in any clime.

The population of Meadville, though small, has a greater proportion of intelligence and respectability than most towns I have passed through. This opinion you will perhaps impute to my having been more acquainted with them; it may be so. I can never forget the kind respect and attentions received from the families of Messrs. R—, C—, M—, B—, and Major R. A. with whom you would be much interested; a hero of the revolution, appointed aide-camp to Gen. Green, retaining all the noble characteristics of the soldier, and much of that politeness which distinguished the gentlemen of that age. However, my opinion of the moral character of Meadville is founded upon this observation, that the ladies, in the cultivation of those qualities which are liberally bestowed on them by nature, maintain with ease and dignity that high station in society they were intended to fill, and that they meet with that proper esteem and deference to which they are entitled from the *lords of the creation*. But dropping all endeavours to bring you into the acquaintance of persons you may never meet, I proceed to observe, that notwithstanding all our wishes to proceed on our tour, both of us felt much regret when in the second week of May we bade farewell to this pretty town and its interesting

society, which during our stay had exerted every effort to render it agreeable.

Tracing our way along the rich valley through which French Creek steals its meandering course, skirted with the varied leaf of oak, white pine or hemlock, dogwood, and chesnut, with the spice-wood, sweetbriar, and gooseberry (the only instance of my meeting with the two latter in a wild state,) we came to Waterford, (the French post *Le Bœuf*,) on *Le Bœuf* Creek, which empties into French Creek; an inconsiderable place at present, but situated as it is, at the head of a navigable stream, distant from Lake Erie only fourteen miles, and to which a canal is proposed, to remedy the inconvenience of portage, there are favourable prospects of its increase.

A good turnpike-road of fourteen miles brought us thence to Erie, seat of justice for Erie county, meeting in our way numerous teams of horses and oxen, drawing salt, lake fish, and goods, to Waterford, thence to be boated down the stream to Pittsburgh and other places. This town, formerly *Presq' Isle*, attracted little notice since its evacuation by the French, previous to the late war, when the operations on the lake between the contending powers revived the idea of its importance. A bar at the entrance of the bay prevents the approach to the town of larger vessels than six feet draught; by opening a channel on the western side it is supposed this obstruction might be removed, in forming a current sufficiently strong to prevent the further accumulation of sand.

On an eminence east of the town, remains of the French works are seen, and the grave of many a poor fellow, who here with musket charged, oft

paced his weary round, but now lies unheeded and unknown: the rippling wave of Erie, as it breaks near his cold remains, seeming, in its vain attempt to force its prescribed bounds, and dying on the ear, an illustration of his course, which, spent in aggressions on others, sinks at length into oblivion.

A mile or two to the northward of this spot is a lighthouse; and near it the United States have a block-house, with another on the point of land bounding the bay on the north, and two small war vessels.

On the evening of May 25th, we went, with three other passengers, on board the elegant schooner *George Washington*, of Presq' Isle, of 100 tons, captain Duncan, with various cargo for different ports on the Lake: weighed anchor next morning, spoke the steam boat *Walk-in-the-Water*, on her way to Detroit, and came to in the evening off Portland, a small village at the mouth of Chatauque Creek, New York state: the wind, however, blowing strong on shore, and no anchorage, we were obliged to beat out for the night. The next morning the weather moderating, the *Washington* stood in, dropped her anchor, and commenced discharging flour. As this was likely to occupy some hours, we took the opportunity to ramble on shore. Limestone is abundant, and the land rich, thickly covered with trees of a large growth. About three miles inland, we came to rising ground, where we had a most delightful prospect of the dark waving woods, relieved with here and there a rising settlement, or the blue column of smoke from some fresh improvement, the distance beautifully softened by the Lake's broad expanse, dotted with the spreading sail. On this rich view our eyes were not

permitted long to rest, as a signal from the schooner hastened our return; in our way meeting with a spring strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen, I hastily threw up a mud-and-stone wall round the principal spring, while one of the party procured a lighted taper, and applying it to the orifice, it of course inflamed; much to the surprise of the some of the company, who declared "it is a *pretty middling curious kind* of water."

28th. Again on board with a favourable breeze, the sails were spread, and on the morning of the 30th, we anchored off Fort Erie, or rather its remains, at the entrance of the Niagara, it having been demolished since the peace; a brig a-head of us, bearing the British ensign, taking me in idea to the *old country*; a tavern is also in sight, whose sign, a Crown, reminds me of being near to royal dominions again.

Our fellow-passengers having engaged to be landed at Buffalo, N. Y. we took the opportunity of captain Duncan's boat conveying them a across the river, to visit it.

You already know this town by name, from the despatches of the British military commanders during the last war, as supplying their opponents with the means of annoying their operations, and as being an object sufficiently important to warrant considerable exertions for its destruction. Since that period it has been rebuilt of brick, with some elegance, particularly the court-house, with its portico and colonnade, the bank, and post-office. Stages run between Buffalo and Albany on the Hudson, three hundred and thirty miles, three times in the week. The steam-boat Walk-in-the-

Water, is principally owned here, and several carriages are kept for convenience of company visiting the celebrated cataract of Niagara, the roar of which they say is heard, when the wind is from that quarter, though distant twenty-three miles.

The grand New York canal, connecting the Hudson with Lake Erie, at Buffalo, is considered by its citizens as of great importance to their interest, it being expected that much of the benefit arising to Pennsylvania from the carriage of goods across the mountains, will thus be diverted to the canal and lake. Buffalo is the county seat of Niagara.

A few families of Buffalo Indians live in the neighbourhood of the town, objects of pity rather than of alarm. It being Sunday, we attended public worship in the court-house, held there till a building exclusively appropriated to it can be erected: to this we had an opportunity of being contributors, a collection being made at the time for that purpose.

Having satisfied our curiosity, we entered the boat, passed a lighthouse at the mouth of the creek, too low to be of service where most required, and crossing above the rapid it is intended to give warning of, landed in Upper Canada. Fort Erie was a strong work of limestone (of which the shores and bed of the lake are formed,) and surrounded by a deep ditch and pallisades. Here are two warehouses and a wharf, and, as you may naturally expect, a customhouse-officer.

Bending our steps along the banks of the Niagara, every part of it engaged our notice, from the active warfare carried on here; evidences of which still remain, in the ruins of buildings black with the flames of war.

Below the village of Waterloo, opposite to Black Rock, where the stream, about half a mile wide, runs at the rate of six miles an hour, the river is divided by several islands, some of them extensive, and for the most part covered with wood. The tavern signs, decorations within, and sometimes meeting a person clothed with the authority of G. R. reminded us of being no longer on republican ground. As we proceed

“ ————— the distant waterfall
“ Swells in the breeze—————”

and within seven miles of it we had a sight of its curling spray, hovering over it like a cloud. The river now widened, and, as we advanced, called forth fresh admiration of that Power, who created with a word, and by whose will, creation, with its wonders, exists. Not even Adam, when he scanned the works of Deity, and chanted the praises of his Creator, tuned his soul by the contemplation of objects more sublime : with him we might raise our feeble notes, and sing—

“ These are thy glorious works ! Parent of good !”

Three miles above the cataract is the village of Chippewa, on Chippewa Creek, the passage of which is defended by a fort, where a guard is maintained for the preservation of the works. A severe engagement took place in its neighbourhood between the British and Americans in the last war.

As we passed the town, a sloop, taking advantage of the wind, left the creek, hoisted her sail, and stood up the river. A mile and a half below, the cascades commence : a succession of falls, formidable enough themselves, but sinking into insignifi-

cance when compared with the last grand descent, which with

“Huge uproar lords it wide.”

From Chippewa the road enters a wood, intercepting the view, but not the sound, for not e'en the boisterous wind can check the incessant din. A countryman smiled at our using an umbrella as a shelter from what at the moment we supposed to be rain; it was the spray driven by the wind towards us, which, at the distance of a mile and a half, fell a heavy shower. Emerging from the wood, the prospect again burst upon us, and for a time almost rivetted us to the spot.

Weld's account is the most descriptive I have seen; but his, and indeed any pen, must fail in delineating this stupendous effort of the largest accumulation of water in the world, to burst the bounds which are for a time prescribed. Should I endeavour to bring it in review before you after this confession, you would charge me with vanity and folly for the attempt. Such, however, is the desire of a traveller that his friends should participate in the pleasure he enjoys, that he braves the charge, and hoping, or at least wishing, that his pen may prove more fortunate in the attempt, commences the account:—

Half a mile to the south of Forsyth's inn, the finest view is obtained; the eye ranges for five miles up the river, glancing on the distant hills, and with trembling watches the daring sail leave its moorings at Chippewa;—following the direction of the stream, notices the different islets, lifting their dark pine-crowned heads above the breakers; the mills and houses on the Canadian shore, whose

inhabitants, from custom, are now indifferent to it; and their resting on the Goat island, which divides the great fall into two unequal parts, follows the river in its furious and fantastic course, till it reaches the grand pitch, when

“ Resistless, roaring, dreadful, down it comes.”

“ No frost can bind it there,—its utmost force

“ Can but arrest the light and smoky mist,

“ That in its fall this liquid sheet throws wide.”

Having so far endeavoured to share with you the mingled feelings of awe, amazement, and delight, excited by this wonder of the world, let me draw your attention a little nearer to it. Follow us therefore, as with cautious steps we approached the precipice, some hundred yards below the fall, where the angry tumult and continued roar, with the extensive range the eye commands, checked for a time all inclination for proceeding farther. Venturing, at length, to descend a fissure in the rock, with the assistance which the roots of an old tree afforded us, we grasped the ladder, fifty feet in length, (which a few weeks before had trembled under the weight of the terrible Vandamme), and by it we reached the top of a sloping heap of slate and rock, which had been detached at various times; then crawling and scrambling from rock to rock, and drenched with spray, we came to where the main body precipitates itself into the gulf beneath. On entering the vast chasm, formed by the rock on one side, and the watery wall on the other,

“ Black-brow'd, and vaulting high, and yawning wide,

“ From nature's structure or the scoop of time,”

a difficulty of breathing is experienced, occasioned

by the rarefaction of the air, somewhat similar to what is felt on entering the cold bath. A point of rock prevents a further progress under the fall than about forty yards. The space between the water and the rock is about thirty feet. Sounds are here very easily distinguished, but the visitor feels little inclination to hold conversation long on a spot which the circling torrent threatens every moment to destroy : startled at the idea, and curiosity being satisfied, we retired from this seat of strife 'twixt water, air, and earth, and by the rugged way, and trembling ladder, gained the utmost crag, weary and exhausted, still delighting to gaze on the sublime spectacle here presented, and to listen to the ceaseless roar, proclaiming

“ ——— the existence of—a God.”

Sulphur, gypsum, mica, and marine remains, are observable in the varied strata of limestone, slate, and freestone. In August, last year, a part of the rock near the cataract fell, corroborating the idea that it was originally lower down. Following the current to Queenston, where the ridge of rock terminates, and whence to Lake Ontario it has a soft clayey bed, this theory is greatly strengthened. Some have supposed that previous to the Niagara's forcing its passage through this barrier, its waters, with those of the upper lakes, discharged themselves by the Ohio and Mississippi, into the Gulf of Mexico; and some old inhabitants of this neighbourhood profess to recollect the time when Goat island extended more to the north than it does at present. But I must not entangle myself in a difficulty, into which I may be led by yielding to

the theories of others, lest you number me with those who

- “ ————— drill and bore
 “ The solid earth, and from the strata there
 “ Extract a register, by which we learn
 “ That He who made it, and reveal'd its date
 “ To Moses, was mistaken in its age.”

Queenston is a small village prettily situated at the foot of the heights where fell the gallant Brock, with numbers of his brave companions in arms. How is it to be wished that individual jealousy and animosity might cease, and that nations harmonizing, would unite to close the gates of Janus for ever! Reflections like these force themselves on the mind, while pacing this scene of recent carnage, lighted by the moon's faint rays, and when

- “ No sound was stirring, save the breeze that bore
 “ The distant cataract's everlasting roar.”

A custom-house and guard are here, to prevent smuggling. From the heights above the village, a fine prospect is enjoyed across the river, of part of New York state, Lewistown, Youngstown, and the Niagara adorned on each side by orchards and gardens, till it discharges into the vale where wide Ontario's waters roll. At the mouth of the river, Fort George on the British side, and Fort Niagara on the American, preserve the claim of each nation to navigate its waters. The town of Niagara, a little to the west of Fort George, (formerly called Newark), has no other claim to notice than the share it had of the troubles of war, and as holding at present in confinement, the Canadian political reformer, Robert Gourlay. It is built chiefly of wood. Youngston, on the New York bank, is a

small neat town, deriving some benefit from the industry of a remnant of Tuscarora Indians, living in the neighbourhood, who bring the fruits of their labour to the town, in exchange for other articles.

A sloop having a signal for sailing to York, we readily embraced the opportunity, in preference to the circuitous route by land, and after a squally night, landed the next morning in the capital of Upper Canada, whose poorly furnished buildings of wood, and indifferent market, made an unfavourable impression of the circumstances of its inhabitants. It is eligibly situated at the head of a bay, and had they the enterprising spirit displayed on the other side of the lake, the town would soon assume a far different appearance. The weekly journals notice the advantages in trade which the republicans enjoy over them, and recommend to their parliament, now in session, to adopt such measures as may appear to their wisdom adapted to encourage and protect the commerce of the province. We attended the house during the first three days of sitting, which were taken up in moving, framing, amending, and resolving an address of condolence to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the decease of Her late Majesty.

The neighbouring soil is light and sandy, producing pine and small oak. A good road, named Young-street, communicates with different settlements, is forming between York and Lake Simcoe, about forty miles to the north, where the land much improves in quality. Dundas-street connects York with the towns east and west. On Smith's Creek, sixty miles east, a considerable tract has been parcelled out among different applicants to the land-office, who, after presenting certificates of former

good conduct and loyalty, and swearing allegiance to His Britannic Majesty, (for which ceremonies the clerk reminds them of his fees), they draw lots for their several portions of a hundred acres each, under engagement to raise a habitation, and bring five acres of it into cultivation within two years, or forfeit the whole; and then receiving an acknowledgment of their right and title to the same, pay an additional fee of twenty-three dollars. The delays and expenses met with, and those which attend their conveyance from Quebec or Montreal, where emigrants generally land, fritter away the little property with which they embarked under the notion of cultivating Bounty Lands, and frequently place them in the situation of labourers for a scanty pittance on the public roads. Here I observed the universal, but ridiculous, desire after distinction in society operating. Some have *Honourable* prefixed to their names, indicating an official character; but every one cannot be in office; *Emigrant*, therefore, is used, to distinguish those who leave their native land in hope of obtaining a comfortable maintenance for themselves and families by cultivating the soil from their opulent neighbours. Paltry resort of pride! Surely man will not always remain thus childish.

The condescending manners of his excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, and his Lady, and their attention to the interests of the inhabitants, render them deservedly popular.

The Peninsula formed by Lakes Huron, St. Clair, Erie, Ontario, and Simcoe, is in progress of settlement, the land being generally rich. Over it are scattered some tribes of Missasaga Indians, the miserable remnants of a once powerful and warlike

nation : like other savages, they are attached to ardent spirits, and in dealing exhibit considerable shrewdness and cunning—remaining in their bark canoes at a distance from the shore, till a price agreeable to their wishes is obtained for the fine salmon which they now and then hold up, to excite the appetite of their *white brothers*.

The British steam-boat *Frontenac*, of 600 tons, touching here on her way from Niagara, offered a favourable conveyance to Kingston, at the entrance of the St. Lawrence, where we arrived the following evening, distant about 180 miles.

Kingston, situated at the head of a bay, is the usual depot for Lake Ontario, and is defended by Fort Henry, a strong position, commanding the entrance of the bay. Poor as its buildings are generally, there are many which give it a more respectable appearance than York. On the opposite shore is Sackett's harbour the United States navy yard and arsenal, with which it carries on some trade, receiving also some benefit from the money unwillingly left here by emigrants in their passage up the province, and from what is circulated by the military.

A singular occurrence on the evening of our leaving Kingston, will long preserve the recollection of my visit. Waiting the arrival of the steam-boat *Charlotte*, we went on board several large boats which that afternoon had come up the St. Lawrence with passengers and goods : noticing the ruddy countenance of a woman, whose dress and physiognomy told me she was English, peeping from the cabin of one of them, at the strange land before her ; I enquired what part she was from ? to which she replied, in Yorkshire accent, " From

nigh Hull," and she was going with her husband to join his brother up the country. Although I had met with many from that county in other parts of the province, I expressed the sudden thought of the moment, that her name was Ainley. Startled at the word, she sprang on deck, followed by her husband, equally surprised at being known by any one there: the attention of my fellow-traveller, Mr. P. was rivetted, anxious to know the issue of this adventure. Ascertaining his name to be Wm. Ainley, I then detailed to him where and how I had met with his brother on the Ohio last October; my accompanying him; and his finally settling near White River in Indiana, a distance of one thousand miles from the spot where we then were. His letters, stating his movements, had not arrived in Holderness previous to W. A.'s sailing, who thus transported his family to Canada, and was then proceeding up the country, in the vain hope of meeting with, and settling near him. Having pointed out on a map he had (with Birkbeck's notes) where his brother Richard had settled, and the best route he could take if disposed to join him, we left them, and secured our births on board the steam-boat, whose bell was just then giving notice of its arrival. We slept on board, and at day break, being awakened by the discharge of a swivel on the bows, beheld a most romantic prospect. In descending the Ohio, the eye was charmed by the rich luxuriance with which both nature and human industry had adorned its sloping banks and numerous islands, and in the thought that there is fulfilling that promise, "on earth peace, goodwill toward men." Here, the waters of the St. Lawrence are divided into numerous channels by islands

and huge rocks ; some bare, some where the cedar and the pine rear their spiral heads, while others assume the castellated form, and, partially covered with moss, invite fancy to the ancient legends of holy and of haunted ground. A block-house here and there upon some of them, assisting in the delusion.

“ _____ works sublime

“ To human art a sportive semblance bore,

“ And yellow lichens coloured all the clime

“ Like moonlight battlements, and towers decay'd by time.”

They are known by the name of The Thousand Islands, though nearly double that number ; some few of them are from two to four miles in extent, and in a state of improvement, but the greater number are mere rocks. At Brockville, a pretty village on the Canadian bank, about sixty miles from Kingston, the river widens, or rather is not so incommoded by islands as before, and continues clear of any impediment to Prescott or Fort Wellington, where it is a mile and a quarter wide. As the rapids commence a few miles below this place, the steam-boat discharged us, and took in a fresh freight for Kingston. Stages run from this place to Montreal, but as I was desirous of seeing several points on the river, and also of witnessing the cascades, in which my friend P. fully concurred, we crossed over to Ogdensburgh, New York state, a boat taking in freight there for Montreal. It is a little thriving town, seat of St. Lawrence county. Four gentlemen, very agreeable in their manners, intending to descend, confirmed us in our intentions. The following day being the sabbath, the master, a New-Englander, declined sailing ; to the propriety of this we fully assented ; and our whole

party, now increased to seven, attended divine service in the court-house.

The French had a strong fort here, the walls of which remain. As the mail is now closing for New York, you will permit the vanity of supposing you desirous of hearing again from,

Yours, &c.

Ogdensburgh, N. Y. June, 1819.

LETTER XV.

June, 1819.

MY last left me at Ogdensburgh with my friend P. and four others, preparing to descend the rapids of the St. Lawrence; a determination I have not repented of, though I certainly should not willingly take the same route a second time.

Provisions having been laid in for the passage, and our vessel being planked to the height of two feet above the gunwale, to prevent the breakers from entering, we left Ogdensburgh at nine in the morning with a cargo of ashes and pork. Having passed Johnstown, four miles below, an increase of current was very perceptible, and as we drew near the first Rapid, several accounts were related of vessels wrecked in the passage; and of the difficulty with which their crews escaped, indebted in many instances for their lives, to a box, or an oar: our company eagerly listened to these hair-breadth escapes, and by the manner in which they eyed and handled every trunk and spar, it might be judged their own situation at the moment was thought very precarious: swell succeeding swell allowed no time for expressing any thing like fear, but the countenance frequently betrayed uneasiness, when the yawning waves exposed some frightful rock; to us a

“—————Dreadful post

“Of observation!”—————

With the rapidity of an arrow, we seemed to dart through these rapids of from one to three miles in

length; houses, trees, and rocks, appeared to fly behind us. Having passed three of the rapids we entered Lake St. Francis; the wind being contrary, we had recourse to oars, and came to, in the evening on the left bank, off the first house in Lower Canada:—mosquitoes very troublesome.

Next morning, at day-break, got under weigh, heaving to again at the outlet of the Lake for breakfast, a pilot, and permission to pass the Fort at the Rapid du Lac: on entering this formidable succession of breakers, we found the advantage of a pilot; as several rafts of timber in company with us suffered exceedingly on the rocks; a small interval of smooth water, and another still greater fall, presented itself off the town of Des Cedres; its distant hollow roar apprising us of our approach to one, where neither box nor oar could avail us much. As we were endeavouring to work in under the town, that we might avoid being drawn down the wrong channel, we were observed by the inhabitants, who in numbers lined the bank, and, in the true spirits of benevolence, offered up their supplications on our behalf, kneeling before a cross, several of which, we saw erected on the bank as we passed along. After turning the angle on which Des Cedres is built, the rapidity of our motion scarcely permitted us to notice any thing but the breakers, which, for miles before us, threatened to baffle all the pilot's skill and exertions of the crew to conduct us through in safety. At the moment when some were beginning to deprecate their temerity, a terrific howl was heard behind us, and turning, we had the melancholy sight of two rafts in the wrong channel borne with amazing velocity towards the precipice. An island which separates the two channels prevented

our witnessing the concluding catastrophe; but the stranded timber and lacerated bodies, which in a few moments presented themselves to our view, proved it to be—a howl of death.

It has been said by very high authority, that “there is time for all things.” The people on shore were well employed; they could not assist in any other way than by their prayers: but it is said to be the practice of those who are of the Roman persuasion, when on this impetuous current, to pay their *devoirs* to the several crosses as they pass them. Observing as we did, that the most strenuous exertions and undivided attention were absolutely necessary to our retaining the right channel, we should have been surprised if those poor wretches on the rafts had escaped, supposing their attention had been diverted for a single moment to the crosses.

While lamenting their fate, I find it difficult to refrain from expressing my indignation against those whose office it is to instruct them, and have taught them so ill: upon them must be the blood of the many who are annually lost upon this river through this misguided devotion.

On clearing the rapids, our attention was powerfully arrested by the beauties of the prospect as we entered the small lake St. Louis. The Utawas, or Grand River, lined with wood and habitations, discharging its ruddy tribute into the St. Lawrence on the left; in front the village of La Chine, and the three mounts on the island of Montreal; and on the right the river and village of Chataugay, with the high lands on Lake Champlain in the distance.

The wind being a-head, we entered the Chataugay in the evening, by the assistance of the oars, and

remained at the village that night. It is principally inhabited by French Canadians, a dirty race of beings : here is a pretty neat church with a spire, whose interior decorations are not of that gaudy style which offends the eye in some churches I have seen. A nunnery of St. Sulpicians formerly existed here ; and a considerable tract of land and buildings, with the island formed by the river, still belongs to that order.

The wind favoured us in the morning ; being provided with a pilot, we dropped down the Chataugay, which in its regular width, of about twenty yards, resembles a canal, and again entered the St. Lawrence, whose banks now presented a continuation of villages and country seats : the numerous crosses and spires, with the ringing of the matin bell, altogether different from what I had for some time seen, led me to suppose myself on the European continent.

As we drew near to the village of La Chine, we perceived the current increasing in force ; the inhabitants of this, and of the village on the opposite shore, watching with apparent anxiety the course we were taking ; we observed the extraordinary caution which the captain and pilot manifested, and their hesitation lest the wind might affect us : all confirmed the accounts we had before heard, that the rapids we were now entering were more dreadful than any of the preceding.

But reflection was soon at an end ; the spectators on the banks quickly lost sight of us ; like an arrow from an Indian's bow, we darted through them, tossed as on the ocean in a storm, and at noon landed at Montreal, amid the ceaseless vociferations of French and Canadian draymen.

This city was intended by the French to be the capital of their northern possessions in America, in their grand scheme of connecting these with Louisiana, and depriving Great Britain of her colonies. Louis XIV. ordered it to be fortified, and entrusted to the marquis de Montcalm, a brave and intelligent officer, the execution of a plan grand in design, but in the sequel productive of events, to which history cannot produce a parallel. The death of Montcalm and surrender of Quebec thwarted this ambitious project, and deprived Montreal of the importance it had in prospect and was beginning to enjoy. Since it has been in the possession of the English, it has suffered very severely by fire. The disasters it has repeatedly experienced in this way, might have taught the inhabitants the disadvantage of confined buildings as it respects health and safety. Had the town been rebuilt upon an open regular plan, those serious evils it now experiences from narrow filthy streets, that rarely feel the scavenger's besom, and from the low marshy ground between it and the mountain, might have been avoided. The situation is favourable to its being made a handsome town.

The greater part of the city and island is the property of the Romish clergy, who also claim eight per cent. on the transfer of all private property.

The cathedral of Notre Dame has a plain exterior, but the profusion of gilding within is dazzling. Four fluted columns, green and gold, with Corinthian capitals, support a large gilded crown over the altar; behind it, in a niche, stands a finely-carved, full-length figure of the Virgin, the head finely illuminated by rays of light, reflected from a window over it by means of a gilded scallop highly burnished; the effect is very imposing. The paintings will bear in-

spection; many of them by artists of Montreal, who to considerable talent unite a lively imagination. Mary saluting Elizabeth, Simeon blessing the infant Jesus, and the women meeting in the temple, particularly attracted my notice by the skilful arrangement of groupe, and the happy disposition of light and shade. Also, a fine painting of St. Francis Xavier; and one, rather fanciful, of St. John in Patmos; above him is the Virgin, with a chubby-faced infant in her arms, dictating to the venerable saint; the back ground supported by a wood, a little in advance of which is Christ on the cross. Several other paintings are in different parts of the church: but as they border a little on the ridiculous, I shall not enumerate them. From this we proceeded to the English church; the roof is supported by Corinthian columns of wood, very neatly executed by a Canadian artist; but these, with the whole interior, are losing the beautiful effect of lightness and proportion, by the galleries now erecting. The other churches have nothing remarkable.

The Montreal bank is a small handsome building; in Rue Notre Dame, east of the cathedral, are the court-house fronted with the British arms, and the jail surmounted with a cupola. Nearly opposite the jail in Rue Fabrique, the inhabitants of Montreal have erected a very appropriate monument to Nelson, with this singularity that the statue on the column, instead of facing his favourite element, fronts the land; perhaps emblematic of the end of all his great achievements, honours, and titles, told in one short sentence, "To dust thou shalt return." The sides of the pedestal represent the actions of Aboukir, Copenhagen, and Tráfalgar, and, encircled by a wreath, supported by cannon on the right and left, a tribute

of respect to his memory: on the pedestal is a well-carved crocodile, indicating his title "of the Nile," and above, a ship's cable, appropriately embracing the foot of the column.

In the rear of the jail is the Champ de Mars, a pleasant promenade after the heat of the day, which now becomes excessive. Snow and ice disappeared the middle of May, and in the third week of June, potatoes, peas, and cherries, were set before us at the hotel. On the sides of the mountain, north of the city, are the residences of some of the Northwest Company. The ascent to the summit, six hundred and seventy-four feet above the level of the St. Lawrence, is difficult; but in the prospect it affords, amply compensates all the labour it occasioned, for

“—————Now roves the eye,
 “ And posted on this speculative height,
 “ Exults in its command.”

To the right we gazed on the foaming breakers of La Chine, the village of La Prairie on the opposite shore, and the high lands in the distance; in the front, and extending to the left, the broad sparkling St. Lawrence, skimmed by vessels of all sizes, the glittering spires of Montreal below us, and the little island of St. Helen opposite the city, on which it is proposed to build a hospital.

From Montreal we took our passage in the elegant steam-boat Malsham, and touching at several little towns, at Trois Rivières on the outlet of Lake St. Pierre, half way between the two cities, about ninety miles from each we came to, under the impending heights of Quebec. The confined and dirty state of the lower town, in comparison with which Wapping would be clean, drove us to seek better quarters in the

upper; but after toiling up the zig-zag way, and passing through the gate where Montgomery received his mortal wound, in the attempt to storm the works, December 1775, we found merely an exchange of filth, tantalized too with the sight of neat chateaux at a distance in airy situations. The greater part of the city consists of the old French houses with low walls and high roofs, in whose decaying timbers myriads of one of Pharaoh's plagues dwell and propagate securely. Some good modern buildings of limestone, covered the high ground from the castle to the northern barrier, and being generally covered with tin, as are also the church spires, glitter with the sun's rays, to the injury of weak eyes. The streets are narrow and dirty, affecting the health of the inhabitants, who, during our stay of three or four days, were regaled with every scent the opposite to agreeable.

The repeated conflicts which have taken place for its possession, and the great attention now paid to its defences, show the importance of Quebec. Here the heroic Wolfe, in 1750, sealed with his blood the transfer of Canada to Britain; here also fell the brave Montgomery, who with the daring Arnold endeavoured to attach it to the revolted colonies. Though much diminished by visitors, the stone is still seen on which the intrepid leader of the British bands reclined, testifying the satisfaction he felt, that with his dying breath he could join in the shout of victory, at the downfall of Gallic power there.

From the plains of Abraham, where the parties engaged, we had a view of the works, and pre-eminent among them, the bristled elevation of Cape Diamond, commanding every part of the town, the ramparts, and the entrances by land and water;

beyond them the glistening spires, the governor's residence, (castle, as it is called,) and below, the majestic St. Lawrence, five miles in width, though four hundred miles from its mouth, the landscape beautifully relieved by villages on the opposite banks, vessels at anchor, and a rich undulating distance.

The public buildings do not attract much notice. The cathedral of Notre Dame is plain within and without; the stalls for the bishop and clergy, of oak neatly carved and varnished, from which, spring arches of the same material, supporting a large crown of oak over the altar; this is guarded on the right and left by Louis XIV. and his consort, each attended by two of the saints; Peter exhibiting his keys, in proof of his high authority: these figures are well executed in wood. A fine painting of the Virgin attended by angels forms the altar-piece; several others, by the same artists who decorated the church in Montreal, appear round the walls; among them may be mentioned the Crucifixion, a painting we had some difficulty in approaching, from the numbers who in quick succession kneeled before it;—the Flight into Egypt;—Angels ministering to the Virgin and Child;—the Angel releasing Peter, with several others:—it has a fine powerful organ.

Fortunately for my companion, we were here on St. Peter's day, June 29th, as he had never witnessed any of the ceremonies of the Roman church. This is one of the principal festivals in her calendar, and was observed by such a display of pomp, as, however calculated to excite devotion in her votaries, appeared in his heretical eyes, a departure from the simplicity of the gospel, and repugnant to common

sense. The eagerness manifested by the people to catch the drops of holy water distributed with a brush by the bishop among them, as he proceeded through the aisles, he would not account for; and that pieces of bone, cloth, wood, and iron, should be objects of veneration, appeared yet more strange. If any advantage be derived from the possession of relics such as these, the cathedral of Notre Dame in Quebec must excite the envy of many an order of *religieux*.

The Protestant church is a neat spacious building, with a groined roof, supported by columns of the Doric order: it has a full-toned organ.

The parliament-house, and the residence of the governor, though designated the castle, are simple structures. His excellency's garden on the heights, exhibits the curious idea of Ceres and Flora reposing under the shield of Mars; beds of asparagus, and rose trees, defended by cannon, and diversified with pyramids of balls.

The environs of Quebec are delightful, especially on the road to the falls of Montmorenci, about seven miles from the city. The total descent of this river, about thirty yards wide, may be great; but the principal is so trifling when compared with that of Niagara, that it seems scarcely worth mentioning; though very narrow, and consequently to the eye increasing the fall, it appears but about half the height. We should have been chagrined by the disappointment, had not the beauty of the country through which we passed, repaid us for the walk.

We left the capital of the British dominions in North America at 6 *a. m.* of the 30th June, by the steam-boat Car of Commerce, with a light favourable wind, increasing so as to render our foresail

and fore-topsail serviceable; hove to off Trois Rivières, at 4 *p. m.* and passing through Lake St. Pierre that evening, which on account of its intricate channel is dangerous in the night, landed July 1st at 11 *a. m.* in Montreal.

The trade of these two cities, is in timber, ashes, pork, and furs. A canal is commencing between Montreal and La Chine, to avoid its dangerous rapids, which will benefit its trade with the upper country.

Leaving Montreal, we crossed the river to La Prairie, where government has barracks, and proceeded eighteen miles that evening to St. John's on Rivière Sorel, a military station and port of entry: during the revolutionary struggle, it became the frequent sport of the contending parties. It is but an indifferent place; so that we felt no reluctance the next day in entering our names on board the American steam-boat *Phoenix*. When off the British naval dépôt on Isle au Noix, an officer inspected each traveller's luggage. Passing the strong fort commenced by the United States, and now a subject of debate on which side the line of demarcation between the two parties it is, we entered the waters of the republic. The day was favourable for the enjoyment of the wild and beautifully varied prospects the Lake (Champlain) affords, on either side, as we sailed along. The operations carried on upon its shores and waters by Loudon, Abercrombie, and Amherst; subsequently under Carlton and Burgoyne; and recently by Prevost, Downie, and the American M'Donough; render it more interesting than most other parts of the continent.

Plattsburgh, Clinton county, New York state,

near which the British and American squadrons under commodores Downie and M'Donough engaged, is a small pretty town, advantageously situated near the mouth of the Saranac. Thence we crossed to Burlington, Chittenden county, Vermont, handsomely built of brick on rising ground, presenting with its college a fine object from the water, and commanding a beautiful view of the lake, islands, and surrounding banks. The scenery totally differs from that of other parts of the continent I have visited, having a most romantic wildness of character: nature seems to have played her gambols here, and, in lieu of other amusement, to have tossed the rocks and hills about in sport:

“ In this wild scene of nature's true sublime,
 “ What prospects rise! rocks above rocks appear;
 “ Mix with th' incumbent clouds, and laugh to scorn
 “ All the proud boasts of art:—in various colour'd moss,
 “ Some mantled; others their enormous backs
 “ Heave high, with forests crowned; nor 'midst the view
 “ Are wanting those, who their insulting heads
 “ Uprear, barren and bleak, as in contempt
 “ Of vegetation's laws.”

At 10 *p. m.* we passed Crown Point on the New York shore; the rising moon tipping with her pale rays the ruins of this celebrated post, where once the watchful sentry marked the guarded way, challenging in his round, if footsteps heard, “who goes there?” Where oft, was heard and felt the horrid clash of arms, now hushed in silence. It was the hour when imagination loves to play, catching at any assistance memory can yield;

“ ——— Whose sway,
 “ The throng'd ideal hosts obey.
 “ Who bidd'st their ranks now vanish, now appear;
 “ Flame in the van, and darken in the rear.”

The inhabitants on the banks had retired to rest;

no noise was heard, save that of some faithful dog, or the splashing of our paddles, softly echoed from the hills. About three miles above the fort we landed in the state of Vermont, and for a lodging that night, and breakfast next morning, were indebted to a farmer on the bank, who with his family answered our request for admittance. In the morning he paddled us across the lake, here about a mile wide, and directed us to the Point.

The ruins shew the former strength of the post, and the abilities of the French in the choice of situation and defences. Lake Champlain at this point is narrowed to half a mile, so that it effectually secures the passage. A number of sheep were browsing and bleating within the entrenchments, a peaceful and pleasing contrast to the armed hosts who were assembled there to beat of drum. On either side, the mountains rise, sinking in the distant horizon, and, to enliven the view, some vessels were sailing on

“ The lake, whose fair expanse, like mirror clear,
“ What smiles upon the bank of bush or tree,
“ And heaven’s blue vault, reflects.”

The attention of a woman, at whose house we called for refreshment, will perhaps excite a wish on your part some time or other to acknowledge the sympathy she expressed, on finding we were travelling and at a distance from home, from our mothers, sisters, or wives. My companion smiled at mention of the last, but she did not appear to notice it, for on taking leave, she desired we would present them with the regards of the woman at Crown Point, a daughter of Eve in common with themselves; simple as the expression might seem to some, to us it indicated a heart imbued with the

noble feelings of philanthropy, taught to consider each fellow-creature as a sister or a brother.

Thence retracing part of our morning's walk, we traversed the route taken by Amherst in 1756, and by Burgoyne in 1777, whose exertions in this quarter appear almost incredible; and that night slept at Ticonderoga on the upper falls of Lake George. A number of saw-mills are put in motion by these and the lower falls.

From the peculiar circumstances attending the reduction of the fort, Ticonderoga awakened more attention than Crown Point. Commanding the communication by Skeenesborough (now Whitehall) and Fort Ann, it was an object of some importance with the Americans to retain it; but the force under St. Clair, to whom it was entrusted, proved insufficient to man the extensive works, much less to keep possession of the height on the other side of the outlet of Lake George, which so completely enfiladed every part of the fortification, as almost to enable the eye to number the men. This disadvantage Burgoyne perceived, and with inconceivable labour and expedition transported his artillery across the creek, and by means of tackle fastened to trees, hoisted it from rock to rock over dens of rattlesnakes to the summit of Sugar Hill, or Mount Defiance. As you are acquainted with the particulars of St. Clair's disastrous retreat across the Lake to Fort Edward, I need not proceed in the detail; but leaving this noted spot, now grazed by cattle, beg you will join me on board a small vessel laden with lumber, in admiring the magnificent scenery of Lake George. Numerous islands divide its transparent waters, bounded by rocks and

“ ———— forests huge,
“ Incult, robust, and tall, by nature’s hand
“ Planted of old ———— .”

As we approach the head of the lake where stand the ruins of Fort George, some marks of cultivation appeared, and near it we landed at the pretty village of Caldwell. A steam-boat is completing to navigate the lake to Ticonderoga, and company who wish to enjoy its beautiful scenery may be accommodated at Payne’s hotel in such a manner as to excite regret at the necessity of leaving it.

Pedestrians once more, we bent our course through a light sandy soil, which has often been trodden by hostile legions, to Glen’s Falls, or Queensbury, on the Hudson: thence keeping on the eastern bank of the river past Sandy Hill and Fort Miller, we came to Still Water, where, at the close of 1777, the two armies engaged with a desperation scarcely equalled in any preceding encounters; at the house where we refreshed, the gallant General Frazer breathed his last, who on that day frequently turned the doubting scale of victory; a day in which Phillips, Reidesdel, and Balcarres, particularly distinguished themselves; no less conspicuously shone the amiable virtues of Lady Harriet Ackland, in her endeavours to assuage the horrors attendant on war, and relieve the sufferings of her wounded husband, Major A. and his companions in arms. Crippled, his antagonist receiving fresh accessions of strength, and no relief from New York appearing, General Burgoyne was induced to negotiate with General Gates, and to surrender himself and army at Saratoga; where you might have found us viewing the extensive meadows on the river where the British arms were piled.

Continuing along the right bank to Lansingburgh, an inconsiderable town, we there crossed the river, and pursued our way to Troy, a large town, handsomely built of brick, seat of justice for Rensselaer county. Considerable business is carried on with New York, the Hudson being navigable so far for large sloops and schooners.

Again crossing the river, we arrived at Albany, Albany county, seat of the Legislature, four hundred and twenty miles from Quebec *via* Montreal. This city, like New York, preserves the marks of its origin, in the Dutch-built houses and narrow streets; the modern parts of the town are well built wide streets, adorned with many good and tasty structures, among them the state house, banks, and churches. Its trade is great, both foreign and with New York, the communication with which is kept up daily by steam-boats; these have been, and through the summer will be, freighted with company visiting the springs at Ballston and Saratoga, and the picturesque shores of Lake George.

Mr. P. hastening to New York, we separated for a time, and leaving Albany by the stage, I entered the State of Massachusetts, whose well cultivated though rocky lands, and neat farm-houses with rosy damsels, reminded me of many parts of England.

Williamston, at the foot of part of the Green Mountains, invited both passengers and horses to repose, previous to the toilsome ascent: it is in a pretty situation, and, in addition to the neat private dwellings, has an extensive college.

From the mountain I had a widely extended view of the country, speckled with villages, fields, and orchards. Stone being very abundant, it is used for fences, as in some parts of Gloucestershire and

Derbyshire. The New England States bear a strong resemblance to the southern part of Britain. The traveller meets with excellent roads, fine farms, towns, villages, and country mansions, the retreats from business and public life. The population and general aspect of the country assure him that he is not in a *new country*; and the intelligence and manners of the inhabitants are a pleasing indication that their ancestors were not of that barbarous cast which gave origin to some of the European nations: it is true, we meet with cases, in its history, of illiberality and fanaticism, not to be expected from men who had fled hither from persecution themselves, did we not consider the strange inconsistencies human nature is guilty of: to screen our own, we are ready to plead

“’Tis vain to seek in men for more than man;
“ Though proud in promise, big in previous thought,
“ Experience damps our triumph.”—

Crossing Connecticut river, and passing through Athol, and several other small towns and villages, among which Lancaster, in its airy elevation and simple elegance of buildings, much pleased me, I came to Waltham, a small manufacturing town, (in cotton,) thence to Cambridge, on Charles River, which, emulating its namesake on English ground, has reared its college, a noble brick structure. Journeying on, I arrived at Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, once the refuge of the persecuted, the birth place of Franklin, and the cradle of the revolution. It is irregularly built: the old streets narrow, the modern wider, well paved and lighted; the houses of brick. Among the public buildings, the capitol with its lofty dome attracts observation; situated on an eminence, it is conspicuous from

most parts of the town and neighbourhood, commanding a view of the different points of attack and defence, the wharf where the vessels lay whose offensive cargoes of tea were discharged into the water, Breed's and Bunker's hills, Charlestown neck and bridge, fortified by General Gage, Cops-hill, now covered by the handsome private houses of opulent citizens, and the heights of Dorchester; a monument to commemorate the revolution once stood on the spot it now occupies. The mall and green in front are the favourite promenades of fashionable elegance and beauty.

The capitol, churches, alms-houses, private dwellings, warehouses, and the advantages of water, rendered Boston one of the handsomest, as well as most commercial towns in North America. Shoes, hats, cotton goods, and white glass, are in the list of its manufactures.

Leaving Boston in a southern direction, through Dedham, a small country town, and crossing the Pautucket at a manufacturing town of the same name, I found myself in the little state of Rhode Island, which though the smallest in the Union, was by no means deficient in its efforts in the common cause of independence. Thence fourteen miles (and fifty from Boston) I came to Providence, the seat of government, a sea-port on the Pautucket, prettily situated on a declivity, on either side of the river, and connected by a bridge.

From Providence I dropped down the river on board a packet sloop to Patuxet a small port, and Newport, near its mouth, one of the oldest settlements in the state, but since the war much decayed; here our captain increased his stock of poultry, meat, and vegetables. The channel is deep, but

bounded, and in some parts narrowed, by steep rocks; and having a head wind, we found some difficulty in beating out. Strong works are erecting on the heights to command the passage.

Passing Stonington, which Admiral Sir T. Hardy bombarded in the last war, New London, at the mouth of the Thames, Newhaven, and through Long Island Sound, whose banks exhibit a continued series of villages and country seats, the packet ran alongside of Pine-street wharf, and landed me once more in New York. I found my friend P. in high spirits at the receipt of a letter announcing an increase of the family, and not a little anxious to return.

As the Philadelphia papers advertize the Ganges, Captain C——, of Liverpool, to be on the point of sailing, I took a hasty leave of him, and other friends in New York, and arrived in Philadelphia just in time to secure my luggage on board, pay my respects to my much esteemed friends, Dr. and Mrs. St. and family, and the next morning, July 30, followed the Ganges per steam-boat to Newcastle. I do not mention entry at the custom-house of myself or luggage, for none is required, nor was I ordered to open it for the inspection of any one in the shape of a revenue officer; without molestation, we took in whatever we thought fit, and after a detention of three days by head winds, I heard on the 4th of August, the welcome orders given for making sail:

“Upborne reluctant from the oozy cave
“The pond’rous anchor rises o’er the wave;
“Along the slipp’ry masts the yards ascend,
“And high in air the canvass wings extend.”

Off Cape Henlopen discharged our pilot, Ovid

Shaw, and with a fine breeze bid farewell to the American shores.

And now you claim the fulfilment of a promise given in one of my early letters, to retract or confirm the opinion then expressed of this country, in opposition to the abuse and obloquy in which many have indulged themselves.

I retract nothing; but am fully persuaded, that to the sober, industrious, and judicious in agricultural pursuits, no country under heaven that I know or have ever heard or read of, affords such facilities of obtaining a *comfortable independence* as the United States.

The number of passengers, thirty including children, returning in the Ganges, may seem a practical contradiction to the opinion. Though some of them may have pretensions to the two first requisites for success, they certainly have very few to the latter. Two of them are farmers, who were disappointed in the land near Philadelphia; they proceeded to New York, and finding it there indifferent also, as it is on nearly the whole line of coast, are returning to seek their old farms in England. Have these men done justice either to the country or to themselves? But more upon this subject remains to be said when we meet.

Fine wind and weather attended us to the 28th when running up the Irish coast, and anticipating the pleasure, ere a few hours had passed, of treading old England's shore again, we were taken, at 6 p. m. by a heavy squall, and within three minutes our fore, main, and mizen topmasts were hanging by the shrouds over the sides, one seaman lost, and within a few miles of the rocks, towards which the wind was fast driving us. In this situation, a vessel

to windward, seeing our signals of distress, bore down, and kept us in tow during the night, our hands in the mean time being busy in clearing the wreck. Much credit is due to captain C. for skill and judicious promptitude on this occasion; for at five o'clock, the evening after our disaster we had jury-topmasts up and rigged, and

“ Ere eight bells had rung,”

the decks were cleared and canvass bent. The following day commenced blowing hard, continuing without intermission to Sept. 1, when, without a pilot, we ran into the Mersey, and in a few minutes after dropping our anchor, were boarded by two officers from the custom-house, one of whom, as I landed my baggage immediately, politely attended me thither; and whence, as upon examination nothing was found contrary to the statute of the land, I was permitted to remove it.

By referring to my voyage out from Liverpool to New York, in the *Favourite*, you will see the *Ganges* then bound to Calcutta, leaving the Mersey in company with us, and our friend T. H. C. at that time her surgeon, exchanging farewell salutations with me.—I believe the gratification in receiving the parting cheer was mutual, as our distended sails bore us to the opposite parts of the globe.

The modesty of his deportment, his ingenuous disposition, and professional acquirements, had procured him the notice of many whose friendship was of no common nature; and I was anticipating the pleasure of again meeting him, to exchange the congratulations of returning travellers. Conceive then the regret with which I heard on landing, that now he lives only in the recollection of those with

whom he once joined in social converse.—No more can he contribute to the joys of others, parents and friends alike bereft. Yet they may rejoice in this; no longer is he exposed to the sorrows and troubles of a jarring world, but now in peace may dwell, for he

“ _____ has reached the shroe
“ Where tempests never beat, nor billows roar.”

Without apology, I conclude abruptly, with the vivid desire of exchanging this paper-intercourse, refreshing as I have found it among the forests of Columbia, for the delights of personal conversation, and of engaging your friendly sympathies in grateful acknowledgments to that kind Omnipotence, which through all his wanderings has constantly watched over, protected and upheld

Your's, very sincerely,
W. T. H.

*Liverpool, Wednesday Noon,
1st Sept. 1819.*

FINIS.



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