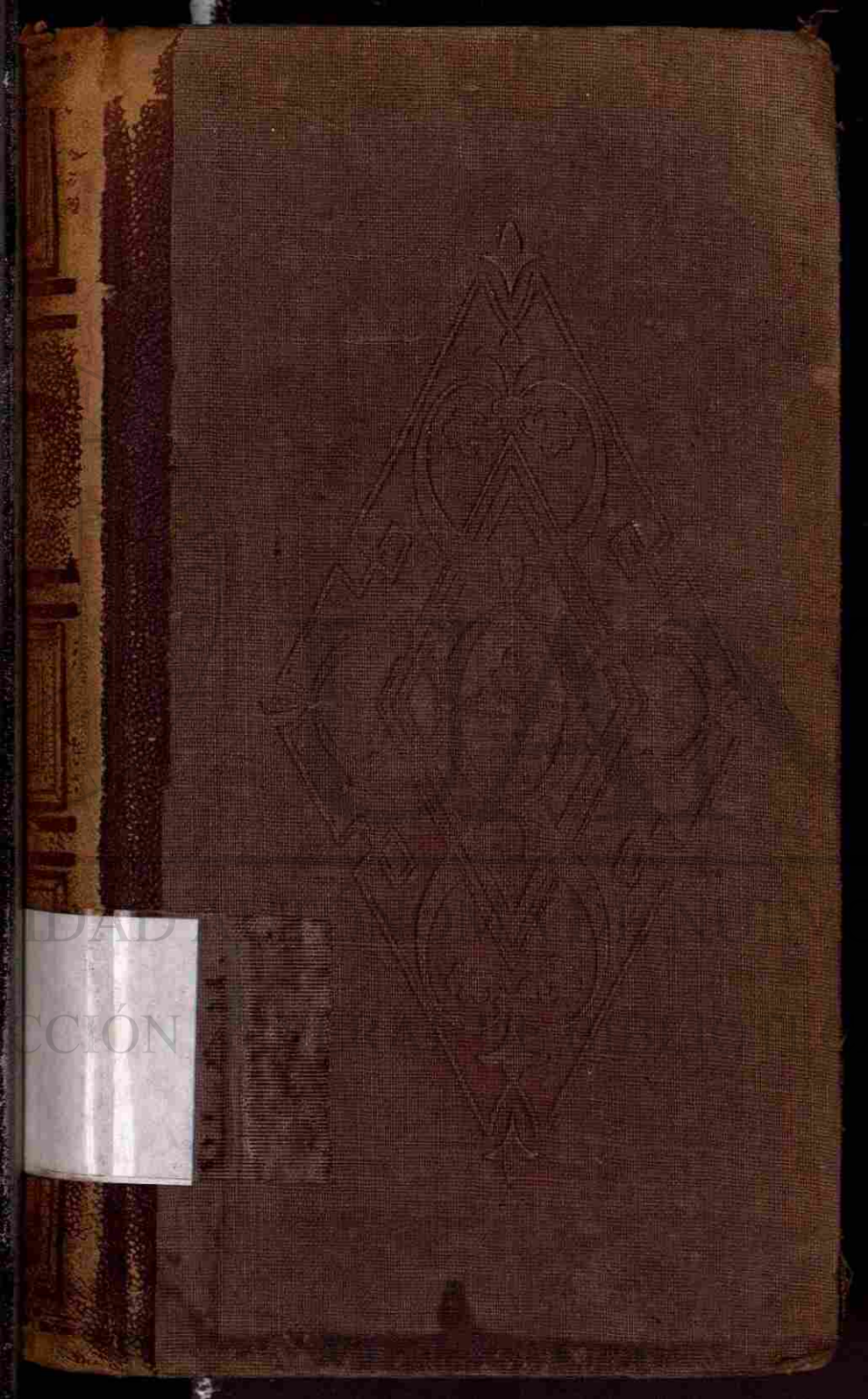

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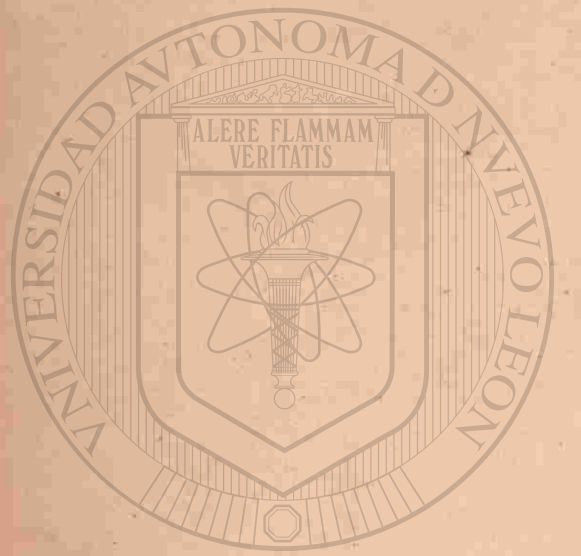

A

NEW HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

For the Use of Schools.

BY

JOHN LORD, A. M.,

AUTHOR OF A MODERN HISTORY, FROM THE TIMES OF LUTHER TO THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

NEW REVISED EDITION.

CHARLES DESILVER.

CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFFELFINGER.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE necessity for a new History of the United States, adapted to the use of schools, having been long felt, and frequently spoken of by experienced teachers, the hope of supplying some of the numerous deficiencies of which so many complained, induced the author to prepare the accompanying volume. If an impressive generalization of well-established facts can be presented — if an unbroken narrative can be preserved, interesting in its details and instructive in its moral lessons—and, especially, if the youthful mind can be inspired with patriotic sentiments and increased veneration for the principles, labours, and struggles of our ancestors — no more useful contribution to the cause of popular education can possibly be made. These having been the objects aimed at by the author, it remains with the public to decide whether they have been attained.

Although precluded, by the general plan of the work, from giving as full a description of many interesting events as might be desired, no fact which has an obvious relation to the progress of the nation has been omitted, all great characters and actors have been treated of in proportion to their importance, and the history has been uninterruptedly continued down to the present time.

In the preparation of this volume, original authorities and standard historians alone have been consulted, and especial attention has been bestowed upon dates and names. The arrangement of chapters and subjects is somewhat peculiar, and the entire book has been made as philosophical as the popular taste will permit. The questions have been placed at the end of the volume, in order that teachers may dispense with them altogether, if they so elect.

In conclusion, the author modestly expresses the hope that this little book may receive the attention which a life devoted to historical composition should not unreasonably claim.

J. L.

Boston, March, 1858.

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Landing of Columbus.

HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

A. D. 1460 to 1500.

The spirit of activity and change.

THE latter part of the fifteenth century was the dawn of a new and brilliant age in the history of civilization. It was a period marked by the dispersion of the shadows and delusions of the Middle Ages, when new hopes animated all classes of people, and led to the exercise of unknown energies. It was the commencement of those experiments and reforms which have since agitated Christendom, and changed the whole structure of society. The restless and the enterprising were no longer willing to rest in the bondage and ignorance of feudal times. They aspired to break both their civil and ecclesiastical fetters They were disgusted with prevailing absurdities, and were clamorous for greater privileges. The strife of parties and orders, of classes and interests, then began, which has not yet passed away, and which will continue until the people, everywhere, shall secure those great rights which constitute what is most to be valued in civilization.

Book I. Ch. 1. A. D. 1460 to 1500.

Revival of arts and learning

And improvements in architecture, in husbandry, in mechanical arts, in dress, in cookery, and in all articles of domestic comfort, kept pace with the progress of liberty and the extension of intellectual light. Nature revealed unknown sources of wealth, and art presented new forms of beauty. Sculptors arose, and rivalled the faultless models of the classic world. Painters transmitted to posterity the most beautiful conceptions of loveliness and grace. Enthusiastic scholars collected and collated valuable manuscripts. The muses again returned from their long and melancholy exile, and rekindled the love of poetry and song. Philosophers revived the questions which had agitated the Grecian schools, and speculated on the profoundest truths which had ever moved the human mind. Reformers exposed the follies and errors of the dark ages, and denounced the corruptions which had crept into the Church. A new life pervaded society, and produced a desire among the people to improve their condition, and extend the boundaries of knowledge. A great era commenced in the history of civilization, and a better day dawned upon the nations.

Revival of commerce.

But nothing has made this epoch more memorable than the spirit of commercial enterprise which first appeared among the Italian cities. The crusaders had developed the maritime importance of such cities as Florence, Venice, Pisa and Genoa, and stimulated the love of adventure and wealth. Travellers penetrated the East, and returned, as did Marco Polo, with glowing accounts of the wonders and magnificence of Asiatic cities. But whatever land adventurous curiosity may explore, will also be visited by those who are animated by the hopes of gain. The valued productions of Persia, Arabia and India, such as spices, silks, muslins

Book I. Ch. 1. A. D. 1460 to 1500.

shawls, carpets, ivory, and precious stones, were carried over mountains, rivers and deserts, and sold, in the marts of eastern commerce, to the merchants of Italy. They rapidly acquired fortunes, which increased the desire for luxury, as well as encouraged literature, refinement, and art.

A direct passage to India by sea the problem of the age.

But the delay, inconvenience and expense attending the overland transportation of goods from Asia, made the supply more limited than the demand. It therefore became the great desire of the merchants to import their commodities direct from India by sea. But no direct passage was known to navigators; to discover one, became the great problem of the age.

1480.

None studied this subject with more earnestness than Christopher Columbus, of Genoa; a great genius by nature, and also acquainted, theoretically and practically, with all the science and art then known which pertained to navigation.

Columbus infers the rotundity of the earth, and a western passage to India.

From the rotundity of the earth's surface, and from well-attested reports of floating timber, curiously carved —of canoes with the dead bodies of unknown races—and of plants and trees, natives neither of Africa nor Europe, which had been found at a great distance at sea west of Cape St. Vincent, or thrown upon the westerly shores of the Azores—he inferred that a great continent might be reached by sailing west, and that this continent was India.

He did not expect to discover a new continent, still less such as that of America, whose existence was not even dreamed of by the nations of antiquity, or by the most enlightened men of the fourteenth century. He simply hoped, by sailing west, to reach the eastern shores of Asia, having no definite idea of the greatness of the earth, nor of the difficulties to be surmounted. He did

Book I. Ch. 1.

not even know of the passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope. The only way known by which merchants could easily reach this El Dorado was, either by crossing the Isthmus of Suez, and then undertaking the dangerous navigation of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean; or by traversing the Syrian deserts to the Euphrates, and then descending the river and sailing through the Persian Gulf; subject, in either case, to great hardships, and the attacks of hostile nations and tribes.

A. D. 1486.

Columbus applies to the courts of Europe for aid.

Columbus, in order to realize the splendid idea of reaching India by a westerly passage, had need of powerful assistance. But the courts of Europe generally regarded his project as visionary, and declined to aid him. He was successively disappointed in his overtures to his native city, to John II. of Portugal, and to Henry VII. of England, though those kings were known to be liberal and enlightened patrons of commercial enterprise. At last, under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, he embarked upon the Atlantic Ocean with three small vessels, provisioned for twelve months, and manned with about a hundred followers. Providence favoured his bold undertaking, and, without any serious misfortunes or discouragements, apart from the murmurings of his men, this self-sustained and intrepid man of genius, after a voyage of thirty-six days from the Canary Islands, and seventy from the harbour of Palos in Spain, discovered land. This memorable event happened on the 12th of October, 1492; and the land discovered proved to be Guanahani, one of the Bahama Islands, on which he landed with considerable ceremony and deep emotion; and of which he took possession in the name of the King and Queen of Spain, much to the amazement of the natives, who offered no obstructions, and who regarded their visiters as children of the Sun.

1492.

Discovery of land.

Book I. Ch. 1.

After discovering other islands, among which were Cuba and Hispaniola, Columbus returned in triumph to Spain, and was received with universal respect and attention. His great services were appreciated, and, at first, rewarded. He afterwards commanded several expeditions to the new world, but was not sufficiently fortunate to give it his name. That glory was reserved for another. Nor would Spanish pride and jealousy permit the great discoverer to reap the rewards due to his matchless intrepidity. His latter days were saddened by the ingratitude of the princes whom he served, and the neglect of the country he had enriched. The very great benefactors to our race must be content with the glorious consciousness of having elevated it, a posthumous fame, and the hopes of the future life. Other rewards than these, they are not likely to receive.

A. D. 1493 to 1506.

Columbus' subsequent voyages.

His latter days.

Columbus started with the idea of solving the great problem of his age — a direct passage to India by sea. His idea was not realized by himself; this passage was discovered by the Portuguese. But how much grander was the discovery of a new western continent, when all the future consequences of it are considered, than merely finding an easier way to import into Europe the riches of the Indies! When we contemplate the inexhaustible sources of mineral wealth, the vast extent of fertile tracts, the rivers, prairies and forests of the new country — capable of supporting so many millions of people; and when we consider the character of the people who settled it, and their institutions and principles, destined to such unlimited expansion and application, and giving every reasonable hope of moral influence on the world's affairs beyond the limits of human calculation — then the greatness of the discovery which was made by Columbus cannot easily be exaggerated.

Consequences of the discovery of America

Book I. Ch. 1. A. D. 1496.

The merit, however, of first seeing the main-land, after the great navigator had led the way, belongs to John Cabot, a Venetian by birth, but a citizen of Bristol, in the west of England. The claim to the discovery of the main-land was disputed by Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, who succeeded in giving his name to the great continent of which the United States now form the most important part.

Cabot's first voyage.

In 1496, Cabot obtained from Henry VII. a commission similar to the one granted to Columbus by Ferdinand and Isabella, with this difference — that he was required to defray the expenses of the expedition himself. No records are preserved of his first voyage, in which he was accompanied by his son Sebastian; but it is believed that he reached the continent somewhere on the coast of Labrador. On his return to Bristol in 1498, he obtained a new, but less ample patent from the king, and another expedition was sent out, under the command of Sebastian Cabot, a man of singular talent and energy, who, after reaching the main-land in latitude 58 degrees, sailed south along the coast as far as Albemarle Sound, and then, for want of provisions, returned to England. Even then America was supposed to be some part of the eastern continent; and Cabot, like Columbus and other early navigators, was in quest of a westerly passage to India. The fruit of his labour was the addition of a part of North America to the English crown.

1498. Cabot's second voyage. Discov'y of American coast.

1504. Discov'y of Cape Breton.

In 1504, the French entered with other nations into competition for the commerce and soil of America. Some fishermen from Brittany discovered the island of Cape Breton; and, a few years afterwards, in 1522, John Verazzani, a Florentine, under the auspices of Francis I., explored the coast from Carolina to Nova Scotia. In 1534, Jaques Cartier discovered the river St. Lawrence,

which he ascended as far as Montreal, which he named from the beautiful hill on the island.

Book I. Ch. 1.

The French and English now claimed between them the northern sections of the American continent. The Spaniards and Portuguese, however, were the first to avail themselves of the great discovery which Columbus had made. They sought the southern sections of the continent, especially those which were supposed to be richest in precious metals. The first colony was established, soon after the discovery of America, in Hispaniola, or, as it was afterwards called, St. Domingo; and this was followed by a settlement in Porto Rico and Cuba, which islands were conquered and enslaved.

A. D. 1512.

Early Spanish settlements.

Then followed the conquest of Mexico by Fernando Cortez, whose sovereign, Montezuma, was the most powerful and wealthy of all the Indian princes that have reigned in America before or since the arrival of the Europeans. The people whom he governed had attained a considerable degree of civilization, having a regular government, a system of laws, and an established priesthood. They possessed considerable skill in many useful and ornamental arts, were able to record events, and were rich in cities, in palaces, and in gardens. But their gold and silver excited the cupidity of the Spaniards, and proved the greatest of their misfortunes. Mr. Prescott has depicted their sufferings and ruin with exquisite art and beauty; and the young student is referred to his brilliant narrative, since the subjects to which it relates can only be alluded to here.

Conquest of Mexico.

1538. Conquest of Peru.

About ten years after the conquest of Mexico, Pizarro, another adventurous Spaniard, landed in Peru, and soon added that country to the dominions of the King of Spain. All Indians between the ages of fifteen and fifty were compelled to work in the mines; and so dreadful was the

Book I. Ch. 1. A. D. 1538.

forced labour, that four out of five of those who were so doomed, perished annually. There was no limit to Spanish rapacity, which was exercised wherever the Spaniards obtained a foothold on the American continent.

Conquest of Brazil.

Portugal soon rivalled Spain in the extent and richness of its colonial possessions. Brazil was discovered in 1501, and was settled about fifty years afterwards. The natives, inferior to the Mexicans and Peruvians, were still more easily subdued, and a powerful State arose over the ruin of the native princes. But the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies were not enriched to the degree which was anticipated from their possession of inexhaustible mines. True riches are not in gold and silver; these are only the medium of exchange — the substitute for more valuable materials. National wealth consists in industry, skill, and art, as displayed in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. The Spaniards, insensible to this truth, exchanged their gold for the productions of other countries; and thus those most distinguished for art became the real gainers.

Effects of conquests.

Still, all nations, in that period, were infatuated with the supposed value of the precious metals, and unreasonable expectations were formed of the immediate advantages to be derived from the possession of the newly discovered continent. Not merely gold and silver were to be procured in boundless quantities, with scarcely any difficulty; but fountains were to be found, whose waters, flowing over beds of gems and gold, would prove the elixir of life, and produce perpetual youth. It was in quest of this fair land that one of the companions of Columbus, Juan Ponce de Leon, a rapacious adventurer, discovered the peninsula which he called Florida, from the brilliant blossoms and fresh verdure of that country in the early spring.

Discovery of Florida.

Book I. Ch. 1.

From the impression that Florida was a land of gold and jewels, sanguine adventurers went in quest of them. In consequence of their explorations, Georgia was visited, and the mighty Mississippi was discovered. Fernando de Soto, one of the companions of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru in 1538, was the first to see the queen of rivers, which he ascended, in 1541, to its junction with the Missouri. This latter river he explored for two hundred miles, and would have advanced farther, had he not died, exhausted with fatigue. From his discoveries, and also those of de Leon and others, the Spaniards laid claim to the country around the Gulf of Mexico, and also a part of the Atlantic coast of North America.

Discov'y of the Mississippi.

The new world, therefore, fell into the hands of the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, and English, on the ground of discovery. But it was not yet colonized by them. Many unsuccessful attempts were to be made before this could be effected. Difficulties and dangers were to be surmounted. These chiefly arose from the perils of the sea, want of provision, the unhealthfulness of the climate, and the unsubdued face of the country—from the impenetrable forests, extreme heat and cold, wild beasts, and the hostility of the Indians.

Before we trace these settlements, it is well to consider briefly that singular race which the Europeans had to encounter with such fierce warfare, and which presented the greatest obstacle to the peaceful possession of the country.

Aboriginal Americans.

CHAPTER II.

THE INDIANS.

Book I. Ch. 2. A. D. 1492 to 1620.

Personal aspects of the savages. Their habits.

THE early navigators, when they reached the shores of the new world, found that it was inhabited by a people with whose language, manners and customs, they were entirely unacquainted. Their personal appearance was as strange as their language and habits. Their peculiarities were different from all other known races of men. Their complexion was copper-coloured, their countenances melancholy and sedate, their hair straight and black, their aspect wild, their bodies athletic and strong, and their language earnest and musical. Their mode of life showed that they had made no attainments in civilization. They were more completely barbarous than any people then known on the globe. Those who inhabited the present limits of the United States were savages, scantily clothed, living in rude huts, and dependent for their daily bread on precarious means of support. They had no arts, no literature, and no records of their origin and history. Large settlements, at least in North America, Mexico excepted, were unknown. There were no cities, no temples, no palaces, no comfortable houses. They had neither ships, nor domestic animals, nor beasts of burden, nor any kind of mechanism to lighten labour. They were ignorant of all luxuries, of commerce, of agriculture to any extent, of manufactures, and of the arts of cookery. They lived on a coarse kind of grain called maize, on such game as the forests afforded, and on the fish they caught in the rivers. They had no

mechanical skill beyond the construction of a wigwam, or a birch bark canoe, or the rude weapons of war and the chase. They were ignorant of government and laws, and submitted only to the mild and imperfect jurisdiction of their chieftains. There was no order of priests among them, as among the ancient Celts and modern Hindoos.

Habits and customs of the Indians.

As individuals, they possessed no property aside from their arms, canoes, and a few ornaments, of which they were fond, unless we except the corn they had planted, and the game they had killed. They revenged their wrongs without having recourse to any public tribunal. They spent their time in alternate torpidity and intense excitement. Their pleasure, as well as business, were war and the chase. The forests were their home, their joy, and their security. Athletic games and feastings on important occasions, however, varied the ordinary monotony of their lives. They indulged in no high hopes; they formed no grand plans of life. All sedentary employments were regarded as degrading and servile. They committed to women the labour of the field and the drudgery of the wigwam, while they abandoned themselves to idleness and feastings, or engaged in amusements both dangerous and uncertain.

Their dispositions and traits.

Their dispositions and traits of character were as remarkable as their habits and customs. Individualism, in all its wild independence and in all its unsociality, was the grand peculiarity of the Red man. He hated everything like civilization. He loved to roam unrestricted in his forests, and avoid settlements and business. He had no inclination for the comforts of a fixed habitation. He was capable of great fatigue and privation, and exhibited in the chase peculiar sagacity. He was at home in the solitude of the wilderness, and never lost his way. He was meditative, reserved, and quiet — rarely made professions of friendship which were not sincere, and, for a barbarian, had great respect for his word. As a friend, he was true, disinterested, and stable. As an enemy, he was revengeful, implacable, and cruel. He never forgot a kindness, nor forgave an injury. He divided his last cake of bread with the stranger who claimed his hospitality; he tormented with the most merciless barbarity the victim who had excited his vengeance.

Religious rites and ceremonies.

He was not deficient in religious sensibilities; but, like the ancient German, whom he strikingly resembled, he disdained to worship God in temples made with hands, or with statues and images. He was no idol worshipper. He was not even a Pantheist, seeing God in the groves, the rocks, the rivers, the thunder, the sun, the moon, and the stars. Yet he believed in the reality of a Supreme Being, who controlled his destinies — an invisible Spirit, to whom all were subject and obedient. This Great Spirit was the universal Father who protected his children, who rewarded the good and punished the evil. The Indian feared and adored, though vaguely and indefinitely, this invisible power, and sought to propitiate his favour or avert his wrath by deeds of penance and severe meditation.

Views and treatment of women.

He differed from the ancient Germanic barbarian in his views of woman, whom he degraded and kept in bondage. He did not reverence her nature, or yield to her entreaties. He heard in her voice no inspiration, nor was he influenced by her gentle counsels. He regarded her as an inferior being, and made her his slave. She carried his burdens when he travelled, she planted and gathered his corn, she made his mats and blankets, she discharged all the laborious duties of his home. Yet she toiled without murmuring, and loved without a generous return. She was rarely the mother of more than four children;

but of these she was fond, and to their comfort she was devoted.

Games, festivals

The great passion of the North American Indian was war. He was engaged in constant hostilities. He looked upon warfare as the most honourable and glorious of all pursuits, and success in it secured both dignity and influence. The brave and successful warrior was the pride of the tribe, and the object of unbounded panegyric. Next to war, the Indian loved the chase; and his hunting-grounds were more prized than all the united blessings of civilization. He obstinately refused to be civilized.

Hatred of civilization.

He never exhibited any taste or desire for the privileges and blessings of society. When tamed and partially educated by white men, he would generally return to his wild pleasures in the wilderness. He never sympathized with the European in any of his pursuits. He neither envied nor imitated him. He had a natural antipathy to him, from whatever country he came, and whatever religion he professed. All his tastes, his habits, his prejudices and his passions, predisposed him to inveterate hostility to the European race and European civilization. And since barbarism cannot contend successfully with civilization, the Indians, when brought in contact with civilized enemies, faded away. Their fate was as inscrutable, as it was melancholy. But it has all the mystery of a Providential event.

When, however, the Europeans first visited the shores of North America, the natives were formidable, and much to be dreaded. They were more numerous than at any subsequent period, and were subdivided into numerous tribes, speaking different dialects.

The most powerful of these were the Algonquins, the Iroquois, and the Mobilians. The first named, which included the Delaware, Narragansett, Pequod, and perhaps

Huron tribes, inhabited the Atlantic coast, from Canada to the Chesapeake Bay. With these, the most desperate contests were carried on. From these, the early settlers received the greatest injury. They were objects of unceasing fear and detestation. The second great division inhabited the shores of the St. Lawrence, and afterwards central New York, under the various names of Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. They were called the Five Nations, and were chiefly formidable during the colonial wars with the French and Canadians. They lived too remote from the early settlements, to give serious alarm. The third great race, the Mobilians, included the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Appalachees, and Yamassees. Their hunting-grounds were still more remote from European settlements, although they were scattered along the Atlantic coast from Canada to Georgia. Had all these various tribes united to expel their invaders—had they been capable of concert, the historian might have had to record a different history of the colonization of America. But they were at perpetual war with each other, and did not know the designs of the Europeans, and were not fully prepared for an organized resistance. As their invaders obtained a foothold, they retreated into more remote forests. They could not relinquish their savage mode of life. and hence they faded gradually away.

Various Indian tribes.

Sebastian Cabot.

CHAPTER III.

UNSUCCESSFUL SETTLEMENTS.

Book I. Ch. 3.

A. D. 1536. Attempt to colonize Newfoundland.

THE idea of visiting America with the view of a peaceful and permanent settlement, rather than of conquest, seems to have originated with the English; for we read that, as early as 1536, a merchant of London, named Hore, in connection with several gentlemen of family and character, attempted to colonize Newfoundland. But, being in danger of starvation, they returned to England in a French fishing-vessel which they had seized.

1562. Huguenotic colony in Florida.

The next attempt was made by a party of Huguenots, in the reign of Charles IX. of France, with the hope of escaping religious persecution. Under the auspices of the celebrated Admiral Coligny, John Ribault, of Dieppe, in 1562, sailed with two ships, not for Canada, but for more genial regions, and approached the continent in the latitude of St. Augustine. Discovering the St. John's river, he sailed to the Port Royal entrance, a spacious inlet at the southern extremity of Carolina. Here he built a fort, left a colony, and returned to France for a reinforcement. But none could be obtained, in consequence of the civil wars, and the colonists were obliged to relinquish their ground. This was much to be regretted, since the colonists were animated by religious ideas, as were the pilgrims who settled New England at a subsequent period. The next band of Frenchmen were of a different stamp — mere adventurers, under the command of Laudonniere, averse to order and greedy of gain. Dis-

Book I. Ch. 3.

A. D. 1562 to 1565.

appointed in the hopes of sudden wealth, they in part turned pirates, and alienated the natives by their unprincipled and dissolute conduct. They soon were reduced to great extremity from famine, and were only saved from actual starvation by the arrival of Ribault with provisions and new adventurers. But Spanish exclusiveness and jealousy would not permit the peaceful occupation of the place, and Fort Carolina was taken, and the colonists were murdered. These disasters happened in 1565, and, three years afterward, the Spaniards were the only people who inhabited any territory which now belongs to the United States. The settlement of St. Augustine, for more than forty years, was the only European colony which proved permanent, on the Atlantic coast, north of the Gulf of Mexico.

French under Laudonniere.

1565. Settlement of St. Augustine.

And it was not until the reign of Elizabeth, that the English made any serious effort to colonize the new world. The expedition of the Cabots in the reign of Henry VIII., and the voyages of Willoughby and Chancellor during the reign of Mary, were for discovery rather than settlement. Navigators sought to discover either the north-west passage to India, or the precious metals, which were supposed to exist even on the frozen shores of Labrador.

English colonization under Elizabeth.

It was the fisheries of Newfoundland which suggested the first sober views of colonization to the English mind. In 1578, Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a liberal patent of jurisdiction, for six years, over a territory extending six hundred miles from any spot he might successfully colonize. But his voyages were a continued series of disasters, and he himself finally lost his life in a little bark of ten tons, in which he foolishly attempted to return to England, after the failure of his hopes.

1578. Humphrey Gilbert's voyages.

His step-brother, who made an effort to realize his designs, was no less a person than the celebrated Sir Walter

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Raleigh, one of the great wits who adorned the court of the "Virgin Queen"—a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier—a man, indeed, of universal genius, but chiefly distinguished for his spirit of reckless adventure. He obtained a similar patent to the one granted to Gilbert, and sent Amidas and Barlow with two ships to the American coast. They landed, not on the barren shores of Newfoundland, but in those genial regions where stately oaks, flowering magnolias, and luxuriant vines, promised fertility and invited to repose. This beautiful country they called Virginia, in honour of their queen; and so glowing and enthusiastic were the accounts they gave of it on their return, that a large expedition of seven ships was fitted out, in 1585, with sanguine colonists, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. After various perils they reached the Roanoke, and their vessels returned to England.

A. D. 1580. Sir Walter Raleigh's patent.

1585. Lane's unsuccessful settlement.

The natives, though inclined to be friendly at first, were not pleased to see the strangers occupy their hunting-grounds with the idea of a permanent settlement. Moreover, they were provoked by various acts of injustice. The governor, Lane, was also unequal to his duties, and permitted himself to be diverted from them by a foolish search for gold. The men, too, sighed to return, after the first flush of enthusiasm had passed. They dreaded famine, and they feared the Indians. Impelled by no lofty motives, they abandoned the settlement before the year elapsed, having induced Sir Francis Drake, who had visited them with twenty-three ships, to transport them to their native land.

Scarcely had they sailed, when three ships arrived, with new adventurers; and in the following year one hundred and fifty additional colonists were landed, over whom John White was appointed Governor. But they were soon

1587 White Governor of Virginia

reduced to great necessities, and the Governor returned to England to solicit aid. His importunities were unfortunately disregarded, in consequence of the excitement which 1590. was produced by the fears of Spanish invasion. It was not until 1590, two years after the arrival of the last colonists, that White returned with the promised assistance. But he returned only to find a deserted colony. No traces remained of the settlers he had left on the island of Roanoke. They had all perished from famine, or the vengeance of the Indians.

1602. Gosnold discovers Cape Cod.

Two years after, Bartholomew Gosnold made a direct passage to America, avoiding the usual route of the Canaries and West India Islands, and landed on one of the Elizabeth Islands, near Nantucket. Having seen the country in June, he formed too favourable an idea of its fertility. From his representations, the historian Hakluyt, one of the Prebends of Westminster, induced some merchants of Bristol to found a colony; but nothing was done, except the further exploration of the New England coast.

1605. Settlement of Port Royal.

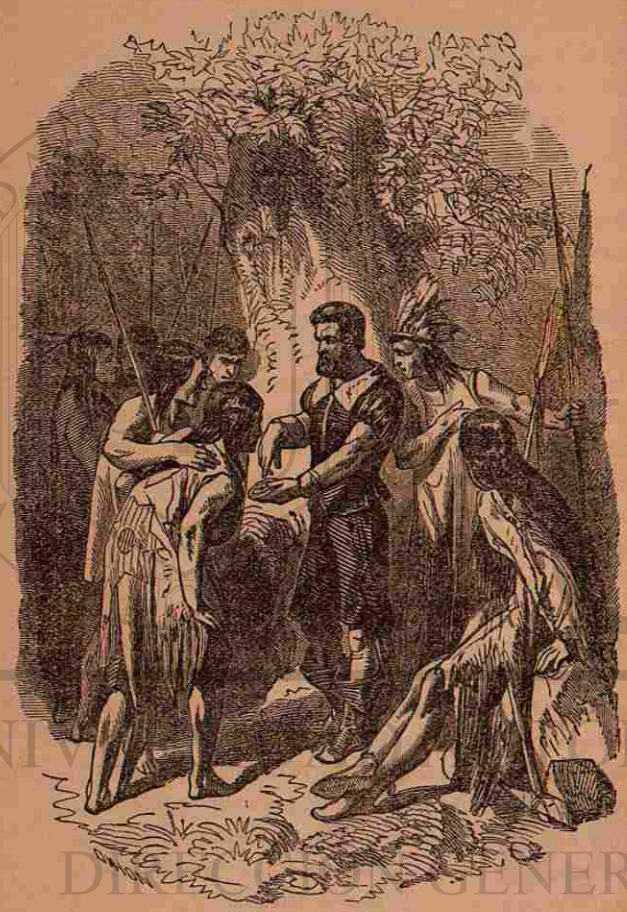
About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the King of France granted to one of his courtiers a vast tract of country, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, called Acadie; and four ships were sent out to the new territory, with a view chiefly of securing a monopoly of the fur trade. The results of the expedition were, the discovery of the rivers St. John and St. Croix, the examination of the coasts of Maine and Massachusetts, and the settlement of Port Royal, abandoned however in 1606.

James I. of England viewed with distrust and jealousy these movements of the French, and, to prevent their occupation of the country, encouraged his subjects in new and more extensive plans of permanent settlement. Under his auspices, two new companies were formed, by whose efforts America was finally colonized. Their object was the possession of the country. The idea of a north-west passage to India was beginning to be regarded as chimerical, and more enlarged views of colonization supplanted the notions of the early visitants. Still, the difficulties to be surmounted, arising from the character of the wilderness to be reclaimed, and the hostility of the Indian whose hunting-grounds were invaded, were even yet not appreciated.

1606. James I. grants a charter for the settlement of Virginia

Results of early voyages

The benefits which had been expected to result to England and France had thus far proved delusive. Gold and silver had not been obtained, and many valuable lives had been lost. Great sums had also been expended in unprofitable speculation. It seems to be the destiny of nations to make real progress only through labour, sacrifices, and sorrows. Nothing had yet been obtained except sad experiences. These, however, served as lights to point out dangers which could be learned only by experiment. Men are ever doomed to pay dearly for their experiences. The early navigators did little else than stimulate curiosity and provoke adventure. They returned to Europe with only specimens of the furs and trees which subsequently were to prove important articles of commerce. There was one plant which they early introduced, however, whose value has been increasing with advancing civilization, as a source of wealth to the producer, if not of utility to the consumer. Sir Walter Raleigh was the first to teach the use of tobacco to the European world. Who can tell the ultimate results of the introduction of this wonderful plant? Is the world better or worse for this gift of Raleigh to the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth?



Captain Smith Explaining the Compass.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

THE SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

Difficulties attending the early settlements

If anything connected with the history of America is grand or romantic, it is the struggles of the early colonists to plant themselves, securely and permanently, in an unknown wilderness, far from the realms of civilization, and in continual danger of annihilation from the hostility of savage enemies, the scarcity of provisions, unaccustomed changes of climate, and an entirely new mode of life. These struggles have an inherent interest which will never pass away, because they illustrate great and glorious principles of human action. They not only show singular enterprise and intrepidity, but, in many instances, were prompted by the most elevated moral sentiments. The colonization of the country furnishes some of the most remarkable examples of courage, energy, magnanimity, and faith, which are to be found in the history of mankind. It therefore claims the attention of all elevated minds, and of the young people of America especially, since it presents the toils and sacrifices of their ancestors, by which alone they were enabled to lay the foundation of a great republic. In no subsequent period were such great deeds done, and such lofty virtues generated, if we except the revolutionary contest alone.

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1606.

The historical importance of early colonization.

The history of colonization has not only a moral and romantic interest, but also a philosophical importance. We are led to study the causes of that great movement, and, hence, contemplate those great ideas and principles which produced emigration. And almost every movement and every principle of the early settlers have had a decided influence on the condition and welfare of their descendants. We can trace a connection between the earliest events and the formation of great institutions. It should be the aim of the historian to present these, and these chiefly; for how insignificant and devoid of permanent interest are the petty jealousies and contests of colonial life, when compared with the spiritual agencies and great events which are connected with the progressive development and ultimate expansion of the American colonies!

Causes which led to colonization.

But we are obliged, in surveying the progress of colonization, to examine the settlement of each colony by itself, since different principles animated different settlers, and since each colony was planted under peculiar circumstances, which have affected the subsequent condition of the most powerful States. At one time the love of gain, and, at another, a restless passion for adventure, sent colonists to the new world. Again, the desire to worship God, unrestricted by civil or ecclesiastical authority, and still again, a craving for greater civil liberty, were ruling motives among the emigrants. Sometimes all these principles and passions were combined, and operated together; and, at other times, only some of them were discoverable. And then they operated with greater or less intensity in different sections, sometimes producing bigotry, acrimony, and exclusiveness; and, in other places, favouring generous equality and toleration. It was religious ideas chiefly which planted Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland,

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Carolina, and Pennsylvania; and yet, in all these colonies, different states of society were produced, although, in each separate one, the early settlers transmitted to posterity their peculiar sentiments and virtues.

Romantic history of the settlement of Virginia

The earliest English settlement on the shores of North America was Virginia. Its early history is as romantic as that of any of the colonies, but not so sublime, since it was colonised by adventurers in quest of mere worldly and material objects. Moreover, they belonged, for the most part, to a different class of English society from that in which either the Puritans, the Catholics, or the Quakers, mingled. They were more aristocratic, more devoted to pleasure, more refined, perhaps, in manners and taste. They were less religious, not so lofty in their views, and not so well fitted to endure hardship and privation.

Condition of England

The condition of England in the early part of the seventeenth century favoured adventure in America. The prosperity of Spain and Portugal excited emulation and the desire of sudden wealth. A redundant population also sought new means of support. All ordinary occupations were filled with supernumeraries. Many enterprising people, who had served in the wars of Elizabeth, were thrown out of employment. Men of wealth expected to reap extravagant returns for all capital employed in the new world, all parts of which were supposed to abound in the precious metals. Great commercial prospects were held out by adventurers to the credulous and the sanguine.

James I. grants a charter for the settlement of Virginia

In this state of the public mind, James I. granted, in the year 1606, an ample patent to a company of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, in and around London, for the exclusive possession of a belt of territory extending from thirty-four to thirty-eight degrees of north latitude. Whoever paid 12*l.* 10*s.*, about sixty dollars, into

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1606.

the company's treasury, was entitled to a hundred acres of land, and to a hundred acres more when the first lot was cultivated. And every emigrant was also allowed an equal quantity of land. The colonists were permitted to transport, free of duty, for seven years, what arms and provision they required, to search for mines, to coin money, to impose duties on all vessels trading to their ports, and to enjoy all the ordinary civil and political privileges of Englishmen. But this charter was not favourable to the development of liberty. It gave the council in England the general superintendence of common affairs; while the supreme legislative authority, and the control of all appointments, were vested in the king. The aim of the company and of the colonists was money, rather than the extension of democratic ideas; and even the welfare of the colonists was made subservient to the interests of the patrons at home, who sought the means of improving their fortunes.

Conditions of the charter.

The company gave immediate attention to the settlement of Virginia. Christopher Newport sailed on the 19th of December, with three small vessels and one hundred and five emigrants, to colonize the unknown wilderness. And even these were men peculiarly unfitted for the task. They were mostly adventurers, unaccustomed to manual labour, and connected with families of consideration. They were disunited among themselves, and filled with jealousy in view of talents superior to their own. The only man in the company fit to rule them was Captain John Smith, and of him they were envious and suspicious.

The first company of colonists.

The voyage was made by way of the West Indies, and lasted four months. It was the intention of Newport to land at Roanoke; but a storm drove his ships to the Chesapeake Bay, and they anchored at Old Point Comfort, at the mouth of James river. After spending three weeks in exploring the river and adjacent country, they

Their voyage.

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1607.

disembarked thirty miles from the mouth of the river, at a spot they named Jamestown, in honour of the king,—the oldest English settlement in America.

Settlement of Jamestown.

The government of the infant colony was entrusted to a provincial council, the names of which had been kept in a sealed box during the voyage. Of these, Edward Wingfield was chosen President—an intriguing man, unworthy of his post, and unfit to be entrusted with power in such an important crisis. Smith was excluded from the council, in consequence of the jealousy of the President, although his name was on the list.

Explorations of Captain John Smith.

While the men were employed in felling trees for their new abodes, Newport and Smith explored the river, and visited the residence of Powhatan, just below the falls of Richmond. This person was the most celebrated and powerful of the Indian chieftains in that section of the country, and in spite of the murmurs of the savages, over whom he exercised almost absolute rule, he received the strangers with great hospitality.

Sufferings of the colonists.

In June, Newport returned to England with his ships, and the inexperienced and divided colonists were left to struggle with disease, famine, hardship, and danger. Before September, half of them died, including Gosnold, the projector of the enterprise. The marshes and the summer heats generated disease among men unaccustomed to the climate. Added to these evils, it was soon found that the natives were unfriendly. The President, Wingfield, was not only incapable of shielding the colonists, but even contemplated desertion, and actually embezzled the choicest stores. John Ratcliffe was chosen his successor, but was equally incapable; and the government fell at last into the hands of the ablest, even Smith, who succeeded in imparting a gleam of sunshine into the night of gloom and desolation.

Book II. Ch. I. A. D. 1607.

Character and history of Smith.

With none of the early colonists are associated more talent, enterprise, and courage, than with this remarkable man — a soldier, a traveller, a philanthropist, of decided reputation, before he was thirty years of age. He had visited most of the countries of Europe. He had fought for the independence of Holland, and had also enlisted against the Turks. He had been a prisoner in Wallachia, and a slave at Constantinople. He slew his taskmaster in the Crimea, and returned, after innumerable perils, to his native country. No one entered with more enthusiasm than he into the project of colonizing Virginia; and it was by his experience and sagacity that the infant colony was saved from ruin.

His capture by the Indians.

His enterprising spirit, however, led him into unnecessary dangers, which nearly cost him his life. One of his adventures was attended with circumstances which still invest his name with all that is romantic and interesting. He had been exploring the wilderness, and was taken captive by the Indians. For a time he amused the hostile savages by showing them the wonders of a pocket compass. But, at last, they led him as a victim to their chieftain, who decreed his death, as a man dangerous to Indian interests. He was dragged to the ground, his head placed upon a stone, and the warlike Powhatan stood over him with his club. As the fatal blow was about to be given, the chieftain's daughter, Pocahontas, a child twelve years of age, clasped the prisoner's head in her arms, and eloquently besought his life. Her entreaties were respected, and the Governor was spared, as if by direct interposition of Heaven, for the future welfare of the colony.

Pocahontas saves his life.

When he returned to Jamestown, after seven weeks' absence, Smith found the colony reduced to thirty-eight men, discouraged, desperate, and resolved to abandon it.

Book II. Ch. I. A. D. 1607.

Reinforcement of the colony.

But he succeeded in keeping up their spirits until Newport arrived with supplies, and one hundred and twenty new settlers. These were, unfortunately, like those who had preceded them, gentlemen adventurers, unused to hardship and disdainful of toil — men whose thoughts were upon gold, and not on substantial welfare, and still less upon religious ideas. Mistaking some glittering sand for the anticipated treasures, they filled one of their ships with the useless dirt, and returned to England. Smith was wiser; he loaded the other ship with cedar, skins, and furs; and these proved more valuable than gold itself to the ultimate welfare of the country.

Smith's able administration.

Moreover, he employed himself in making useful explorations, and actually visited every inlet, river, and bay on both sides of the Chesapeake, making accurate maps and charts, and conciliating the Indians by presents and kindness. Such a man was a noble benefactor to the colony over which he presided. But the patentees in England were dissatisfied. They cared but little for his genius, and still less for his discoveries. They only wanted a return for their investments. Disappointed in this, they threatened to desert the colony.

Then were developed the great energies and resources of the President. He taught the goldsmiths, and refiners, and vagabond gentlemen, who had hoped to make their fortunes, that self-reliance which is greater than any pecuniary reward. He accustomed them to fatigue and labour, showed them how to protect themselves, and induced them to plant corn and build houses.

Patentees dissatisfied.

Still, the patentees were vexed that no gold was found, and attributed the failure to the provincial council, which of course was more anxious to advance the interests of the colony, than enrich greedy merchants at home. They therefore applied to the King for a new charter, by which

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1600.

all authority should be withdrawn from the colonial rulers. It was readily granted, and, in 1609, the territory assigned to the corporation was enlarged by a grant of two hundred miles north and two hundred south of Old Point Comfort, and extending west to the Pacific. The corporation obtained the appointment of all the officers, and the chief command was entrusted to a Governor. Lord De la War received the appointment, which was a good one, this nobleman being as distinguished for virtues as he was for rank.

James I. grants another charter.

Lord De la War appointed governor.

Under the auspices of so good a man, the greatest eagerness prevailed to colonize Virginia; and nine ships, with five hundred emigrants, departed from England. Only seven of the vessels, however, arrived; and these were freighted with the most unpromising set of men that ever embarked on a scheme of colonization—men without experience or character, broken-down tradesmen, impoverished men of rank, and libertines sent away by parents who wished to avoid the disgrace they entailed upon their families.

Such people could only give trouble to Smith, who retained command until the arrival of the governor, or his deputies. The new settlers fomented rebellion, alienated the Indians, and encouraged every species of disorder. Smith was obliged to send the ringleaders to England, and shortly after to follow them himself, in consequence of a wound he had received from the explosion of some gunpowder.

Discontents in the colony.

Departure of Smith.

His departure was an incalculable loss. The colonists, unprincipled, discontented, profligate and lazy, were a prey to Indians, to famine, and to disease. So great were their sufferings, and so complete was their despair, that they were about to burn the settlement, and embark in four miserable pinnaces for the fisheries on the banks of

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1610.

Newfoundland. But the timely arrival of Lord De la War restored hope and confidence, and, under his mild and judicious administration, prosperity again dawned upon the colonists. The rites of religion were observed, industry was exercised, and provisions were garnered for future contingencies.

Arrival of Lord De la War.

Lord De la War, unfortunately, was obliged to return, after a brief sojourn, to England, on account of ill-health. He was succeeded, in 1611, by Sir Thomas Dale. This governor was harsh and injudicious, and a rigorous military government succeeded the mild administration of Lord De la War. He was soon supplanted by Sir Thomas Gates, who arrived with a new reinforcement of men and supplies. Such was the miserable state of the colony, that he felt obliged to continue the strict military discipline introduced by Dale. It numbered, indeed, seven hundred men; but these were generally unused to labour or restraint.

Sir Thos. Dale.

The patentees realized no more return under the new charter than under the first one, and, as their object was gain alone, they again applied for another and more favourable patent. This was accordingly granted to them in 1612, and they were invested with the right to all the islands of the coast within three hundred leagues of Virginia. A lottery was also given to them, by which 3000*l.* was realized.

Third charter of Virginia.

About this time, a domestic event of considerable importance occurred. A scarcity prevailing, Captain Argall was despatched to the Potomac for a cargo of corn. Here he found Pocahontas living in retirement. This noble creature he managed to decoy on board his vessel, carried her as a prisoner to Jamestown, and then basely demanded a ransom from her father. The indignant old chieftain rejected the offer with disdain, and prepared his tribe for

1613. Seizure of Pocahontas.

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1613.

revenge. An exterminating war would have resulted, had not the angry father been soothed by the marriage of his daughter with John Rolfe, who had gained her affections. She was converted to Christianity, and gained universal respect for her exemplary virtues. She visited England, where she died prematurely, but not until she had given birth to a son, whom some of the best families of Virginia are proud to acknowledge as their ancestor. It was hoped that the example of Rolfe might have been followed by others, since but few of the colonists were married. But such a union was not to take place. The two races were to remain for ever distinct, and inveterately hostile.

Marriage of Pocahontas.

1614. Dale's administration.

In 1614, Dale resumed the government for two years, during which some useful changes took place respecting the settlement of lands. Until this time, the colonists had lived upon the common stock; and this colonial communism had produced idleness and discontent. It was found that no one would work for the public as he would for himself. The slothful trusted to the exertions of the industrious, and the industrious were discouraged by the idleness of the slothful. Accordingly, the land was divided into lots, and each family was obliged to support its members. Prosperity and industry were the results. More corn was raised than was needed, and considerable quantities were exported or sold to the Indians. Tobacco was extensively cultivated, and became alike the staple and the curreney of the colony. The gold-seekers turned into planters, and, instead of servants of the company, became the proprietors of the soil they cultivated.

Culture of corn and tobacco.

1617. Oppressive governors.

But the planters were still subject to an oppressive government, which checked the growth of the colony. And there was a frequent change of governors. George Yeardley succeeded Dale after two years' administration; and, a year after, in 1617, he was supplanted by Captain Argall, whose rule was tyrannical in the extreme. Martial law was recognised, and there was no security of life or property. Emigration nearly ceased; for few would embark for a distant colony, where a more oppressive despotism existed than in any of the military governments of the European world. The colonists made so earnest an appeal to the mercenary company at home, that Argall was removed, and Lord De la War consented to supply his place; but this benevolent nobleman died on his outward passage, and the government was again entrusted to Yeardley, who had recently been knighted.

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1619.

Change of governor.

Yeardley's wise administration.

He commenced his administration in 1619 with acts of beneficence. The planters were confirmed in the possession of their lands, the old burdens were removed, martial law was relaxed, and a colonial assembly was called, composed of the governor, the provincial council, and the deputies from the plantations, who were called burgesses.

Colonial assembly.

This infant assembly was the germ of popular liberty in Virginia, and its acts gave great satisfaction. Civil freedom, as well as industry, received an impulse. Twelve hundred new settlers arrived, and among them sixty women, who were speedily provided with husbands from among the colonists. Their influence was most happy. Domestic ties, for the first time, were formed; and virtuous sentiments and industrious habits were cultivated. The colony rapidly increased, and numbered, in 1620, several thousands.

The colonists obtain civil liberty.

The civil privileges which were obtained by the colonial assembly, were happily confirmed by the company at home. Trial by jury was established, together with the ordinary privileges of Englishmen. The colonists were no longer servants of a commercial corporation, but citizens of a new republic. From this time, the power was virtually in the hands of the Colonial Parliament, which

Book II. Ch. 1.

nursed the principles of liberty and the interests of the infant settlement.

A. D. 1620.

About this time, the captain of a Dutch trading vessel sold to the colonists at Jamestown twenty negroes, whom he had brought from the coast of Guinea. Their number increased as the colonists had need of them, and they were chiefly employed in the cultivation of tobacco. The introduction of African slavery made but little impression at the time, however pregnant it was with mighty consequences, which it does not fall within the province of this history to conjecture or discuss.

Introduction of negro slaves.

Indian jealousies and schemes.

This great event, however, was insignificant to the minds of the colonists, compared with a domestic calamity which nearly proved fatal to the settlement. This was a war with the Indians, and the first war of any extent which had thus far taken place. The natives looked with great anxiety, indignation and jealousy at the growing encroachments of the English. Their settlements extended one hundred and forty miles on both sides of James river; and they tilled the ground in blind confidence of their safety, and with increasing contempt for the Indians, who had been continually melting away. There were not over five thousand of them, including fifteen hundred warriors, within sixty miles of Jamestown; and these were unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, and scattered about in isolated hamlets.

Plot to massacre the whole colony.

So long as Powhatan lived, he had continued in friendly intercourse with the invaders. But his successor, Opechancanough, had different views and feelings. He hated, with the greatest intensity, those foreigners who had taken possession of the hunting-grounds of his ancestors, and who treated his people with so much indifference and contempt. He therefore resolved to exterminate the English wherever they had made a settlement in his extensive territories. But his tribe was too weak to cope with the invaders in open warfare. He knew it was only by treachery and stratagem that his purpose could be accomplished. So, with impenetrable secrecy, a plot was laid to massacre all the white people in the colony, without any regard to age or sex.

Book II. Ch. 1.

A. D. 1622

The plot was fortunately revealed by a converted Indian in time to save Jamestown, whose inhabitants prepared themselves for the attack. But the villages on the river were not so fortunate. On the 29th of March, 1622, at an appointed hour, the Indians simultaneously fell upon the settlements on James river, and barbarously murdered three hundred and forty-seven people. Moreover, the massacre was aggravated with all the tortures which Indian malice and ingenuity could suggest.

The plot revealed.

Indian massacre.

This was the greatest calamity which the colony had ever suffered, and a bloody war was the natural result. For a while, confusion, desolation and grief reigned throughout the colony. Public works were abandoned. Fields were left untilled. Scarcity and sickness added to the gloom which pervaded the whole settlement. All plans of industry were abandoned for revenge; and so terrible was this universal passion, so resolute were the colonists, that a war of extermination followed. The Indians, cunning as they were, proved no match for the Europeans in duplicity and treachery. They were entrapped and slain, and driven like wild beasts from their ancient domain.

Indian war.

War, famine and disease, had now reduced the colony from four thousand to twenty-five hundred souls; yet their disasters were speedily repaired, and their numbers replenished. The English at home, moved with generous pity, displayed unusual liberality, and sent out new recruits. In consequence, the colony soon recovered from

Misfortunes of the colony.

Book II. Ch. 1.

its misfortunes; but, alas! only to fall into new perplexities.

A. D. 1624.

The members of the company in England had been disappointed in realizing commercial profit, and their meetings had become scenes of disgraceful faction. Accounts of their angry and bold debates reached the ear of the jealous king, who soon pronounced the Virginia courts to be but a seminary for a seditious parliament. He first attempted to control the elections. Failing in this, he resorted to intimidation, and resolved to annul their charter, but, if possible, in a constitutional manner. He sent commissioners to America, and they reported according to his wishes. An order in council decreed that the privileges of the corporation should be subverted. It refused to surrender its charter. The king then resorted to the writ *quo warranto*, and a servile bench of judges decreed the dissolution of the company, which had thus far expended 150,000*l*. This act, which occurred in 1624, though unjust and tyrannical, operated favourably to the colonists; for a commercial corporation, seeking a return for investments, was not likely to pay much attention to the social and moral advancement of the people whom they controlled.

James subverts the company's charter.

1625. Death of James I.

James I. died before he had completed his schemes for the government of the colony; but Charles I. pursued the arbitrary policy which his father contemplated. He instituted a government which combined the unlimited prerogatives of an absolute prince, with the selfish maxims of a mercantile corporation.

1629. Administration of Harvey.

In 1620, he gave the government into the hands of Sir John Harvey, who proved to be both insolent and tyrannical. His administration was so odious, that the colonists complained, and succeeded in securing his impeachment. He was sustained in England, however, and received a new commission. In 1639, he was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyat, and that gentleman again, two years afterwards, by Sir Wm. Berkeley, who favoured the institutions of freedom, though compelled by the king to impose severe restrictions on the commerce of the colony. Many privileges were, however, secured by the colonists, in spite of the tyrannical temper of the king, who was too deeply engrossed with his parliamentary difficulties to bestow much thought on the colony. Berkeley, who filled the office of governor with great ability for thirty-six years, with the exception of a short interval, confirmed the planters in their political privileges, and sustained the institutions of religion, as well as those of liberty.

Book II. Ch. 1.

A. D. 1642 to 1670.

Wise government of Berkeley.

Virginia, in possession of all the civil and religious privileges it had ever claimed, or which were consistent with royal government, rapidly increased in wealth and population under the government of Berkeley, and continued firm in its allegiance to the cause of Charles I. Zeal for royalty and for episcopacy characterized the aristocratic colonists, until new emigrations and new social institutions modified the temper of the people.

Change in the political state of the colony.

Still, during the long administration of Berkeley, though judicious and benignant, a change gradually took place in social life, which produced popular insurrections, and, when these were suppressed, resulted in a state of society more aristocratic than in other sections of the country.

The difficulties and dangers attending the first period of colonization, had bound the people together, and produced considerable equality of feeling; insomuch so, that the House of Burgesses, the first representative assembly in America, was elected by universal suffrage. All freemen, without exception, were entitled to vote. And even the indentured servants of the colony, when their term

Book II. Ch. 1.

of service had expired, became electors, and might be chosen burgesses.

A. D. 1642 to 1670.

Each officer was directly or indirectly chosen by the people, and each parish was left to take care of itself. Tranquillity and a rapid increase of population were the fruit of this representative democracy; and, at the time Charles II. was restored, Virginia contained thirty thousand people.

Germs of aristocracy.

Still, there were the germs of aristocracy among the settlers, which ultimately became developed. For any person whom a planter should transport at his own charge into Virginia, he could claim fifty acres of land; and as large numbers of indentured servants were brought over, great proprietors existed from the beginning. As these possessions were generally transmitted to the eldest son, family pride was engendered as in ancient feudal times.

Rise of new classes and parties.

Moreover, a plebeian population arose from the descendants of those servants who had been doomed to a temporary servitude. Some of them even were convicts, transported for political offences merely. These became a labouring and inferior class, which increased disproportionately with the other population.

In addition, the labouring class was vastly multiplied by the increase of negro slaves, who possessed no civil privileges, and naturally assumed the lowest position in the societary scale. As these increased, the distinctions in society widened.

A rising aristocracy.

And the power of the rising aristocracy was still farther increased by the absence of all popular education. There were no schools, and the rising population received but little intellectual culture. "Every man," said Berkeley, "instructs his children according to his ability; and I thank God there are no free schools nor printing-presses."

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A. D. 1642 to 1670.

The great proprietors, in possession of increasing tracts of land, superior in intelligence, and accustomed to control, from the servility, ignorance, and poverty of a large part of the labouring class, naturally aspired to the government of the country, and the perpetuation of their power and privileges by legislative enactments. They naturally became the magistrates of a country where population was scattered, and where there were no large towns, nor municipal governments. They also were selected to be members of the council, and of the legislature. They gradually grasped the military, judicial, legislative, and executive powers. On the restoration of Charles II., in 1666, these great landed proprietors, in possession of political power, formed a natural alliance with the royal governors and officers, and were prepared for additional usurpations. The tidings of the Restoration had diffused universal joy and enthusiasm throughout the colony, which had ever inclined to the royal cause. The general excitement in favour of royalty led to the election of an assembly composed almost entirely of Cavaliers and landholders.

Power of great landed proprietors.

Possessing an ascendency in the legislature, the rising aristocracy, true to its instincts, modified the constitution, and effected changes in favour of landed proprietors and men of wealth. The Episcopal Church was made the religion of the State, and in every parish twelve vestrymen were appointed, with power to assess taxes and fill vacancies in their own number. Nonconformists were excluded from many civil privileges, and some sects were cruelly persecuted. Religious freedom was suppressed. A member of the House of Burgesses was even excluded because he was well-affected towards the Quakers.

Episcopacy established by law.

And this aristocratic legislature established a perpetual revenue to the royal officers by a permanent tax on all

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1642 to 1670.

exported tobacco—the main staple of the colony—which thus enabled the governor to rule independently of the people. Moreover, the justices of the peace, appointed by the governor, held monthly courts in their respective counties, and had the power to levy county taxes; which was so far abused, that the commissioners levied taxes to meet their own private expenses.

The aristocracy grasp all power.

Nor was this all. The law which limited the duration of assemblies to two years was repealed, and the legislators assumed to themselves an indefinite term of office. For fourteen years this legislature retained authority, and yielded it up at last only to a popular insurrection. And the Burgesses were not content with power alone. They voted for themselves extravagant wages, to be paid by a tax on the people.

Even the freedom of elections was assailed. The sheriffs, appointed by the governor, and belonging to the aristocratic class, made out false returns. In addition, the system of universal suffrage was abolished, and none were eligible as electors but freeholders and housekeepers. Thus the new legislature voted away the liberties of the people, and passed laws to perpetuate a landed aristocracy.

Rise of a hardy and jealous democracy.

But with the growth and ascendency of aristocratic power, there also arose a generation of people who viewed this power with great uneasiness. There were scattered through the colony young men who, reared in isolation, accustomed to the freedom of the wilderness, and trained to self-dependence and hardy exercises, were resolved to recover the privileges which all had originally enjoyed. They met together in secret to complain of their hardships, and devise the means of resistance. A struggle was at hand between wealth and prerogative on the one side, and popular freedom on the other. There was only

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1642 to 1670.

needed an occasion to precipitate matters into actual rebellion.

Schemes of Bacon.

An occasion was at last presented by the pretended necessity of an Indian war. A young planter was found, of fine talents and enterprising character, who had been bred to the bar in England, to sympathize with the democracy. His name was Nathaniel Bacon, and he did all in his power to foment the popular discontents, perhaps with a view, as is the case with most demagogues, of rising into power by exciting the prejudices and passions of the people. Or, he may have been a true patriot, burning with indignation against the oppression and injustice which the governing class had exercised.

The wise and sagacious old governor perfectly understood the character and designs of Bacon—that he wished to fan the flame of Indian war, and then, when he had collected sufficient force to subdue the savages, and had returned with his followers to their homes with the glory of victory, to make use of their power and the popular enthusiasm to overturn the government. For it should be stated that Bacon had solicited permission to raise a force and attack the Indians, and had been refused; and very properly, too, if order and law were to be maintained by an aristocratic government, and if the Indians were not needlessly to be destroyed.

Indian aggressions.

There were doubtless Indian aggressions; but all difficulties with them might have been easily settled, and a war might have been prevented. It seems that the Seneca Indians had driven the Susquehannas from their abode at the head of the Chesapeake to the English settlements in Maryland, and some outrages had been committed. The people in Maryland invoked the aid of Virginia, and a body of men had gone to their assistance. Mutual acts of hostility were perpetrated, which ended by the Indians

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sending six of their chieftains with authority to treat for peace.

A. D. 1676.

Reconciliation was in the power of the Virginians, and was desired by the governor himself. But it was not peace they wanted. They desired an excuse to raise a large body of men, and further they were animated by a cruel desire to annihilate their enemies. The government, however, took what measures it thought necessary to guard against Indian hostilities, among which was the erection of forts.

Indian war.

The democracy denounced these forts as a folly—as a mean and cowardly system of warfare, and demanded more vigorous measures; having all the while an ulterior point in view, which being understood by Berkeley, he refused permission to Bacon to raise the forces he desired.

Bacon marches against the Indians.

But Bacon, sustained by the people, resolved to act without the consent of the constituted authorities, and easily raised five hundred men to march against the Indians, on the plea of the necessity of the case. This was in 1676, fourteen years after the liberties of the people had been abridged by the aristocratic legislature.

Bacon proclaimed a traitor.

Scarcely had Bacon marched forth with his men against the Indians, than they were proclaimed traitors, and a force was raised to disperse them. Bacon, however, conducted a successful expedition, routed and destroyed the Indians, and returned in triumph to his home. In the mean time, the lower counties had risen in arms, and demanded the dissolution of the Assembly. With the mass of the people against him, and a triumphant leader at their head, the old governor was obliged to yield, and the hated assembly was dissolved.

He assumes power.

"In the choice of new members, the late disfranchisement of freemen was little regarded, and Bacon, with others infected with his sentiments, were returned. The

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Church aristocracy was broken up, and the elective franchise restored. Arbitrary assessments were prohibited, and the fees of the governor curtailed. Above all, Bacon was made commander-in-chief of the forces, much to the satisfaction of the people.

A. D. 1676.

But Berkeley refused to sign his commission, and Bacon then extorted it by force of arms. The people rallied to his standard, and so vigorous were his measures, that tranquillity was soon restored.

Civil war.

The people looked upon Bacon as their deliverer. Not so did Berkeley. He viewed the enterprising defender of the colony as a rebel, and caused him to be proclaimed as such. Bacon, in return, caused Berkeley to be denounced as a tyrant, and summoned the people of Virginia to arms to resist tyranny and oppression. His call was responded to; the public mind seemed to yield to his direction, and a large force was assembled, both to resist Berkeley, and to prosecute the war against the Indians.

Conflict between Berkeley and Bacon.

Berkeley was in danger of being deserted and supplanted. His situation was critical. He therefore promised liberty to the servants of the insurgents, if they would join his ranks. He also claimed the assistance of the vessels in the harbour.

Both parties prepared for the civil war which now distracted the colony. The friends of popular liberty rallied around Bacon — the advocates of constitutional authority supported the governor.

Jamestown, the largest settlement of the colony, was deserted by the royalists, and was taken possession of by the rebels. Fearful, however, that they were not strong enough to retain it, they resolved to burn it; and the village was accordingly destroyed, that no shelter might remain to the enemy.

Jamestown destroyed.

Bacon then resolved to prosecute the war still further,

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and revolutionize the colony; but, while he was preparing measures for more active hostilities, he sickened and died. His death left his party without a head, and it was easily suppressed by the old authorities. Berkeley regained his power, and exercised it with great severity. Twenty-two persons were hanged as rebels; and many more would have expiated their resistance on the scaffold, had they not fled into inaccessible retreats. "The old fool," said Charles II., "has taken more lives in that naked country, than I did for the murder of my father."

A. D. 1677.

The rebellion suppressed.

Thus was suppressed, in 1677, a rebellion which had for its object the attainment of popular liberty. After the royal authority was restored, and offenders punished, Berkeley returned to England, and was succeeded by Lord Culpepper, who was appointed governor for life.

Lord Culpepper appointed governor.

Whenever a rebellion is unsuccessful, the old authority is re-established with increased force. It was so in Virginia. Freedom now rested with the royal will. Assemblies of the people were called but once in two years, and the members were elected only by freeholders. All the acts of the assembly which had sustained Bacon were annulled. Each church was subjected to a self-perpetuating vestry. Taxes were levied in an oppressive form, and the elective franchise was circumscribed.

1680. Impoverishment of Virginia.

Affairs were still more lamentable under the administration of Lord Culpepper, to whom had been granted the proprietorship of a part of Virginia. He ruled only with the view of increasing his emoluments. The country became impoverished. The price of tobacco constantly declined, and left the planters without hope. The governor had no compassion for the people, and no sympathy with the province which he ruled. So miserable was the condition of the colonists, that they appealed, in 1683, to the king, to recall the grant to Culpepper and Arlington,

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which request, in view of existing circumstances, was at length granted.

Soon after, Culpepper, notwithstanding his patent had constituted him governor for life, was superseded by Lord Effingham. The new governor followed in the steps of his predecessor, and resorted to the usual course of extortion and injustice. Still, the population increased, though not by voluntary emigrants. State prisoners and culprits were sent out to cultivate the land as indentured servants. There was no inducement for men who loved the institutions of freedom to emigrate to Virginia, where industry was depressed, and royal authority severe. The king appointed all the officers of the colony—the executive, the council, the judges, the sheriffs, the county commissioners, and local magistrates. Virginia had no town meetings, no municipal institutions. Even the assembly was chosen by a restricted franchise.

A. D. 1683 to 1688.

Discontents of the colonists.

These severe measures and arbitrary rule, however, caused disaffection, and favoured the spirit of resistance. And so threatening did affairs become, that the governor, from fear, was at last obliged to practise moderation. Finding the public displeasure general and uncontrollable, in view of his extortion and tyrannical severities, and that the colony was resolved to carry its complaints to James II., he embarked for England. But, before he arrived, the revolution in that country had placed new sovereigns on the throne.

1692. Sir Edmund Andros governor.

Virginia, however, did not immediately gain much by that glorious and bloodless revolution. King William appointed Sir Edmund Andros, in 1692, to the office of governor—a man who had previously distinguished himself by his arbitrary career as governor of New England. But his authority was circumscribed by the power of the assembly, which, after the English Revolution, obtained

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1692.

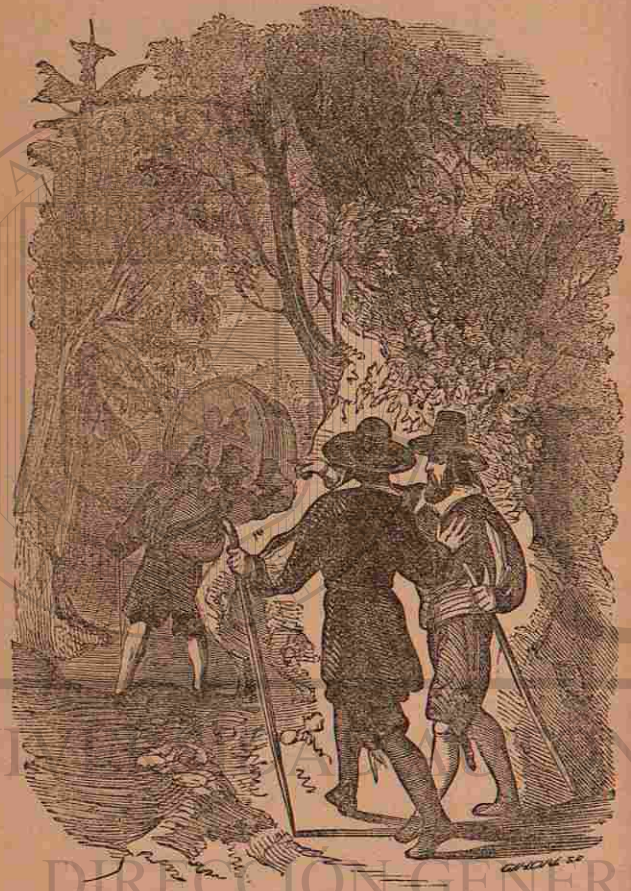
additional power, not merely in Virginia, but in all the colonies. By that great event, they were freed from their dependence on the personal character of the king. He still continued to appoint governors, and men of sordid feelings and narrow views occasionally were entrusted with power. But the provincial assemblies generally found means to avoid the effects of their avarice, in proportion as the spirit of freedom gained ground among them.

Condition of the colony on the revolution of 1688.

Notwithstanding the evils which the colony had suffered from royal and aristocratic influences, it continually increased in numbers and wealth. In 1688, the inhabitants numbered about sixty thousand, of whom, however, one-half were slaves; and as many as twenty-five thousand hogsheads of tobacco were exported, on which the duty collected in England amounted to over 135,000*l*. At this period, the province contained forty-eight parishes and twenty counties. In every parish was built a church, and the clergyman received for his salary a house, a glebe, and sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. The Bishop of London was the diocesan of the province, and appointed a resident commissary to preside over the clergy. The doctrines and rites of the Church of England were established by law, and that church embraced in its ranks almost every person of influence in the colony. After the English Revolution, other opinions and practices began to arise, and spread so rapidly, that, at the war of independence, two-thirds of the people were dissenters from the Episcopal Church. Slavery became more and more identified with all the interests and institutions of the colony, and furnished one of the main subjects of colonial legislation. Literature was but slightly cultivated; but the want of general intelligence was offset by considerable refinement of manners. Hospitality, from the first, was practised and enjoined; and seldom have men been more

Book II. Ch. 1. A. D. 1688.

peculiarly attentive to this noble duty, than the inhabitants of the Old Dominion. The life of the planter, although it inclined him to habits of indolence and leisure, yet fostered in him a chivalrous, frank, affable, and generous spirit. His situation developed peculiar virtues and peculiar defects — quite foreign to those which characterized the Puritan settlers of New England, whose early planting and history it is now necessary to consider.



Emigration of Mr. Hooker and his Company.

CHAPTER II.

SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

A. D. 1592 to 1608.

Character of the Puritans.

THE more seriously we contemplate the struggles and principles of the Puritan settlers of New England, the more powerfully are we impressed with the greatness of the men, and the greatness of their cause. They were not adventurers in quest of wealth; they were not broken-down gentlemen of aristocratic tastes and connections, seeking to escape poverty and mortification in England; they were not dissolute young men, whom their friends exiled to avoid disgrace and shame; they were not paupers, who fled their country to escape famine and disease, and who were willing to submit to a base dependence; but they were religious, intelligent, independent men of the middle walks of life, who sought freedom to worship God, and scope for the full development of their energies. They were a class of religious enthusiasts, in whose eyes the present was nothing in comparison with the future, the material with the spiritual, or the ordinary pleasures of life with the duties enjoined upon the followers of an invisible King. They may have inclined to visionary views of truth, and doubtless had many social peculiarities which were repulsive and gloomy; but they had those positive and exalted virtues which pre-eminently fitted them to lay the foundations of ultimate greatness and influence. Wherever we go in the United States, we see the influence of their example and principles—we see the

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1592 to 1608.

effect of their laws, their colleges, their books, their notions, and their habits. They may not hold in their hands the balance of political power; but they furnish a disproportionate share of the schoolmasters, the clergy, the lawyers, the physicians, the authors, the editors, and the successful merchants, of every great city. Men whose influence has been so good and so permanent, deserve our particular notice. Men who have ever been found arrayed in defence of the great rights of mankind, and ready to make any sacrifice to secure them, merit our admiration. They have extorted it from the whole world; and no partisanship, no sectarianism, no prejudice, can take it away. They are immortal men. They would be objects of panegyric through all time, even if their principles no longer lived.

Greatness of the early settlers of New England.

Puritan troubles in England.

It is unnecessary to give the history of Puritan conflicts in England, before America was contemplated as a new home. Difficulties first arose about some unessential form of religious worship, which the exiles to Geneva and Frankfort, during the reign of Mary, had adopted, through the influence of Calvin, and which they wished to establish on their return to England, during the reign of Elizabeth. They were first annoyed, and then persecuted, which led them to separate from the communion of the Established Church, and finally to seek the supremacy of their own forms. Controversy, contention and prosecution, inflamed their hostility, not only to the Church, but also to the king. They became republicans, with new ideas of liberty. To these ideas they attached great importance, but were denied the peaceful enjoyment of them. Some of the more enthusiastic of these men, seeing that there was not much prospect at home of securing what they so highly valued, from the opposition of the Court and the Church, resolved to emigrate to Holland where

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1608.

they heard there was liberty of conscience. Accordingly, in 1608, a party, under John Robinson, settled in Leyden. There, however, they were doomed to disappointment. They did not find scope for their energies, nor did they wish to sever all connection with their native land. The new world afforded better prospects. They could not secure a charter from the king for a separate settlement; but they obtained permission from the company to whom Virginia belonged, to occupy a part of that colony. Thither they resolved to go.

Settlement at Leyden.

Resolution of the Puritans to settle in America.

But Providence had other designs for them to accomplish — even the colonization of a colder, more sterile, more forbidding clime, where new perils should surround the pilgrim, and where he could earn a subsistence only by constant toil and anxiety. It was in barren, stony, stormy New England, that the great moral nursery of the land was to be planted, and the firmest foundations were to be laid for a powerful nation — laid, as usual, only by iron energy and heroic fortitude. It was only by such men that such a country could have been subdued. It was only such a country that could have developed the greatest strength and virtue.

The Plymouth Company.

That country had been granted by King James to forty gentlemen in the vicinity of Bristol, called the Plymouth Company, to whom was given unlimited jurisdiction over a belt of the whole American continent, extending from forty to forty-eight degrees of north latitude. Their patent favoured a commercial monopoly of the most odious kind. Their sole object was a pecuniary return for their investments.

Now, it was without the knowledge of this company, and without aid from the king, that the band of pilgrims established themselves in Massachusetts; and it was even against their own intentions, for they expected to settle in

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the northern limits of that part of the country which was claimed by the London company.

A. D. 1620.

It has been already said that a party of the Pilgrims, under Robinson, first sought shelter in Holland. It was in 1620 that they made preparations to emigrate to America. A portion of them still remained behind; but the youthful and the strong embarked at Delft-Haven for Southampton, and, two weeks after, on the fifth of August, re-embarked in two vessels for the new world. One of these vessels, the Speedwell, being unfit for the voyage, the company returned to Plymouth, and, on the sixth of September, went on board of a single vessel, the Mayflower, and again set sail for their far-distant home. Never before was a leaky ship freighted with so precious a cargo—not gold, not wares of iron and glass, not fabrics of silk and linen; but men having the truth of God in their souls, and resolved to establish it in a new and boundless continent for the future glory and welfare of the human race. There were only one hundred pilgrims in the Mayflower; but they were the true founders of American liberty and greatness.

Voyage to America.

Arrival of the Puritans on the American shores.

The exiles steered their bark for the country near the Hudson. But not there were they to find a resting-place. The beautiful banks of that glorious river were reserved for their descendants only in a future generation. As the pilgrims approached the American shores, after a boisterous voyage of sixty-three days, they found themselves at the southern extremity of Cape Cod. It was near this barren headland that they expected to find the Hudson. Unable to proceed south, they moored their vessel in its harbour. But they did not prepare to land until they had formed themselves into a community for the preservation of order, and the promotion of the public good. Thus early did they recognize the necessity of laws and

Book II. Ch. 2.

government. They were religious, intelligent, and moral; but even in the wilderness, with God for their Sovereign Ruler, they felt that they required an earthly head. They accordingly chose John Carver for their governor; and all the men, forty-one in number, signed an instrument which constituted them a body politic. After spending five more tedious weeks in exploring the barren and desolate coast, they selected the harbour of Plymouth as the place of disembarkation; and, on the eleventh of December, 1620, (old style,) they trod upon the rock which has ever since been preserved and cherished as the most interesting vestige of the early settlement of New England.

A. D. 1620.

Landing at Plymouth.

Thus, after tossing upon the ocean nearly five months, after leaving their temporary shelter in Holland, exposed to sickness, danger, and privation, did the pilgrim fathers of New England land on a desolate and inhospitable coast, five hundred miles from any other European colony, in the depth of winter, and with few preparations to meet its chilly storms. Between showers of sleet and snow, fainting with exhaustion, unused to labour, and suffering from disease, they erected a few rude huts to shelter them from the severities of the climate. And when the birds began to sing, in the opening spring of 1621, more than half their number had died. The health of the governor sank under his duties and privations, and, soon after, his wife, broken-hearted, followed him to a better land.

Disasters which befel the colonists.

Famine and want.

In November, before the close of the season, the colony was recruited in numbers, though not in stores. A scarcity, nearly amounting to a famine, followed. For three or four years, their chief dependence was on corn purchased from the Indians. At times they had no corn at all, and were compelled to subsist on fish.

For three years the colonists lived together as a community. But all the influences of religion, and all the

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1621 to 1624.

perilous and peculiar circumstances of their situation, could not induce the lazy to work, or prevent the industrious from complaining. It was found absolutely necessary that each family should take care of itself — should plant its own corn, and provide for its own prosperity. This arrangement restored industry, and industry produced contentment and abundance. Before many seasons had elapsed, more corn was raised than could be consumed, and was profitably exchanged with the Indians for furs.

Disease among the Indians.

If the Pilgrims suffered from cold, privation and disease, they were mercifully preserved by Providence from the tomahawk of the Indians, until they were able to contend with them. A fatal epidemic had carried off nearly all the natives in the vicinity of the settlement. A friendly Indian had even welcomed their approach, soon after they landed; and he, with two others, introduced them to Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, with whom a treaty of peace was made. But the Pilgrims, notwithstanding the precariousness of their situation, their limited number, and their Christian principles, could not refrain from dipping their hands in the blood of a people whom, at all times, they should have conciliated. "Oh! how happy a thing it would have been," said the pious Robinson in Holland, in a letter to the colonists, "that you had converted some before you could have killed any!" But Robinson was not capable, any more than we are, of appreciating all the circumstances of his flock in the wilderness; and we may perhaps rest assured that the excellent Governor Bradford, and the brave Captain Standish, acted judiciously as well as courageously.

Treaty with the Indians.

Unobtrusive, unfettered, and trusting in the Lord for help, the colony at Plymouth slowly but steadily increased. At the end of ten years, it numbered three hundred souls. Feeble as it was in numbers, it had struck a deep root into

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1621 to 1624.

the American soil, and was a tree which Providence planted for all generations. The colonists suffered much; but their hopes were bright, and their courage undaunted. They were unmolested by the king, and existed as a pure democracy. They appointed their own rulers, and rulers who governed in the fear of God. Their laws were salutary, and were based on the Bible. Township independence existed from the first, and this they succeeded in perpetuating — at once the nursery and the genius of American institutions. "Out of small beginnings," says the early historian of the colony, "great things have been produced; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many — yea, in some sort, to our whole nation."

Prosperity and hardships of the colony.

Grant to Mason and Gorgas.

But all parts of New England were not settled by Puritans, or from religious considerations. The council of Plymouth, to whom the king had granted such immense territories and undefined jurisdiction, issued grants of domains to various persons, who were animated by the hopes of gain. In 1621, the country between Salem and the Merrimac river became the property of John Mason. This grant was followed by another, the next year, to Mason and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, of the whole territory between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, and extending west as far as Canada. But it was not until 1623 that any actual settlement was made; and this was made by fishermen, on the banks of the Piscataqua. Portsmouth and Dover are among the earliest towns in the United States; but they did not flourish like those established by the Puritans. Nor did the other settlements which were attempted shortly after in various parts of the coast. They were mere fishing-stations, or else designed for traffic with the Indians, and have no historical importance.

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1628.

The year 1628 is memorable for the formation of a new company of Puritans for the settlement of the country around Massachusetts Bay. The scheme originated with a clergyman of Dorchester, in the west of England, named White, who succeeded in instigating several gentlemen of consideration to engage in an active enterprise for the colonization of the new world with men of Puritan principles. Among these were John Humphrey, brother of the Earl of Lincoln; Sir Henry Roseville, Sir John Young, and John Endicott, who purchased of the Plymouth Company a belt of land extending from three miles south of Charles river to three miles north of every part of the Merrimac. They were soon joined by some wealthy citizens in and about London, including John Winthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstall; and also by others from Lincolnshire, of honourable connections, such as Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, Simon Bradstreet, William Coddington, and Richard Bellingham—all famous in colonial annals. These gentlemen, sustained by money and influential friends, obtained in 1629 a royal charter confirming the grant they had received from the Plymouth Company. The charter was modelled after that of the late Virginia Company, and contained nothing about religion; nor was the settlement designed to be exclusively Puritan. The government was entrusted to the corporation in England, who had the exclusive right to enact laws, raise money, and settle all matters of importance. The executive administration of the colony, however, was entrusted to Endicott, assisted by twelve councillors, seven of whom were nominated by the company.

Formation of the Massachusetts Bay Company.

Royal charter.

They obtain a charter.

The charter was granted by Charles I. in March; and in the following April, six ships, with two hundred emigrants, most of them Puritans, sailed for America. The new band of pilgrims brought their religious teachers with

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1630.

them, and also such handicraftsmen as might prove most useful, together with oxen, cows, and horses. No idea of revisiting their native land ever entered their minds. They would not accumulate riches, and then return to enjoy them; but they would spend their days in the new world, and their children after them should toil in the wilderness until the foundations of a great nation should be laid.

Character of the settlers.

It was in the latter part of June, the most cheering and propitious season of the year, that the colonists arrived at their destined place, which was called Salem. Endicott, with two followers, had arrived the preceding year, but had erected only a few mean huts and planted a few insignificant cornfields. The thoughts of the settlers, even amid poverty and desolation, were still centred on those great ideas which so speedily gave vitality to their infant colony, and which, in the mother country, were soon after destined to overturn the throne. The Puritan colonists became a church in the wilderness, with God for their sovereign ruler, and his word for their text-book and guide. They established religious worship on the basis of independency. Each congregation elected its officers, formed its creed, and subscribed to its covenant. The church of England was disowned and its ceremonials abandoned. The nearest human authority the Puritans followed was Calvin, and him only in matters of theology. His scheme of church government was not sufficiently democratic for those stern republicans.

Settlement of Salem.

Before the year elapsed, a change was made in the government of the colony which had a wonderful effect upon its future growth and condition. The corporation in England voted to transfer their charter to the inhabitants of the colony themselves. A commercial corporation thus became an independent provincial government.

The company transfer the charter.

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1630.

Arrival of new emigrants.

In consequence of this transfer of power, many more persons of rank and property were induced to emigrate. In 1630, as many as fifteen hundred additional colonists arrived, John Winthrop at their head, who had been chosen governor by the board before its charter was transferred. Boston was the place selected for the new plantation, and soon became the capital. Here was convened the General Court for the settlement of the government, composed of all the freemen of the colony. But power, for a while, was in the hands of a few men, who chose the magistrates from among themselves. Moreover, the elective franchise was narrowed to members of church. Gradually the inconvenience of assembling all the freemen together was felt, and representatives from each town were chosen to concert measures for public utility.

Sufferings of the colonists.

But before the colonists had modelled their new republic many of their number had died of hardship and disease. Provisions were scarce. Unforeseen obstacles discouraged even the hardy and the bold. Their ranks were not recruited, as had been hoped. "Men dreaded the hazards of the voyage and the wilderness, and wanted to learn the success of the first adventurers." Amid these discouragements the soul of Winthrop was serene and lofty. His great abilities were exerted for the welfare of his associates, and such was his wisdom and influence, that the clouds, after two or three years of hardship, began to break away. In 1633, two hundred emigrants arrived, among whom were Haynes, Cotton, and Hooker; men of learning and social position at home, and with whose labours is associated all that is famous in the early history of the colonies.

Winthrop's administration lasted four years, during which seven churches were organized, ferries were established, a fort was erected in Boston, water-mills and windmills set up, two ships were built, a trade in corn and cattle begun with Virginia, the country around was explored, salutary laws were enacted, a representative system of government formed, and liberty based on a sound foundation. The churches, especially, became the admiration of the Puritans in England, and the colony was regarded as the home of oppression and the hope of future generations. But all amusements were proscribed, and a rigid censorship of manners and morals established, which ended in a social despotism, from which New England is not yet entirely emancipated.

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1633.

Unpopularity of Winthrop.

Notwithstanding the excellent character and wise government of Winthrop, he was not sufficiently democratic in his sympathies to suit the new settlers of Massachusetts. When the charter was given, it was supposed that the freemen, or those to whom it was originally granted, would be so few that all might join in making laws; but when the freemen embraced the colonists themselves, the governor thought that their representatives only should legislate for the public good. As this doctrine was not relished by the people, Winthrop lost his election, May 1634, and Thomas Dudley succeeded him as governor.

1634. Succeeded by Dudley.

1636. Hooker and his company emigrate to Hartford.

Haynes succeeded Dudley the following year—marked by the emigration of sixty of the colonists to the banks of the Connecticut. Early in the spring of 1636, Hooker, "the light of the western churches," followed, with a company of one hundred men, driving before them, through tangled woods, across swamps and morasses, and over streams and highlands, their cattle, which were to furnish them subsistence in their toilsome pilgrimage and in their future resting-place. They selected Hartford as their home, little dreaming of the danger which sur-

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rounded them, and the evils they were soon to encounter from the hostility of the Pequod Indians.

A. D. 1631.

While these enterprising pilgrims were organizing the new State of Connecticut, a domestic event occurred in Massachusetts which has furnished the enemies of the Puritans with lasting materials for slander and reproach. This was the banishment of Roger Williams. This great man had arrived in the country in 1631, and was himself a Puritan and a fugitive from English persecution. He was, doubtless, beyond his brethren in liberality of mind, and advocated unbounded religious toleration. He defended the great principle that the civil magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men. But with these views, altogether in advance of his age, he also insisted that it was not lawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate; that it was not right for Christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate, and that all colonial patents were invalid, since King Charles had no lawful power to dispose of the territory of the Indians. He advocated his opinions with great zeal, and mingled, as Graham asserts, much evil with good, and much error with truth. His notions, whether false or true in the abstract, were considered as hostile to the constitution of civil society, and unsuitable to the scene of their promulgation. He was accordingly looked upon with distrust, although his piety was above reproach, and his genius beyond ordinary appreciation. But his views found admirers in Salem, and he was invited by the members of the church in that place to become their religious guide, much to the scandal of the good people in Boston. There he instigated Endicott, a magistrate, to cut the red cross out of the royal standard, since it seemed to be an emblem of Papal superstition. This act of apparent treason was followed by penalties which

Character of Roger Williams.

His persecution.

Book II. Ch. 2.

led to more open dissension, and which finally ended in the refusal of Williams to subject himself to the censure or control of the colonial churches. He firmly maintained his right to hold what opinions he pleased, in spite of the entreaties of Hooker and Cotton, and the displeasure of the General Court, before which he was summoned. His threat of schism filled up the measure of his offences, and he was accordingly sentenced by the court, October 1635, to depart from the jurisdiction of the colony. The sentence excited great uproar in Salem, and his silent admirers resolved to follow him into exile. He obtained permission to remain till spring, but such was the effect of his discourses that it was resolved to send him back to England in the depth of winter. The warrant was made out, but before it could be served he and his companions had fled. After wandering fourteen weeks in the wilderness, amid perils and hardships, without guide and without friends, except so far as he was sheltered and fed by the native chieftains, he established an infant settlement at the head of Narragansett Bay, at a place which he called Providence. From Canonicus, the head sachem of the Narragansett Indians, he subsequently obtained a title to the territory he had occupied. This was the commencement of the colony of Rhode Island. Here Roger Williams founded a State on the principle of pure democracy; giving to all unbounded liberty of conscience, making friends of the Indians, labouring for their conversion, recommending the great ideas of toleration in language more genial and beneficent than had at first characterized him, and securing to the end of his life universal respect, not only from his own people, but finally from those who had persecuted and exiled him.

1635.

Banishment of Roger Williams and settlement of Rhode Island.

The next great event of importance in the early history of the New England colonies was the arrival, in 1635, of

Book II. Ch. 2. 1636.

Increased emigration.

three thousand additional emigrants, whom the cruelties of Laud and Strafford, the ministers of Charles I., drove to the shores of the New World. Among these were Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain, in after times, of Oliver Cromwell, and Henry — afterwards Sir Henry — Vane, so eminent in the parliamentary history of Great Britain. He was then young, enthusiastic, and fearless; deeply attached to Puritan principles, and possessing one of the finest minds in that age of great men and great ideas. His influence was soon felt, and in 1636 he was elected governor of the province. But politics did not furnish a field wide enough for his active spirit, and he plunged into the abyss of theological discussion. His opinions, though sound on the whole, were, however, so tinged with enthusiasm and extravagance, that he soon lost most of the popularity he had gained by his urbanity and genius. He gave the most offence by his patronage of Ann Hutchinson; a woman of great character and talent, but who advocated doctrines which were supposed to be dangerous and heretical.

Henry Vane governor of Massachusetts.

Ann Hutchinson.

This celebrated woman raised a spirit of insurrection against spiritual authority. She submitted with impatience to the restrictions imposed on women in religious meetings, and established separate female assemblages, where she revealed her views of truth to admiring listeners. They were substantially those of George Fox: that the spirit of God communicates truth independently of his written word. The clergy denounced her doctrines as heretical, and she and her friends retorted in bitter and censorious reproaches. The venom of religious discussion was instilled into the innermost recesses of society, and its peace seriously compromised. The great majority, however, were opposed to her, and she and her most zealous adherents were banished. The people again rallied under

Her persecution and opinions.

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1637.

Winthrop, who was chosen governor in place of Vane in 1637. Vane himself returned to England in disgust. The female agitator whom he had befriended sought, with her adherents, shelter in Rhode Island — long the home of the oppressed. Not contented there, neither anywhere, she removed to one of the Dutch settlements, and was finally murdered by the Indians. Her brother, John Wheelright, an able minister, with his friends, removed to the banks of the Piscataqua and founded the town of Exeter.

Pequod war.

It was in the midst of the dissensions occasioned by the discussions of Ann Hutchinson, that the Pequod war broke out. This tribe, the most considerable in New England, mustering seven hundred warriors, viewed with jealousy and alarm the encroachments of the English, especially their migration to the valley of the Connecticut. Where there is secret hostility, a small provocation is enough to produce a war. An Indian trader, named Oldham, was murdered by a band of Pequods on Block Island, and his pinnace seized. The pinnace was retaken, and eleven Indians were killed. But this retaliation did not satisfy the new settlers of Massachusetts. They demanded satisfaction for the murder of one Captain Stone, a dissolute master of a trading-vessel to Virginia, who had been killed in 1636, with seven of his crew. The Pequods refused the demands of Endicott, who had been sent out against them with ninety men, and who retaliated by burning some of their villages. The Indians, in revenge, destroyed, in the course of the winter, thirty of the new settlers on the banks of the Connecticut. A special session of the General Court of Massachusetts was called, the militia was organized, and preparations made to raise troops for approaching hostilities.

Ravages of the Indians.

But the Connecticut settlers had made vigorous exer-

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1636.

tions. They formed an alliance with the Mohegans and the Narragansetts, and marched, with nearly all the force they could raise, against the Pequod warriors. The colonists were commanded by John Mason, a man of military experience, assisted by Captain Underhill, with twenty men from Massachusetts. The Indians were entrenched, in great numbers and considerable strength, upon a hill; and, feeling secure, had abandoned themselves to feasting and revelry. But in their fancied security, before day, when overcome with sleep, they were unexpectedly attacked, and their fort was fired. So successful was the assault, that six hundred of the Pequods perished, many of them by fire, while only two of the English were killed.

Attack of the Pequods.

As morning dawned, three hundred more Indians were seen to advance from another fort. But these were easily defeated. What could undisciplined savages, with only bows and arrows, do when opposed by Europeans, equipped with fire-arms? The scattered warriors of the great Pequod tribe retired to their forests and morasses, but they were pursued and hunted like wild beasts. Their wigwams were burned, and every trace of their settlements destroyed. The few who survived surrendered in despair, and were either doomed to slavery, or incorporated with the Mohegans and Narragansetts.

Their complete destruction.

The successful termination of this first Indian war struck terror into the hearts of the Red men, and secured a long interval of peace and prosperity. It was doubtless attended with severities which it is hard to reconcile with Christian magnanimity. Yet it can scarcely be doubted that a rigorous policy was wise, and peculiarly demanded by the circumstances of the times. Had not the Pequods been destroyed, it is probable that dangerous conspiracies and combinations would have been formed with other

Effect of the war.

jealous and hostile tribes, and a long contest ensued, which would have sapped the energies and damped the ardour of the colonists. Results, at least, prove the wisdom of the course, since no serious war again occurred for nearly forty years.

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1637.

Charles I., engrossed by his troubles with Parliament, had not much leisure or inclination to interfere with the affairs of the colonies; and Massachusetts silently advanced, and had scope to organize its social institutions on a firm basis. The good people of the colony turned their attention to the establishment of a system of education, to the conversion of the Indians, to the settlement of controverted points of faith, and to the exclusion of offensive sectarians from their midst. This period is memorable, therefore, for the founding of Harvard College, for the labours of Eliot among the Indians, and for the Cambridge platform, which limited political power to church members alone, as well as established a theological creed which was essentially similar to that framed by the famous council of divines at Westminster.

Prosperity of the colonists.

Winthrop and Dudley, distinguished as governors of the infant settlement, died within three years of each other, and just before the ascendency of Cromwell. Their authority devolved on Endicott, who was re-elected to office, with the exception of a single term, for fourteen successive years. During his long administration, Massachusetts had still greater scope for establishing the principles of self-government. Cromwell favoured the Puritan settlers, and allowed them to manage their own affairs. In the course of this period, the clergy exercised great authority, and took part in all the political discussions of the day. It was also during this period that those disgraceful persecutions of the Quakers commenced, which, to this day, have furnished a fruitful subject of reproach to

Death of Winthrop.

Growth of the colony during the time of Cromwell.

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1640 to 1660.

all who hate the principles and revile the memories of the Pilgrim Fathers. As a separate chapter will be devoted to the history of religious persecutions and dissensions, no further notice need now be taken of the crusade against the followers of Fox—a crusade, however, in which they alone did not embark, either in America or in England.

Progress of the colonies.

On the restoration of Charles II., in 1660, the spirit of Puritanism began to decline, in America as well as in the country which gave it birth. New ideas and new habits arose, not so favourable to religious growth or moral elevation of sentiment. With the decline of the primitive grandeur of the Puritan character, also passed away many of the asperities which unfortunately had marred its beauty. The people became more prosperous, from the absence of external dangers, from habits of industry and severe morality, and from unbounded scope in self-government. But prosperity, while it caused the wilderness to rejoice, and added to the resources, numbers, and wealth of the colony, dried up some of the springs of spiritual life, and unloosed some of the ties which had bound the hearts of all together in one harmonious bond of union.

Their conflicts with royal governors.

Moreover, we now begin to observe the influence of commercial restrictions which the mother country imposed, and which were unfavourable to all interests but those of agriculture. Opposition to royal governors, and contests for freedom, also commenced, and were continued until the people were prepared for their great revolutionary struggle. But these will not here be traced, and allusion will only be made to those general events, not of sufficient importance for separate chapters, which took place until the accession of William and Mary to the throne of the Stuarts.

Charles II. was not proclaimed in Boston until 1661, when the colony sent Bradstreet and Norton to England

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1662.

as agents to secure the favour of the monarch, and a continuance of its privileges. The king confirmed the charter, and promised oblivion for all past offences; but demanded the toleration of the Church of England, the repeal of the law which confined the elective franchise to members of the Church, and, finally, the admission of all persons of honest lives to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Though there was a strong party in favour of the royal demands, the majority was still inclined to support the theocratic system. An intermediate party had, however, grown up, which advocated moderate measures, among which were Bradstreet, Norton, and Increase Mather. This party had supported the "half-way covenant," by which the children of church members received the spiritual benefits of baptism, and the civil privileges of church membership.

The half-way covenant.

Charters granted to Rhode Island and Connecticut.

In 1662, the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut obtained liberal charters from Charles II., which gave to the freemen the right of choosing their governors, magistrates, and representatives, with judicial and legislative authority. And it is a matter of surprise that such privileges should have been conceded by a prince of the house of Stuart. But the inconvenience of such independent governments had not then been experienced. In Rhode Island, the privileges of freemen were restricted to freeholders and their eldest sons. The qualifications required by the charter of Connecticut were, property to the amount of twenty pounds, and "civil, peaceable, and honest conversation." New Haven, at first, was unwilling to accede to the charter, inasmuch as it inclined, like Massachusetts, to a spiritual rather than a property qualification; but the fear of being absorbed in the colony of New York, and the judicious conduct of some of its prominent men, led to the consolidation of the colony in

Their provisions.

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1664.

1667, which then contained four counties — New Haven, Hartford, Middlesex, and New London. Of the new consolidated colony of Connecticut, John Winthrop, a man of great experience and wisdom, was chosen governor, and held that post for fourteen years.

Royal commissioners sent to Massachusetts to inquire into its affairs.

In 1664, various complaints having been made in England against the colony, the king resolved to send out commissioners to examine into its affairs, and settle conflicting claims and interests. Massachusetts remonstrated against their appointment and powers, and its magistrates treated them in a manner which soon led to bitter altercations. The commissioners, unable to come to an understanding, proposed at length to sit in form. The General Court prohibited this procedure as contrary to the charter, and invasive of the liberties which it guarantied. The commissioners, without a military force, were obliged to yield, but complained of ill-treatment, and threatened the king's displeasure. They moreover outraged the social habits of the people by convivial pleasures on Saturday evenings, which led to still greater mutual animosity. But they were sustained by the royal government, and Massachusetts was required to send five men to England, to answer for its conduct. The demand, of course, excited no little alarm. The General Court was convened, which voted to send an address to his Majesty, and made great professions of loyalty, but neglected to obey the royal command. As Charles, at this time, was hard pressed by domestic difficulties, the disobedience of the colony went for a while unnoticed and unpunished.

1675. King Philip's war.

And the colonists themselves were soon diverted from distant, to immediate and more pressing dangers. In 1675, the most disastrous and desperate contest with the aborigines which ever afflicted the Puritan settlers of New England, broke out; and the struggle was not ended until a

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1675.

tenth of all the houses in the colony were burned, a million of dollars expended, and six hundred people had perished,— to say nothing of the still greater misfortunes which befell their savage enemies. This was the famous war against the Narragansetts, in which King Philip figured as the most intrepid of the Indian heroes. But this disastrous contest will be further presented in the chapter on Indian wars.

Soon after the termination of Indian hostilities, 1677, the province of Maine, which had been granted to Gorges and Mason, was purchased by Massachusetts for 1200*l.*, and added to its jurisdiction, which naturally drew the attention of the English government once more to the colony.

English merchants complain of the colony.

The English merchants and manufacturers made loud complaints of Massachusetts for its disregard of the laws of trade. The Committee on Plantations, to whom these complaints were referred, suggested "a governor wholly supported by his Majesty." Randolph, a kinsman of Mason, was sent over to Boston, 1680, with a commission as collector of the customs of New England, and he made a vigorous attempt to exercise his office, but the whole population was against him. Perplexed and involved in lawsuits, he returned to England; but soon came back with a royal letter which demanded the immediate appointment of agents empowered to consent to a modification of the charter.

1682. Difficulties with the king.

The colonists dared not disobey a direct royal command, and proceeded to the appointment of agents; but authorized them, 1682, merely to lay certain concessions before the king. Charles threatened a writ of *quo warranto*, unless they were furnished with more ample powers. The General Court accordingly authorized its agents to make any concessions consistent with the charter. This of

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1684.

course did not satisfy an arbitrary royal government, and the writ was accordingly issued. The people refused to surrender the charter; but it was nevertheless declared to be forfeited by the English courts of law, and the barrier fell, 1684, between the people of Massachusetts, and the will of the English King. Soon after Charles II. died, and was succeeded by James II., whose inflexible temper and tyrannical principles were fully known, and were soon verified by the appointment of a special commission for the government of the New England colonies. Against this government the General Court of Massachusetts protested, while it obeyed its directions. But the rule of the royal commissioners was mild and conciliatory, in comparison with that of the governor whom James soon after sent over to supersede them. This agent of royal tyranny was Sir Edmund Andros, who was empowered, with the consent of a board of councillors named by the king, to make ordinances for the colonies, and raise taxes for their support.

Dissatisfaction in the colony.

Andros governor of New Engl'nd.

The whole legislative and executive authority was now in the hands of persons appointed by the king, not merely in violation of the original charter of the colonies, but of the fundamental laws of England. Andros, on his arrival at Boston, caused the Episcopal service to be performed in the old South church; he abolished the General Court; he refused to permit the solemnization of marriage, except by clergymen of the Church of England; he increased the fees of all public officers; he attempted to take away the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut, and abolished the regular governments of those provinces; he prohibited town meetings for the election of town officers; he questioned the validity of titles, and issued new grants of property,—in short, he compelled the people to submit to grievous extortion and gross injustice.

His disgraceful conduct.

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1688.

At length, the smothered rage of the people broke forth. As soon as the tidings of the deposition of James II. reached Boston, a general insurrection of all classes took place. The governor and all obnoxious persons were seized, a committee of safety appointed, the old magistrates were reinstated, and liberty was restored. The other colonies followed the example of Massachusetts. The charter of Connecticut reappeared from its concealment in the old oak-tree. Rhode Island acted as if its own had never been relinquished. New Hampshire reannexed itself to Massachusetts, and all things returned to the state they had been in prior to the death of Charles II.

Insurrection.

William and Mary were proclaimed in Boston with the same enthusiasm that they were in Virginia; and constitutional liberty received a confirmation from the English Parliament—henceforth, in reality, the supreme power in England, as, heretofore, it had been in theory.

Liberty of New England respected.

But the accession of William and Mary involved the English nation in wars, which also affected the condition and welfare of the colonies. Before the effect of these wars can be traced, as well as sundry other matters of importance, the settlement of other colonies demands our attention. We take leave of the New England settlements when their institutions were established upon a permanent basis, when the population had extended for more than one hundred miles into the interior, and when they began to claim, from their inherent importance, the attention of the English nation.

Prosperity of the colonies.

Landing of Henry Hudson.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY.

HOLLAND, in the seventeenth century, was the most prosperous commercial State in Europe, and was not indifferent to the great possessions which the English, Portuguese, and Spaniards, claimed in the newly-discovered sections both of the eastern and western continents. Accordingly, a powerful corporation was formed in 1609, called the Dutch East India Company, which succeeded in sharing with the Portuguese the lucrative commerce of India and the oriental islands. Under the auspices of this company of merchants, the Hudson river was discovered and explored, and the Dutch flag hoisted on the island of Manhattan, where New York now stands. In 1613, a few huts were erected on the island for traffic with the Indians, and, two years after, a fort was built at Albany, then called Fort Orange. The whole country, from the fortieth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, was claimed by the Dutch, and called New Netherlands.

A. D. 1609. Dutch East India Company.

In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was formed, with the exclusive privilege of trade and settlement on both coasts of America. The little province of New Netherlands fell under the control of this new corporation, and its actual settlement was contemplated.

1621. Dutch West India Company.

In 1623, two vessels with colonists were sent out from Amsterdam, which entered Delaware Bay, and ascended the river nearly as far as Philadelphia. Here Fort Nassau

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was built, and a settlement commenced. In 1624, Peter Minnick was sent out as governor of the colony, and brought over with him some French Protestants, who were in reality the first settled inhabitants of the New Netherlands. They occupied the north-west corner of Long Island. Shortly after, the island of Manhattan was purchased of the Indians for about twenty-four dollars, and a block-house erected at its southern extremity, which was called Fort Amsterdam. Around this fort a little village was formed, which gradually extended until it has become the greatest city on the American continent, and the metropolis of commerce, rivalling European capitals in size, magnificence, wealth, and population.

A. D. 1624. Settlement of New York city begun.

But the colony of the New Netherlands, after all, was little more than a small population of Indian traders, until the year 1629, when a more extensive scheme of colonization was projected in Holland, and ratified by the States-General. This was, that any member of the company who might establish, in any part of the New Netherlands, a colony of fifty persons upwards of fifteen years of age, should become absolute proprietor of a territory sixteen miles in extent, along the sea-shore or a navigable river, or eight miles when both banks were occupied, with an indefinite extent inward. He was to reign like a feudal lord, under the title of Patroon; but the settlers were allowed as much land as they could cultivate, and freedom from taxation for ten years. It was also stipulated that the lands should be first purchased from the Indians, as the lawful and original proprietors of the soil. The company at home, under whose auspices the colony was to be planted, exhibited the usual narrowness of commercial corporations in that age. It looked to the profit of its members, rather than the welfare of the settlement. Hence, it imposed odious restrictions. The colonists were

1629. New schemes of colonization.

The Patroons.

Book II. Ch. 3.

forbidden to make woollen, linen, or cotton cloth, and the island of Manhattan was reserved to the company for purposes of trade with the Indians.

In accordance with this scheme of colonization, some of the most inviting tracts of country on the Hudson river, Long Island, and Delaware Bay, were secured by enterprising members of the company. But the Patroons did little more than was necessary to secure their grants. The colony belonging to Van Rensselaer, near Albany, was the most thriving. Indian trade was the great object desired, rather than agricultural improvement. At Fort Amsterdam, more serious efforts at colonization were attempted under Van Twiller, who had succeeded Minnick as director or governor in 1633.

A. D. 1633. Settlers on the Hudson.

Still, the province was not flourishing. Difficulties arose between the government and the Patroons. The English laid claim to a part of the territory granted to the company, and established themselves on the banks of the Connecticut. The governor appropriated some of the finest sections of the country for his own domain, and was accused of extravagance and negligence. A Swedish colony settled on the banks of the Delaware. Rival claims, bad management, and commercial restrictions, were fatal to the prosperity of the colonists, who, besides, were not animated by any lofty religious principles. In 1638, when William Kieft succeeded Van Twiller, Manhattan Island was nearly deserted. In addition to other evils, the Indians commenced a savage warfare, which lasted for two years, to which they were provoked by the Dutch themselves. The governor, Kieft, had foolishly and wickedly ordered a massacre in retaliation for a murder which an injured Indian had committed.

Bad management of the colony.

1638. Kieft succeeds Van Twiller.

It was not till 1647 that a better day dawned upon the New Netherlands, under the government of Stuyvesant

Book II. Ch. 3. A. D. 1647.

— a scholar, a soldier, and a gentleman. This enlightened governor pursued a mild course towards the Indians; and the Dutch West India Company, learning wisdom from experience, removed the restrictions upon commerce.

Prosperity of the colony.

The boundary between Connecticut and the New Netherlands was amicably settled. Municipal privileges were obtained by the inhabitants. The stream of immigration began to swell. Fugitives from New England, France, Bohemia, Switzerland, and Italy, sought shelter in New Amsterdam, which, in 1656, had become a cosmopolitan city. Amicable relations were maintained with Virginia and the other colonies, with the exception of New Sweden —a colony which had been planned by Gustavus Adolphus, and planted under the auspices of the celebrated Oxenstiern, on the southern shores of Delaware Bay. Rivalship provoked enmity, and enmity led to hostilities. The only colony which Sweden had planted in the new world fell, in 1655, under the jurisdiction of the Dutch, after a feeble existence of seventeen years.

Swedish colony.

Claims of the English to New Amsterdam.

But, though New Amsterdam was destined to become a great city, and was already the home of the oppressed, and the chosen abode of merchants, yet its government and possession were to pass away from the Dutch. Not they, but the English, were to be the sovereign lords of the Atlantic coast, from Canada to Florida, until their descendants should call themselves by a new name, and cut asunder the ties which bound them to the fatherland.

The English had always laid claim to the territories occupied by the Dutch, on the ground that they belonged to Virginia; but the civil wars and other difficulties with which the government had to contend, prevented the enforcement of the claim. The Dutch were quietly allowed to continue their settlements, without, however, any recognition of their rights by England, which was

Book II. Ch. 2. 1664.

jealous of the commercial prosperity of Holland. A war between these two great Protestant countries was the result, even under the dictatorship of Cromwell. The Protector meditated the conquest of the New Netherlands, and the design was revived by his son Richard; but it was not until the restoration of Charles II. that the seizure of the Dutch possessions in North America was actually made.

Charles II. cedes New Amsterdam to the Duke of York.

Charles II., in defiance of the charter rights of Connecticut, as well as the superior claims of the Netherlands, granted to his brother, the Duke of York, in 1664, the whole country from the Connecticut River to the shores of the Delaware, as well as the tract between the Kennebec and St. Croix; and Sir Richard Nichols was sent to America with three ships and six hundred soldiers to secure the grant.

English take possession.

The Dutch colony at Manhattan was in no condition to resist the English. The company at home had refused before to furnish means of defence against the encroachments of Connecticut. The colonists themselves were lukewarm, and many were secretly friendly to the invaders; since more liberty was enjoyed in the New England colonies than among themselves. The people would not expose their lives for a company who neglected their interests; therefore New Netherland fell into the hands of the invaders, and its name was changed to New York in honour of the royal proprietor, September 1664.

Conquest of New Amsterdam by the English.

But liberal terms were granted by the conquerors. Free direct intercourse with Holland was permitted for a while, and the Dutch settlers were promised security to their customs, possessions, religion, and municipal regulations. The conquest of the capital was followed by the surrender of Albany, and a general submission of the whole province to English rule was acknowledged by the

Book II. Ch. 3. 1670.

beginning of October. Colonel Nichols was appointed governor, and faithfully discharged his duties until the province was reconquered by the Dutch, 1667.

Thus, by an act of "flagrant injustice and insolent usurpation," was overthrown the Dutch dominion in North America, and the rule of England established on the Atlantic coast from Acadia to Florida. The Dutch West India Company had the meanness to express dissatisfaction with that brave old governor, who had secured more favourable terms than a capitulating city had perhaps ever before obtained. But the venerable Stuyvesant still adhered to the wreck of the institutions and community over which he had faithfully and ably presided for seventeen years. He did not return to Holland, but remained at New York; where, for a year longer, "he prolonged the empire of Dutch manners and the respect of the Dutch name."

Dismemberment of the province.

The conquest of New York resulted in a dismemberment of the province. The Duke of York, two months even before the conquest, assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret the land between the Hudson and the Delaware; which, in honour of the latter, who had been governor of Jersey, received the name of New Jersey.

The proprietors of the province offered terms nearly similar to those which had led to the settlement of Virginia. Fifty acres of land were offered to each member of a settler's family, and the same amount for each slave or servant, at a quit-rent of half a penny per acre. A governor and council, appointed by the proprietaries, administered to local affairs. Philip Carteret was the first governor, and Elizabethtown was the first settlement.

Philip Carteret governor of New York.

No difficulties occurred, and no matter of importance took place until 1670, when the time came to collect the

Book II. Ch. 3. 1674.

quit-rents, against the payment of which the whole colony combined; and so powerful was the resistance of the people, that the governor returned to England.

New Jersey and New York reconquered.

Three years afterwards New Jersey was recovered by the Dutch, as well as New York, at a period when De Ruyter and Von Tromp, those gallant admirals, sustained the honour of their flag against the naval armaments of England. But, after holding possession fifteen months, the Dutch, by the treaty of London, 1674, were compelled to restore their conquests, and New Jersey and New York again fell into possession of the English.

New patent granted to the Duke of York.

The Duke of York obtained from his brother Charles a new patent for both New York and New Jersey immediately after, and Major Edmund Andros, the same person who subsequently oppressed the people of New England, was sent out to govern the united province, where he distinguished himself by the same tyrannical acts which afterwards made his memory detested in New England.

In the mean time, however, Sir William Berkeley sold his share of New Jersey, which had reverted to the proprietors, to two Quakers, for 1000*l*. The followers of Fox, having grown more quiet and anxious for repose, looked towards America as a shelter against oppression and scorn.

The society of Friends purchase West New Jersey.

One of the new Quaker proprietors having got possession of the whole territory of Berkeley, and then becoming embarrassed, made an assignment of his claims to three other members of his society, among whom was William Penn. A division of the province took place, and the Quaker purchasers of Berkeley's part obtained the western section, which was called West New Jersey.

Meanwhile, in 1675, Philip Carteret, in behalf of his kinsman, resumed the administration of the other section, which was known as East New Jersey. The colony,

Book II. Ch. 3.

however, was disturbed by the claim of Andros to the government, who even seized Carteret and detained him in New York as a prisoner. An agreement was at last made, in 1678, between the Duke of York and the East Jersey proprietors, who had granted a free constitution to the settlers.

1675. Carteret governor of East New Jersey.

In 1682, the whole province of East New Jersey was purchased by William Penn and eleven other persons of the society of Friends. Twelve others were soon after united with them, and to these twenty-four proprietors the Duke of York executed a final grant of the province. This resulted in a rapid emigration of Quakers from England, and in the settlement of the country with an industrious and peaceful population.

1682. William Penn purchases East New Jersey.

When James II., however, ascended the throne, 1685, he disregarded the engagements he had made, and attempted to deprive New Jersey of its privileges, but was prevented by the revolution which seated William and Mary on the throne in 1688.

1680 to 1688. Successive governors of New York under James II.

On account of the complaints brought against Andros by the proprietaries of New Jersey he was recalled, and Anthony Brokholst was left to administer the affairs of the colony, who was succeeded, 1682, by Thomas Dugan, afterwards Earl of Limerick; a man of moderation and probity.

The people of N. York acquire liberty.

On account of the arbitrary manner in which taxes had been collected, the people rose in indignation, accused the collecter of the revenue, Dyer, of high treason, and sent him to England to be tried. They moreover demanded of the Duke of York a share of legislative authority as the only condition on which they would submit to taxation, and the royal proprietary thought proper to grant a reluctant assent to the demands of the colonists. Dugan accordingly convoked an assembly which consisted of a

Book II. Ch. 2. A. D. 1688.

council of ten nominated by the proprietary, and a house of eighteen chosen by the freeholders. And the people of New York, after being governed for nearly twenty years by the arbitrary will of the Duke of York and his deputies, obtained a free constitution at the very time the New England colonies were deprived of theirs.

Andros appointed governor.

In 1688, Andros was appointed governor of New York as well as of New England, whose arbitrary and unlawful government has already been alluded to. When the people of New England shook off his authority, on intelligence being received there of the English Revolution, New York followed their example, and Jacob Leisler succeeded in obtaining the government, which, however, he refused to surrender to the governor whom King William had appointed, and was consequently, in 1692, executed as a rebel.

The city of New York, in 1688

About the period of the revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne of England, the city of New York contained nearly four thousand inhabitants. But its great importance as a commercial mart was not then developed. The principal settlements were on the banks of the Hudson, and the inhabitants devoted themselves mainly to agriculture. The population was chiefly Dutch, and the growth of the town was checked by disastrous Indian wars, which will be described in a future chapter. The settlement of the Catholic colony of Maryland now claims our attention.

Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore.

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.

Among those who were persecuted in England for their religious opinions, during the reigns of James I. and Charles I., none suffered greater injustice than the Roman Catholics. The nation having, as it were, but recently rebelled from Rome, it was natural that the adherents of the old religion should be more closely watched, and more severely punished; for the Catholics, like the Puritans, not only sought religious toleration, but aimed at absolute supremacy. Indeed, they were subjected to a double persecution—from the Established Church, which was jealous of her authority; and from the Puritans, who hated and feared them with peculiar intensity. Many other circumstances contributed to make the Catholics odious to the nation.

Persecution of Catholics under James I. and Charles I.

The cruelties of the reign of Mary, the meditated conquest of England during the reign of Elizabeth by Philip II. of Spain, the repeated conspiracies of which the Catholics were accused, the intrigues of the Jesuits, the Gunpowder Plot, the persecution to which the Protestants were subjected in France and Germany, and the evident inclination of James and Charles to relax penal severities, against the general voice of the nation — inclined Parliament, and all corporate bodies entrusted with power, both in State and Church, to the greatest severity against the members of the Roman Catholic communion. They had

Book II. Ch. 4. A. D. 1628.

even stronger inducements than the Puritans to emigrate They were dealt with more harshly, unjustly, and absurdly. The breath of calumny or the whisper of distrust was enough to consign a Catholic to irremediable disgrace and ruin.

Patent for Newfoundland granted to Lord Baltimore.

Among the courtiers and ministers of James I. was a tolerant and liberal-minded Catholic, who, for his distinguished services, had been created an Irish peer by the title of Lord Baltimore. While Secretary of State, he had entered zealously into those schemes of colonization which then excited such general enthusiasm, and had obtained a special patent for the southern extremity of Newfoundland. Twice he visited his territories on that island; but finding them unfavourable to a prosperous colony, he visited, in 1628, the infant settlements on James river. There he was not well received, on account of the prevailing prejudices against the Catholics, and he with difficulty escaped insult and injury. He therefore resolved to obtain a grant of some unoccupied territory, where he would be unmolested. The country on the shores of Chesapeake

1632. Maryland ceded to him.

Bay, beyond the Potomac, seemed to be uninhabited and unclaimed, except by the aborigines; and of this country he easily obtained a grant, in 1632, from Charles I. In honour of the queen, he gave to his new territory the name of Maryland.

Liberal charter.

By the terms of the charter, Lord Baltimore was made absolute lord and proprietor of the province, with the power to enact, with the consent of the colonists, all necessary laws. He had the patronage of churches, and the power to establish the necessary tribunals, to incorporate cities, and to grant titles of honour. But he could not prevent emigration to his colony, nor had he power over the lives and property of the settlers. They were allowed a share in legislation, and representative govern-

Book II. Ch. 4.

ment was indissolubly connected with the charter, which became the basis of all succeeding charters.

A. D. 1634. Maryland colonized by Calvert.

Lord Baltimore died before this charter was issued; but it was granted to his son and heir, Cecil Calvert, by whose exertions a colony was auspiciously begun in 1633. The second Lord Baltimore did not conduct the enterprise in person; but commissioned his brother, Leonard Calvert, as his representative, under whose guidance about two hundred persons, mostly Catholics, sought shelter in the new world.

Prosperity of the colony.

Under the mild and judicious government of the lord proprietary, Maryland received constant accessions. The governor promised a thousand acres of land to all who should introduce five new-comers, for which a rent of twenty shillings was demanded, which was payable in tobacco, the staple commodity of the colony. But every person employed in planting tobacco was required to cultivate also two acres of corn. So luxuriant were the crops, that within two years from the arrival of the first colonists, ten thousand bushels of Indian corn were sent to New England, and profitably exchanged for fish and other provisions.

Religious liberty.

But material prosperity was not the greatest blessing experienced by the thriving colony. Religious liberty was granted and enjoyed, and an example set even to the Puritans themselves, who, with all their virtues, never yet were willing to admit that such a blessing as religious liberty could be extended by a Roman Catholic lawgiver.

Hostility of Virginia.

Virginia viewed with jealousy the prosperity of her sister colony, and especially the superior liberty which the planters of Maryland enjoyed. The Virginia planters, from the first, had opposed the charter granted to Lord Baltimore, but had been compelled by the government at home to withdraw their opposition. And the validity of

Book II. Ch. 4. A. D. 1642.

the grant also encountered an obstinate resistance from William Clayborn, a member of Sir John Harvey's Council, who claimed the territory as his own.

Animosity of the Protestants.

Nor was this all. In consequence of the generous toleration which the Catholic settlers of Maryland had granted, many distressed Protestants had sought shelter, in the territories of Lord Baltimore, from the persecution of their own brethren. They were ungrateful enough to conspire against the interests of the original settlers, and to seek to abolish the Catholic religion. Clayborn fanned the religious dissensions which the governor strove to prevent; and such was the success of his intrigues, and the animosity of the Protestant inhabitants, that the government of the lord proprietary was overthrown, and even that religious liberty which he had granted was taken away, and by those very men who had fled originally to Maryland for protection.

Re-establishment of order.

On the restoration of Charles II., in 1660, the authority of Lord Baltimore was re-established, offences were generously forgiven, and religious toleration restored. Prosperity returned, industry was rewarded, and useful laws enforced. Charles Calvert, son of the proprietary, in 1662 became resident governor, and ruled with great wisdom and moderation, preventing the encroachments of the Dutch, and securing peace with the Indians. When he succeeded his venerable father in 1676 as lord proprietary, the province contained twenty thousand inhabitants, who equally enjoyed the privilege of religious liberty, which was sacredly maintained so long as Lord Baltimore retained his rights, and the Catholic population their ascendency.

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

Book II. Ch. 5. A. D. 1562

THE first settlement of Carolina was projected by the Huguenots of France, during the civil wars in the reign of Charles IX., 1562. Under the auspices of Admiral Coligny, the celebrated Huguenot leader, three vessels were despatched to the mouth of Albemarle river, which were followed in 1564 by three additional ones, and these again, soon after, by a fleet, with all the necessaries for a permanent settlement. They were befriended by the Indians, and had every reasonable prospect of prosperity and peace. But religious bigotry induced the King of Spain to send out a hostile expedition to the distant settlement; and the colonists, unprepared for war, and suspecting no danger, were barbarously murdered. Nearly one thousand persons perished from religious persecution, and by a foreign power. Nor was the crime avenged by the French government, then under the influence of the ever-execrable Catherine de Medicis, who sympathized with the bloody deed. Though the Spaniards were afterwards punished and destroyed in their turn, no further attempt was made by the French to colonize this section of the American continent.

Unsuccessful settlement of Carolina by the Huguenots.

Patent granted by Charles I.

It was more than sixty years before any new schemes of colonization were projected. In 1630, a patent was granted by Charles I. to his attorney-general, Sir Robert Heath, which he afterwards assigned to the Earl of Arun-

Book II. Ch. 4. A. D. 1642.

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1630. Patent granted by Charles II.

Soon after the restoration of Charles II. the country south of the Chesapeake was made a royal province by the name of Carolina, from Albemarle Sound to the River St. John. This territory was conveyed to eight proprietaries, chiefly courtiers and ministers of the King, among whom were the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle (formerly General Monk), the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret. The charter was nearly similar to the one granted to Lord Baltimore. The eight grantees were made joint proprietaries, with the right of property to the soil and extensive jurisdiction.

New England emigrants.

But before their charter was granted some New England adventurers had already planted a little colony near the mouth of Cape Fear River, and to these colonists the proprietaries offered liberal terms; giving them abundance of land at a nominal rent, liberty of conscience, and right to choose a governor and six councillors. The colony, however, was not prosperous, chiefly on account of the barrenness of the land and the insalubrity of the climate.

1622. Albemarle settlement.

It should be also stated that the country north of Albemarle Sound was feebly colonized, 1622, by some persecuted emigrants from Virginia, who had dissented from the establishment of the Church of England in that colony. This settlement attracted the attention of the proprietaries soon after they had received their charter, and Berkeley, governor of Virginia, and one of the grantees of Carolina, appointed William Drummond, a man of prudence and popularity, to direct its affairs.

In September, 1665, some planters from Barbadoes, dissatisfied with their condition, purchased of the Indians a tract on Cape Fear river, and commenced a settlement.

Book II. Ch. 5. A. D. 1666.

They begged and obtained from the proprietaries, the confirmation of the purchase, and liberal terms of settlement; and so rapid was the increase, that, in 1666, the plantation, which were called Clarendon, contained eight hundred people. Its affairs were ably and successfully managed by Sir John Yeamans, the governor. Albemarle and Clarendon formed distinct colonies for a while, with a governor to each, but constitute the original foundation of North Carolina.

Extension of grant by Charles.

It was soon discovered that the colony was not within the limits of the charter granted by Charles, and the grant was therefore extended so as to include all the country between twenty-nine and thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude—from the present limits of North Carolina to nearly the southern extremity of Florida, and extending west to the Pacific Ocean.

Scheme of colonization.

Great schemes of colonization were formed by the proprietaries of this extensive territory. They were absolute owners of the soil; they had the right of legislation, subject only to the consent of the future freemen of the colony; they had the power of erecting cities and manors, of establishing orders of nobility, of levying troops, and of making peace or war. They expected to reap an immense revenue from colonial customs and the sale of lands.

Shaftesbury's Grand Model.

It was therefore deemed proper to establish a form of government commensurate with the future dignity and greatness of the colony; and the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the greatest geniuses of the age, a statesman and a philosopher, was deputed to draft a constitution. He called to his assistance the celebrated John Locke, author of the Essay on the Human Understanding; and these two great men employed all the energy of their genius in preparing a form of government which excited great ad-

Book II. Ch. 5. A. D. 1669.

miration among the political philosophers and dreamers of their day. It was called the "Grand Model," or the "Fundamental Constitution," according to which the vast territory of Carolina, embracing the present States of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, Missouri, and a large portion of Texas and Mexico, was to be divided into counties, each containing 480,000 acres. For each county a landgrave, and two caciques or barons, were to be created, who were to possess one-fifth of the land as inalienable property. Another fifth was to belong to the proprietaries, and the remaining three-fifths were reserved for the colonists, and might be held by lords of manors, with peculiar privileges. These landgraves and caciques were an hereditary nobility, and, together with the deputies of the proprietaries and the representatives chosen by freemen, were to constitute the Parliament of the province, which was to assemble biennially. No man was eligible to any office unless he possessed property in land; and every freeman was allowed to possess absolute authority over his negro slaves, who had been early introduced and found necessary to till the soil. A man was required to own fifty acres in order to possess the elective franchise, and five hundred acres before he was eligible to Parliament. Those who were merely tenants of the land were subject to perpetual degradation, "adscript to the soil," "under the jurisdiction of their lord, without appeal," "leet men or tenants to all generations."

The Fundamental Constitution.

All executive power, and even judicial, in the last resort, was vested in the proprietaries themselves, the oldest of whom received the title of Palatine, and presided in their meetings. Each proprietary was chief of a subordinate court. A complicated series of perplexing regulations enforced the duties and limited the rights of the

Book II. Ch. 5. A. D. 1669.

freeholders. The Church of England was the established religion, although every other form was tolerated.

This famous system of jurisprudence, of which Locke was so proud, was of course utterly unfitted to the circumstances and wants of the settlers, and could not be enforced. It was impossible to erect an aristocratic, and almost feudal government, in the forests of Carolina. There was no scope for landgraves, and barons, and courts of heraldry, among the scattered cabins of an almost uninhabited wilderness. The *grand model* was complicated, absurd, and visionary. Theoretical philosophers have ever proved themselves unfit for practical legislation, however liberal their minds, or brilliant their genius.

1670. Albemarle's administration.

In 1670, the Duke of Albemarle was installed in the office of Palatine, and 12,000*l.* expended on the equipment of a fleet, which sailed the following year with a considerable body of emigrants. It was designed to found a colony at Port Royal, and Col. William Sayle was appointed its governor. He was accompanied by Joseph Dent as commercial agent of the company. But the colonists did not long remain at Port Royal. After a short delay, they sailed into Ashley river, and commenced a settlement which they called Charleston, in honour of Charles II. This was the foundation of South Carolina.

Stevens governor of Albemarle.

Before we trace the progress of this settlement, the little colonies of Albemarle and Clarendon claim our attention. The constitutional history of North Carolina begins before Shaftesbury and Locke had matured their scheme of government. In 1667, Samuel Stevens succeeded Drummond as governor of Albemarle, which had been increased by emigrants from New England and the Bermudas. A simple form of government was adopted—a council of twelve members, and an assembly composed of the governor, the council, and twelve delegates from

Book II. Ch. 5. A. D.

the infant settlement. Every encouragement was extended to the colonists, who enjoyed, for a while, prosperity and contentment.

1674. Confusion in the colony.

But the government which practical wisdom had suggested was overturned by the proprietaries, who wished to substitute that which Locke had devised. Confusion and discontent were the inevitable result. The country was left without a governor, in 1674, by the death of Stevens; and Cartwright, Speaker of the Assembly, acted for two years as head of the administration. The difficulty of introducing the Grand Model induced Cartwright to visit England, to lay the state of the country before the proprietaries. The colony was now left in confusion, and no historian has, thus far, presented a clear statement of its affairs at this early period. It seems, however, that the designs of the proprietaries were not promoted by the provincial functionaries. Discontent was added to faction. One Miller succeeded in holding the triple office of governor, secretary, and collector, 1677; but such was his strict execution of the laws, that an insurrection took

1677. Popular insurrection.

place, headed by John Culpepper, which seems to have been both popular and successful. Miller and seven of his council were imprisoned, and Culpepper assumed the government, and even refused to acknowledge the authority of Eastchurch, whom the company had appointed governor, but who died shortly after, 1678. Miller succeeded in making his escape to England, and filled the court with complaints of his sufferings. Culpepper followed him, and, protected by Shaftesbury, succeeded in gaining the ear of the proprietaries. While these rivals were disputing about their respective claims, Seth Sothel, who had purchased the rights of Lord Clarendon, was selected as governor of the province, 1680; but did not arrive at Albemarle until 1683, having been taken cap-

Book II. Ch. 5.

tive by the Algerines, from whom, however, he contrived to escape.

A. D. 1680. Corrupt and severe administration of Sothel.

The administration of this man was marked by injustice and oppression, and his name is more infamous than any of the tyrannical governors who ever mismanaged the affairs of the English colonies in North America. He cheated his associates, and robbed the colonists. He exacted enormous contributions, and engrossed the traffic with the Indians. Driven to despair, the people whom he oppressed unanimously took up arms against him, in 1688. He was deposed and imprisoned. Rather than be sent to England for trial, he abjectly begged to be judged by the Provincial Assembly, which sentenced him to banishment and perpetual exclusion from office. He then made his appearance in Charleston, and, in his character of proprietary, succeeded in securing the office of governor of the southern province, the affairs of which now demand attention.

1671. Settlement of Charleston.

It has been stated that the banks of Ashley river were colonized by a company led by William Sayle. The first site for a town had been selected without regard to commerce, 1671. Its disadvantages being perceived, the settlers removed to a neck of land called Oyster Point, which gradually became the most prosperous mart of southern commerce, and the largest city of the southern colonies.

Soon after the planting of the colony, Sir John Yeamans arrived from Barbadoes with additional settlers, and with African slaves, and, on the death of Sayle, was appointed governor, 1671. The same year, two ships with Dutch emigrants arrived from New York, discontented with the English rule. Some accessions also came from England; but the colonists were exposed to unusual danger, hardship, and misery. The heat of the country was peculiarly oppressive to men doomed to severe manual

labour. Their food was frequently destroyed by Indian depredators, with whom it was their misfortune to be in constant collision. The losses which the proprietaries sustained, embittered their feelings both towards the governor and the settlers. In consequence of the calamities of the colony, Yeamans was superseded by Joseph West, 1674; and as he preferred the interests of the colonists to those of the proprietaries, he was displaced in 1683, and Joseph Moreton appointed to succeed him. No less than six governors ruled the province during the six succeeding years, none of whom realized the anticipations of the proprietaries, who expected to derive a profit from their investments.

Misfortunes of the colony.

Nevertheless, the colony rapidly increased in population and wealth, reinforced by emigrants from Ireland, Scotland, New England, and even France. When the Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV. in 1685, a large body of Huguenots sought a refuge from persecution in the various colonies of the new world. But no one of them was more inviting to these unfortunate refugees than South Carolina. From Languedoc, Rochelle, Bordeaux, St. Quentin, Poictiers, and Dieppe, considerable numbers sought the land in which religious toleration was enjoyed; and to these exiles, some of the most considerable families of South Carolina are proud to trace their origin.

Arrival of Huguenots.

When the English revolution of 1688 broke out, the colonists were so powerful and numerous as to defy the authority of the proprietaries. Neither the rank, nor reputation, nor talents of the governor could secure obedience to feudal institutions. Colleton was unable to collect rents, or even maintain order. The people resolved to secure a government more agreeable to themselves, and more favourable to the extension of liberty. In 1690, a

Failure of feudal institutions.

meeting of the representatives of the colony disfranchised the governor, and banished him from the province. Seth Sothel about this time making his appearance at Charleston, headed the opposition, and succeeded in securing the government of the province, which was now firmly planted.

But his tyrannical temper again subjected him to hostility, and he was compelled to resign. He died, soon after, in North Carolina.

An event, insignificant in itself, happened in 1694, to which the prosperity of the colony is in no slight degree to be traced. The captain of a ship from Madagascar presented Governor Smith, under whose administration the *Fundamental Constitutions* were finally abandoned, with a bag of rice. The governor divided it among his friends, who planted it, in several parcels, in different soils, and reaped from it a prodigious increase. Thus was introduced one of the chief staples of South Carolina, and which, next to cotton, has contributed materially to its wealth.

Introduction of rice.

William Penn.

CHAPTER VI.

SETTLEMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

WHILE Virginia was settled by aristocratic adventurers, mostly members of the Church of England — New York by the Dutch, who sought the shores of the new world with the view of improving their fortunes—Massachusetts by Puritans, Rhode Island by Baptists, Maryland by Catholics, and Carolina by Huguenots, who alike sought a refuge from religious persecution—Pennsylvania was colonized by the Society of Friends, who also desired greater liberty of religious worship than was enjoyed either under Episcopal or Puritan influences.

Different principles which actuated different settlers.

1648. George Fox.

George Fox, the founder of this sect, was one of the most remarkable geniuses who ever impressed his mind on future generations, without the advantages of early education and social position. The fundamental principle which he declared was, that the "Inner Light," or the Spirit of God, would reveal to all earnest inquirers every important truth pertaining to the soul's welfare and salvation; and that the Spirit, though in harmony with the Scriptures, because they are the revelation of God, was still higher than the declaration of the Scriptures, inasmuch as the fountain is ever greater than the stream which issues from it. This doctrine of divine inward revelation, Fox and his followers would not subject to the test either of the outward authority of the Scriptures, or natural reason. Following the promptings of the Inner Light, or

Book II. Ch. 6. A. D. 1650.

what he conceived to be a special revelation of the Almighty, Fox instituted many changes in the worship of God and in social life, which were not in harmony with the practice of any other Christian sect, or the established institutions of society. He dispensed with the teachings of a regular clergy, and the ordinary forms and ceremonies of existing churches. He swept away the ordination of the clergy, baptism, the Lord's Supper, the music of the choir, and all emblematical ceremonies. He refused to give titles of honour, to take an oath even of subserviency to the sovereign, or to enlist as a soldier. He condemned all war, and all doctrines of expediency. He would abolish all penal laws for religious opinions, all slavery, and resort to coercion in government. He advocated unbounded religious toleration, and universal philanthropy.

Principles of George Fox.

For the advocacy of such principles he was cruelly persecuted, as was to be expected in the seventeenth century. So were his disciples. They were confined in jails, mutilated, and even punished with death.

Persecution of his society.

Among the followers of Fox was William Penn, son of Admiral Sir William Penn, who had rendered great naval services to his country, and who left to his son a very large fortune. William Penn had early become a convert to the principles of Fox, and had suffered divers persecutions in consequence, from his family and from the English government. Still, he was true to his principles, and maintained great serenity of mind in disgrace and suffering. His distinguished social rank, however, and his great talents, secured him high consideration, in spite of his unpopular doctrines, and he had easy access to the court of Charles II. Among the bequests of his father was a claim against the government for 16,000*l*. This was cancelled by a grant from Charles II. of a province

William Penn.

Book II. Ch. 6. A. D. 1681.

in the new world, which included three degrees of latitude and five degrees of longitude west of the Delaware, 1681. The royal charter conferred on him powers similar to those which had been granted to Lord Baltimore, and the persecuted Quaker became a feudal proprietary. The province, of which he was constituted absolute proprietor, was called Pennsylvania.

Grant to Penn.

Early the next year, 1682, Penn published his celebrated "Frame of Government" for his future colony; and, in the following September, set sail for his new domains in the wilderness, accompanied by one hundred emigrants. When he arrived on the banks of the Delaware, he found already a thriving colony of three thousand persons, chiefly Swedes and Dutch, intermixed with the English settlers, principally Quakers, who had emigrated shortly before. In the course of the year, no less than two thousand additional colonists arrived, many of them being persons of wealth and consideration in England.

His frame of government.

Among the first acts of the proprietary, after he had visited the various settlements of his infant colony, was his famous treaty with the Indians. Beneath a large elm tree on the banks of the Delaware, where Philadelphia now stands, he met a numerous delegation of the Lenni-Lenape tribes. There, to the original inhabitants of the land, he proclaimed the principles of peace and love which should regulate all his future intercourse with them. "On the broad pathway of good faith and good-will," said he, "no advantage will be taken on either side. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between you and me, I will not compare to a chain; for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one

Treaty with the Indians.

Book II. Ch. 6. A. D. 1682.

man's body were to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood." "We will live," responded the simple children of the forest, touched by these beautiful doctrines, "in love with William Penn and his children, as long as the sun and moon shall endure."

Permanence of the treaty

This glorious treaty, not confirmed by oaths or parchment, was long sacredly regarded by both white man and Indian; and for seventy years, it is recorded, not a drop of Quaker blood was shed by the aborigines, in spite of all the encroachments of the new settlers upon their ancient hunting-grounds.

Legislation of Penn.

The treaty with the Indians was an act prompted by generous impulses, and a regard to those laws of immutable justice which Fox had nobly propounded. The constitution which Penn gave to his people was the result of great practical wisdom and enlarged views. For his legislative genius, Penn is now generally regarded as a benefactor to the human race; for, though he made laws for only a small colony, the principles on which they are based have entered into the schemes and systems of subsequent philanthropists, not in America merely, but in England and the countries of the continent.

Unbounded religious toleration.

William Penn gave to all the colonists, of whatsoever creed or nation, the most generous religious toleration. He abolished the law of primogeniture, and instituted the rule of equality. All had the right of suffrage who submitted to the burdens of society. No taxes were to be levied without the people's consent. Murder was the only crime punishable with death. County courts were established for the administration of justice, with trial by jury. The word of an honest man was received as evidence, without oath. Every Christian, of whatsoever creed, was eligible to office.

When the work of legislation was finished, Penn, in

Book II. Ch. 6. A. D. 1683.

1682, accompanied by his council, hastened to Newcastle to meet Lord Baltimore, and establish the limits of their respective territories. There were many difficulties to be settled; for Lord Baltimore claimed the whole country as far north as the fortieth degree of latitude. Penn insisted that the charter of Maryland included only lands that were unoccupied; and as the banks of the Delaware had been purchased and colonized before that charter was written, they justly belonged to the original settlers. The proprietaries parted without coming to an agreement, intending to meet again.

Foundation of Philadelphia.

To a part of this disputed territory some Swedish settlers had laid claim. Penn obtained from them, by a promise of giving them other lands in exchange, a tract at the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill. Near this, he laid out the plan of an extensive city, which he called Philadelphia; designed as "a city of refuge"—"the mansion of humanity;" where the Quaker brethren "might worship God according to the dictates of the Divine Principle, free from the mouldy errors of tradition;" and where they "might thrive in peace and retirement in the lap of unadulterated nature," "on a virgin Elysian shore." So rapid was the growth of the city, that eighty houses were erected before the close of the year 1683.

The privileges which Penn granted to the colonists.

But while the new-comers lodged in caves and hollow trees, the Quaker sovereign summoned together the representatives of his dominions in the wilderness for the purpose of making such alterations in the original constitution as the circumstances of the colony required. More power was given to the people, who had the privilege of nominating the council of the governor, and also all other officers, except the governor, who was hereditary proprietary; nor could even he perform any public act but with the consent of his council. Penn not only gave a free con-

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stitution to his colony, but dispensed with a reverence for himself. Tax-gatherers were unknown in the province. The principle which seemed to animate his whole government and legislation was to make the people as free and happy as they could be.

The fame of his settlement went through Europe, and emigrants, seeking an asylum from persecution or misfortune, hastened to the banks of the Delaware from England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and Germany. The institution and government of Penn inspired both confidence and admiration. The colony increased more rapidly than New England; and in three years from the foundation of Philadelphia, it numbered more inhabitants than New York had gained for half a century.

Penn returns to England.

When the government was fully organized, peace with the natives confirmed, and wise laws established, Penn took leave of his people with expressions of affection and generosity, and returned to England. One object of his return was to settle his dispute with Lord Baltimore; between whom and himself misunderstanding had ripened into a quarrel. The question about the respective boundaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland was discussed before the committee of the plantations. Delaware, which had been originally settled by the Swedes, was separated from Maryland. To Penn was assigned half of the territory between the Delaware and the Chesapeake north of the latitude of Cape Henlopen. But this decision did not end the dispute; and it was not till 1750 that the present boundaries of Pennsylvania were decreed by the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. Eleven years after, the southern line between Pennsylvania and Maryland was run by Mason and Dixon; which forms the present division of free and slave labour.

Settlement of boundaries.

Notwithstanding Penn, as absolute proprietary of an

Book II. Ch. 6. A. D. 1690.

extensive province, granted the most generous and liberal terms to the colonists, and although they, as a body, were intelligent and virtuous, they were yet not long contented with their privileges; so hard is it for man, in his degeneracy, to be satisfied with any blessing which Providence bestows. They aimed at still greater freedom; to diminish the little remaining authority of that great and benevolent man who had given them a shelter, and to impair his revenues. The colonial assembly made changes which were both unconstitutional and ungenerous, and the executive power was but feebly administered.

Discontent of the colonists.

1699.

In 1699, Penn revisited the colony he had formed, accompanied by his family, with the intention of spending his days on the banks of the Delaware. Still, difficulties continued. The colonists were dissatisfied with the existing constitution. Negro slavery and Indian intercourse were subjects of continual disquiet. The tenants of the proprietary wished to abolish the payment of their rents. In short, Penn found so few inducements to remain, that he resolved to return to his native land.

Return of Penn to his colony.

1701.

He remained long enough, however, to settle many of the difficulties which were subjects of complaint, and, in 1701, prepared a new frame of government, which continued in force until the revolutionary war. The most striking feature of the altered constitution was the right of the assembly to originate laws, which had previously been vested in the governor; but it allowed the governor a negative on all bills, and the right of appointing his council.

New charter to Pennsylvania.

The colony of Delaware.

This new charter, which was a sort of compromise between the proprietary and the colonists, was not accepted by the Three Lower Counties, which separated from Pennsylvania, and which formed what is now the State of Delaware, whose original inhabitants were Swedes, and

Book II. Ch. 6. A. D. 1701.

who, in 1627, under the auspices of Gustavus Adolphus, emigrated to America and landed at Cape Henlopen. After several times changing masters, the territory was surrendered to the Dutch, who had laid claim to it, and they held possession until 1664, when it was seized by Sir Robert Carr and made a part of New York. In 1682, the Duke of York sold the town of New Castle and twelve miles round to William Penn, and afterwards the country between it and Cape Henlopen, and this territory constituted the Three Lower Counties as a part of Pennsylvania.

Return of Penn to England.

So soon as the last charter of Penn was accepted, he returned to England; but only to be harassed by complaints against the deputies whom he had appointed. Nor were the discontents allayed during his life, notwithstanding the great benefits he had conferred, not only on his colony in particular, but as a benefactor of mankind at large, and as one of the most distinguished reformers whom our world has produced; a legislator surpassing the Solons and Justinians of antiquity in practical wisdom, a philanthropist to whom the Howards and Wilberforces of succeeding ages must yield precedence as an original genius—as a man who far outstripped all his contemporaries in enlargement of mind as well as generosity of soul.

Growth and resources of the colony.

No province gained so rapidly in population as Pennsylvania after it was once settled, in spite of all the difficulties of the settlers with provincial governors, and with the great proprietary himself. In 1701, it is computed that it contained 20,000 inhabitants; while Virginia, which had been colonized nearly eighty years earlier, contained at that time only 40,000. Massachusetts at this period could boast of 70,000 souls, Connecticut of 30,000, Rhode Island 10,000, New Hampshire 10,000, New York

Book II. Ch. 6. A. D. 1701.

30,000, New Jersey 15,000, Maryland 25,000, and North and South Carolina 12,000 more—in all, 262,000.

General condition of the colonies.

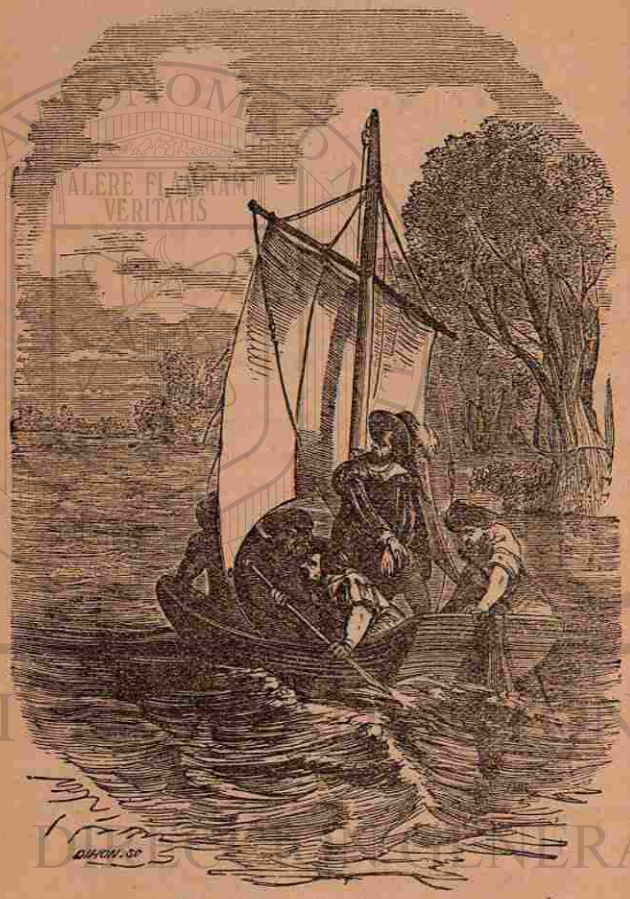
These various colonies imported from England all their merchandise, and exported tobacco, poultry, beef, pork, fish, grain, and lumber. Furs were the principal article of export from the New England colonies, and tobacco from the southern. As the colonists, during the period of their settlement, were chiefly occupied in gaining a subsistence, not much attention was paid to art and manufactures. The first buildings were made of logs, or were constructed of stone, and few had more rooms than the absolute wants of the people required.

Habits and customs of the English settlers.

Travelling was almost entirely on foot or on horseback, the roads being chiefly only narrow paths through the primeval forests. Schools were early instituted, and a common education highly valued. Manners were severe, and morals generally pure. Laws were rigidly enforced, and all disturbers of the public peace were promptly punished. Many superstitions were mixed with the simple notions of the early settlers, and many unhappy persecutions accordingly resulted.

The desire of self-government and love of liberty were the prominent traits of the colonists, from Massachusetts Bay to the coast of Florida. And when these were mingled with zeal for the honour of God and the prevalence of religious truth, the most noble virtues were engendered, and a state prepared for the future development of all that is great in character and in passion.

The colonization of all the States which subsequently rebelled against the authority of England being now effected, except that of Georgia, we turn to consider the discoveries and settlements made by the French in North America.



Marquette descending the Mississippi.

CHAPTER VII.

FRENCH DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS.

THE efforts which the French made to possess themselves of the North American continent, are too important to be omitted in a history of the United States, especially in view of the wars to which they subsequently led, and the great consequence of these settlements on the future history of the country.

Motives which led the French to Canada.

The French, at an early period, were not inferior to the English in enthusiasm for discovery, in intrepidity and endurance amid dangers, in eagerness to engross the trade with the Indians and the fisheries on the coast, or in ambition to possess a supremacy on the continent. Nor were their motives, in many instances, without loftiness and moral grandeur. The Puritans fled to the wilderness of Massachusetts to enjoy their religion; the French sought the wilds of Canada to convert the Indians to the Catholic faith. There was a romance exhibited by the Jesuits, in their wanderings both to convert the natives and explore the country, never since surpassed. "My companion," said the fearless Marquette, "is an envoy of France to discover new countries; but I am an ambassador of God to enlighten them with the gospel."

As early as 1615, Champlain explored the lake which bears his name. In 1626, Franciscan priests had made their way to the waters of the Niagara; and, in less than ten years after, the members of the Society of Jesus had

Book II. Ch. 7. A. D. 1626.

penetrated to the eastern projection of Lake Huron, not with the view of founding States, but of converting angry savages to the truths of Christianity. Montreal became a missionary station, and a school for the instruction of Indian children, within four years of the foundation of Harvard College. Still earlier than this, in 1634, an humble church had been consecrated among the Huron tribes by Brebeuf and Daniel, and converts to the Roman faith been made among the primeval forests which skirted the Ottawa river. Within thirteen years, forty-two of the zealous followers of Loyola had laboured among these distant tribes, enduring unparalleled privation and hardship, and exposed to constant danger. The Mohawk war parties captured many a missionary who attested his sincerity by a triumphant martyrdom; for the Iroquois, or Five Nations, who chased the deer in the interior of New York, were hereditary enemies of the Algonquin tribes who dwelt on the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. Of all the Iroquois, the Mohawks were the most dreaded; for they lived nearest the European settlements, and made constant war on the white man, whether missionary or hunter, whether French or English. They had learned from the Dutch the use of fire-arms, and bade defiance to forts and entrenchments.

Intrepidity of Jesuit missionaries.

Their conversion of the Indians.

Discovery of the Mississippi.

But Canada was not the only scene of Jesuit intrepidity. Missions were established on the southern outlets of Lake Superior, and the country was explored to the source of the Mississippi, which great river the adventurers descended in 1673, passing in succession the mouths of the Illinois, the Missouri, and the Ohio, until they reached the Arkansas. The glory of this enterprise belongs to Marquette, who had laboured for years as a missionary among the Hurons.

The discovery of the "father of waters" was received

Book II. Ch. 7. A. D. 1679.

with enthusiasm in the mother country, and quickened the ambition of Colbert, the minister of the French King. Nor were there wanting adventurers to prosecute further discoveries, and add new value to the crown of France. Of these, the most distinguished was La Salle, who had been the first white man to explore Lake Ontario, and navigate the waters of Niagara. Under the auspices of Colbert, who furnished him with ample means, 1679, he sailed over the great lakes in a vessel of sixty tons, and cast anchor in Green Bay. The vessel was sent back laden with furs, but was unfortunately lost. La Salle and his company proceeded, meanwhile, in birch bark canoes, up Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph, and soon after crossed to a branch of the Illinois, which they descended, and then made their way back to Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, a port at the outlet of Lake Ontario. In their absence, Father Hennepin and another priest had descended the Illinois to the Mississippi, and then, ascending the river, penetrated to the Falls of St. Anthony.

La Salle explores the great lakes.

In 1680, having recruited his company, La Salle returned to the Illinois country, and built a fort which he called St. Louis, and the next year descended the Mississippi in a barge which he had built during the winter, and safely reached its mouth. He then formally took possession of the country, which he called, in honour of Louis XIV., Louisiana.

1680. Discovery of Louisiana.

La Salle then returned to France and procured a new company, with a view of colonizing the country he had discovered, but failed, with his new recruits, to reach the mouth of the Mississippi, and landed his dispirited company on the coast of Texas, where they miserably perished, victims of the climate, with the exception of thirty-six men; half of whom, with La Salle at their head, undertook to reach Canada by land; but only five of them

1689. Melancholy fate of La Salle.

Book II. Ch. 7. A. D. 1689.

returned, the intrepid commander having been murdered by two of his mutinous companions. Thus perished the first adventurers who sought to colonize Louisiana, and, with them, the traces of even the forts which they had built.

War with the Iroquois.

Shortly after, the Canadians were involved in a war with the Iroquois, and Montreal itself was attacked, and lost two hundred of its defenders. Canada, though long planted, did not flourish. The colonists, exposed to the rigour of a cold climate, to a military despotism, and without the motives which called out the energies of their English neighbours, hardly numbered, in 1689, twelve thousand persons; scarcely a twentieth part of the population of the English colonies at the time.

Meed of praise.

And yet no small praise, after all, is due to the French Canadians. Against a formidable confederacy of Indian tribes, they had explored the waters of the great western lakes; they had navigated the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico; they had established successful missionary stations from Quebec to the shores of Lake Superior; they had engrossed the most lucrative part of the fur trade; they had established important military posts; and they claimed the whole eastern coast from the Kennebec to Hudson's Bay, part of New York, all of Acadie and Canada, the whole valley of the Mississippi, and the territory to the south-west as far as the Rio Bravo del Norte. Could France but have retained these extensive regions, the English dominion would have been restricted to those States which border on the Atlantic Ocean. But the jealousy of the English and of English colonies would not allow them to acquiesce in this claim, and was destined to lead to future wars, and the complete suppression of French dominion in America.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY COLONIAL HISTORY. — INDIAN WARS.

Bk. III. Ch. 1. A. D. 1606 to 1658.

Gradual settlement of the country.

We have now seen how the various English colonies were successfully planted on the eastern coast of North America, and alluded to the leading principles which led to their settlement. We have considered some of the influences which retarded, and some which facilitated their growth; the various governments which coerced them, and the conflicting religious opinions which distracted them. We have examined them in detail, as they were gradually colonized, and the various evils to which the early settlers were subjected; none of which, great as they were, paralyzed their energies, or destroyed their bright hopes.

We are now compelled to consider their history in a more general manner, and omit allusion to many events, which, interesting to the colonists themselves, at an early period, have had no very marked effect in the formation of national character and institutions. The twig was bent in the first half-century after it was planted, and, from the inclination it then received, the tree has grown.

Still, there were from time to time great excitements, sometimes religious, sometimes political, which called out great energies, and which changed the ordinary current

Book II. Ch. 7. A. D. 1689.

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Bk. III. Ch. 1. A. D 1606 to 1688.

of events. It therefore becomes us to mention those facts and influences which changed public opinion, and contributed in a marked manner to elevate or depress society.

English view of the colonies.

Some of these originated with the mother country, others from colonial governors. At one time we observe the influence of foreign interference, and at another of agitations resulting from domestic events. Conflicts with the Indians, religious delusions, English commercial restrictions, and early contests for freedom, all had their effect on the welfare of the colonies. After the English Revolution, the same events, in many instances, which created an excitement in New England, also affected the prosperity of Virginia. After that event, a more uniform policy was observable in all the relations between the English government and the colonies. They were regarded in England as a distinct nation, more than before; as composing a part of Great Britain itself, rather than the property of a few nobles and commercial companies. They were looked upon as communities bound to observe the laws of England, to be taxed like towns and cities at home for the support of the central government, and under obligation to take a part in the wars which desolated the continent of Europe. From the first they were dealt with unfairly. There was no justice or magnanimity in English rulers when American affairs were regarded. The colonies paid dearly for the protection afforded them. The people received but few privileges as English subjects, and all they gained was earned by their own enterprise and intrepidity.

The causes which promoted or retarded prosperity were both domestic and foreign — internal and external. Let us first consider the domestic history of the colonies. One of the most considerable of those events which affected the condition of the country was the occasional recurrence

Bk. III. Ch. 1. A. D. 1622. to 1644

of Indian hostilities; extending, at different times, from Maine to South Carolina.

Indian hostilities.

Allusion has already been made to the native peculiarities of the North American Indians, and to the different races which were scattered over the continent. We have also seen how they molested the Europeans "soon after an invasion was made upon their hunting-grounds," and from causes for which the aborigines were not always to blame. The war which the Virginians carried on against the successors of Powhatan, and also the destruction of the Pequods in Connecticut, have been described in the colonization of the country.

Want of union among the Indians.

Had the various Indian tribes united on the first appearance of the European to expel him from the country he visited, they might have been successful. But they were incapable of concert, and were alienated from each other by mutual jealousies. They were almost constantly at war, and possibly, in the progress of ages, might have exterminated each other. Nor did they learn what might be useful to them from the invaders of their country. They copied the European only in his vices, and seemed to be hopelessly and irretrievably wedded to savage life.

Disgust of the Europeans.

Still, they viewed the encroachments of the English on their hunting-grounds, and their superior power, with great disquietude, and probably were never friendly since they were punished for their first massacre on the James River — 1622, and since they were exterminated in the Pequod territory — 1636. They were only restrained by fear of their invaders from repeated and constant insurrection.

1644. Massacre in Virginia.

In 1644, the Virginians suffered severe losses from Indian hostilities, instigated by the aged Opecancanough, who had formed a scheme for the extermination of the colonists. They were surprised as they were preparing

for the fast of Good Friday by a party of Indians, and five hundred people were massacred.

A. D. 1644. The details of the war have not been handed down. It was, however, shorter than the previous one, when Jamestown would have been destroyed but for the admonition of a friendly Indian. The Powhatan confederacy was unsuccessful, and the natives either sunk into servile dependence, or dwindled away; unable to contend with white men in open hostility.

1643. Indian hostilities in New York.

About this time the people of New Amsterdam became involved in a war with the natives. The Raritans, a tribe on the west shore of the Hudson, were accused of having attacked a Dutch bark with the design of robbing it, and also were suspected of stealing hogs from Staten Island. Accordingly, an expedition was sent out against them, and several warriors were barbarously killed. The Raritans naturally retaliated. Other causes also inflamed animosity on both sides. The Hackensacs became involved in the quarrel, against whom a party was led, and which resulted in a massacre of eighty Indians. Roused by injuries, eleven petty tribes united together against the Dutch, who had indiscreetly fanned the flames of war. The Indians were partially supplied with fire-arms, and were wrought up to the highest pitch of ferocity. The terrified colonists fled to New Amsterdam, and a fast was proclaimed. De Vries succeeded in procuring a temporary reconciliation, but fresh injuries provoked new hostilities. A tribe on the Hudson, north of the Highlands, plundered a Dutch canoe laden with furs, and the frontier settlements were again assailed. It was at this time that Mrs. Hutchinson, with all her family, were slain—1643. The colonists made renewed preparations and undertook several expeditions. The Indian villages in various quarters were attacked and destroyed, and a large number of the warriors killed, but not until the colony had suffered considerably. Peace was restored in 1644.

Indian hostilities, however, were desultory, and ill-conducted, until the famous war broke out against the Narragansetts in 1673. Except in the destruction of the Pequods, the red men of New England had not materially diminished in numbers. But their lands had gradually fallen into the possession of the English. The curtailment of the hunting-grounds and the increase of colonial settlements at last led to a dangerous insurrection.

1673. Narragansett war.

King Philip of Mount Hope.

None felt more keenly the growing power of the English than Pometacom, chief of the Wampanoags, who still occupied the eastern section of Narragansett Bay. He was nephew and successor of Massasoit, who originally welcomed the pilgrims to Plymouth, and is best known as the King Philip of Mount Hope; the most enterprising and sagacious Indian with whom the English were ever destined to contend. He was suspected of hostile designs, and had been compelled to deliver up his fire-arms and enter into humiliating stipulations. Some of his men were afterwards hung on suspicion of having committed a murder. He retaliated by plundering some houses near Mount Hope, in Bristol, and by killing several people in Swanzey. The colonists prepared for war. Philip and his warriors fled; and as the Narragansetts on the opposite side of the bay were suspected of giving them shelter, they were required to give pledges of peace. Philip, however, succeeded in making his escape, though hedged in with enemies, to the interior of Massachusetts, and united with the Nipmucks in preparing for more systematic hostilities. These Indians burned the village of Brookfield, and, united with the natives on Connecticut River, attacked Deerfield and Northfield and killed many of the inhabitants. They were now more formidable than at an

His ravages on Connecticut River.

Bk. III. Ch. 1. A. D. 1675.

earlier period of the colony, since they had learned the use of fire-arms, with which the colonists had indiscreetly furnished them. The Indians did not venture to fight openly, but in ambush; behind trees, and in dense thickets; and therefore they were not so easily to be overcome.

Battle of Bloody Brook.

The English were driven to the necessity of defensive warfare. A magazine and garrison were established in Hadley. Thither Captain Lathrop, with eighty picked men, proceeded with three thousand bushels of wheat. But before he arrived at Deerfield, at a stream called Bloody Brook, he was attacked by a large body of Indians, and was destroyed, with his whole company. Deerfield was abandoned and burned. Springfield was attacked, but saved by timely assistance from Connecticut.

Alarm of frontier towns.

The success of the Indians on the Connecticut encouraged those who inhabited the forests which skirted the Merrimac; for it cannot be supposed that the natives had been restrained from hostilities long before this (1675) except by fear. The frontier settlements in the neighbourhood of Boston were abandoned or destroyed. The Tarentans at the same time attacked the settlements in Maine and New Hampshire. All the various tribes had the same griefs and the same desire to exterminate their invaders.

Destruction of the Indians.

The Narragansetts were the most powerful tribe of Indians in New England, and had not, as yet, joined in hostilities. But they were so generally suspected, that it was resolved by the colonists to make war on them as well as the Wampanoags and other tribes. A large force was accordingly raised, and all New England prepared for a desperate combat. The cold winter of 1675, when even swamps were frozen, made the Indian fortresses accessible to the colonists. The united forces, under the command

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of Winslow, approached a swamp in the town of South Kingston, where the Indians were entrenched in a strong fort. It was attacked, and, after a severe struggle, it fell into the hands of the assailants. Six hundred wigwams were destroyed, and the provisions of the Indians were burned.

Injuries done to frontier towns.

The assailants, however, suffered severely. Two hundred and thirty men were either killed or wounded, while most of the Indian warriors escaped. Infuriated by their disasters, and suffering from famine, they recommenced hostilities with the utmost barbarity. They scattered themselves along the frontier settlements, and inflicted all the injury in their power. Lancaster was burned. Medfield was half-destroyed, and Weymouth was attacked. Providence, too, was seriously injured. The whole colony of Plymouth was overrun. Houses were burned in almost every town. No one could venture out without danger of being destroyed. The colonists were filled with alarm. A general insurrection and union of the natives threatened every place with danger. Men, women and children perished by the bullets or the tomahawks of the Indians; and some of the most flourishing of the settlements were abandoned.

League to destroy the Indians.

The dangers and sufferings of the English led to the necessity of a general confederation, and the Indians were now hunted like wild beasts, wherever the white man dared to penetrate. Famine and disease rapidly destroyed those whom war had spared. The Indians, at last, discouraged and broken, sought the most inaccessible retreats. Philip himself, no longer sheltered by the Indians who had committed such ravages on the settlements of Connecticut river, fled to his native swamps. There he was followed, attacked, and killed by Major Church, and his followers were either destroyed or taken prisoners. The

Death of Philip.

Bk. III. Ch. 1. A. D. 1675.

Wampanoags and Narragansetts suffered the fate of the Pequods, and their country was annexed to Plymouth, and afterwards to Rhode Island. The few surviving members of these unfortunate tribes migrated to the North and West, to inflame their brethren to future hostilities.

War with the Susquehannas.

Nearly cotemporary with King Philip's war in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, was that which was carried on in Virginia, against the Susquehannas and other tribes, under the guidance of Nathaniel Bacon. Allusion has been made to these hostilities, so far as pertained to Bacon's rebellion, and but little more need here be said.

For thirty years the Virginia Indians had maintained peace; but the same causes which provoked the natives in New England, also operated at the South. The occasion of the war of which Bacon was the leader, was the attack of the plantations in Maryland by the Susquehannas. The cause, was the mutual hatred of the antagonistic races, and the mutual injuries which had been inflicted.

Their destruction.

Like all other contests with the Indians, those unfortunate people were the principal sufferers. Those who were not exterminated, were sold as slaves; which fact shows the eagerness of the colonists for offensive war; while the deserted Indian lands were vested in the several counties, and applied by them towards defraying the expenses of the war.

Nature of Indian warfare.

The colonies did not again suffer from the Indians until they were incited by their enemies among the French to attack the border settlements. Their incursions were unexpected and sudden, and marked by terrible excesses. There was no general combination of large bodies of warriors, nor did they make any systematic attacks on considerable settlements. They fought in isolated bands, and,

Bk. III. Ch. 1. A. D. 1681.

when they had destroyed a village or solitary farm-house, retreated again to their fastnesses, and reserved their strength for future barbarities. They could not easily be tracked or conquered. They watched the white man, and waited for an opportunity to seize him in the fields, or in an unprotected house, as they hunted for the deer or the beaver.

Indian craft and cruelty.

1690.

Union of French and Indians.

The mutual jealousy between the French and English settlers increased the national antipathies, and the former were especially guilty of instigating the savages in Canada and in New York to commit deeds which no ordinary warfare can justify. The French absolutely headed and guided the hostile natives in their savage incursions. In one of these, Schenectady, a village on the Mohawk, west of Albany, was almost totally destroyed, 1690, and about sixty persons slain. Another party surprised Salmon Falls, a frontier village on the Piscataqua, killed most of the males, and led the women and children as captives into Canada. York was surprised by a party of French and Indians, and lost seventy-five of its inhabitants, while as many more were carried as prisoners to Canada.

Schenectady attacked.

1697.

Fears excited by the Indians.

Seven years later, in 1697, a winter party of Indians attacked Haverhill and Boston; and the people on the frontier were kept in constant alarm. At this period were built those heavy log houses, as garrisons for purposes of protection, some of which still remain. But hardly was the white man safe even within these impenetrable walls. The slightest cessation from his customary vigilance, any short indulgence from fancied security, exposed him to the tomahawk of foes who never slept. He never ventured out into his field without his gun. He was obliged to clear away the beautiful trees which surrounded and ornamented his house, for fear that Indians

Bk. III. Ch. 1. A. D. 1697.

might lurk behind them while he laboured for his bread. In every part of New England, legends are handed down among the people of the sufferings and the heroism of their fathers. Women were known to defend themselves with courage and success, in sudden attacks, when their brothers and husbands were absent from their homes.

Hannah Dustin.

The intrepidity of Hannah Dustin surpassed that of Jael and Judith of old; for she, when taken by a party of Indians, succeeded in killing the whole of them with her own hands, in the dead of night, when they were overcome with liquor and sleep.

Hatred and fear of the Indians.

Amid such dangers and sufferings were the colonists trained. But Indian hostilities, in spite of the superior strength of the whites, retarded prosperity, and filled the most prosperous settlements with alarm. The mere name of Indian conjured up fear and hatred; and the defenceless and the timid were frightened at the word, even as Saracen mothers once quailed before the name of Richard Cœur de Lion.

Peculiarities of Indian warfare.

It is unnecessary to detail the injuries which the Indians inflicted at a subsequent period, until the final conquest of Canada by the English. There is great uniformity in the history of Indian hostilities, marked by treachery, cunning, cruelty, and barbarity. Moreover, Indian warfare, after the colonies were involved in the great contest between England and France, is closely connected with intercolonial wars, and will be further alluded to when these are treated. It is time to consider other events which affected the prosperity and tranquillity of the colonies.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGIOUS DISSENSIONS, DELUSIONS, AND PERSECUTIONS.

Bk. III. Ch. 2. A. D. 1650.

It seems odd to prefix a chapter with such a title, when we remember the claims which the colonists, and especially the Puritans, made to intellectual light and religious toleration. It would seem that men with their experience and sufferings, driven away from their homes by persecuting bigots, would be singularly free from the faults which they denounced in others, and would be bound together by the bonds of charity and love. Doubtless there was great affection between those who thought alike on all the great questions of the day; but, unfortunately, they did not all think alike, and, as they were all earnest and ardent in defence of their peculiar views, strife and disunion were inevitable. It is a great infirmity, even in noble minds, to be inclined to religious intolerance. It were a mistake to suppose that antipathy to those who differ from us is ordinarily confined to the narrow and the weak. Intolerance is in human nature itself, and generally displays itself with the most bitterness where there are strong passions and warm feelings. It does not come from the head, but from the heart. There will be no warmth of temper displayed in discussing mathematical truths; for these appeal purely to the reason. But when moral and political questions are discussed, then sentiments of affection or interest are brought out, and this

Natural inclination to religious intolerance.

Bk. III. Ch. 1. A. D. 1697.

might lurk behind them while he laboured for his bread. In every part of New England, legends are handed down among the people of the sufferings and the heroism of their fathers. Women were known to defend themselves with courage and success, in sudden attacks, when their brothers and husbands were absent from their homes.

Hannah Dustin.

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Natural inclination to religious intolerance.

Intolerance universal.

coolness vanishes. Even the strongest minds may exhibit the greatest love or animosity, since strong passions frequently accompany powerful intellectual convictions. Thus Burke could never forgive Fox, with whom he had been in the closest intimacy, when the latter advocated the cause of the French Revolution. Thus, Dr. Johnson could never speak decently of either dissenters or republicans. With both these great men, with all their learning and wisdom, their passions prevented the unbiassed judgment of their reason, because, with them, passion was as strong as their reason. Hence, advocates who are successful and powerful should not be selected as judges, because the same qualities which make them potent pleaders, unfit them for cool and impartial sifters of truth. Passion is one of the grand elements of eloquence; but passion is at war with reason. On this principle it is unwise to take advice from sanguine friends; for they see everything as they wish to have it, through the medium of excited feelings. It is much better to trust to the judgment of cold, calculating, passionless men, who do not enter warmly into our plans.

Ardent feelings of the Puritans.

Now, the Puritans, as a body, were men of remarkably strong passions and ardent religious sentiments, which were united with great intellectual strength. They felt strongly on all moral and religious questions which were agitated in their day. They could not be cool and calm, if they would. They were jealous for the glory of God, and the undimmed lustre of their system of truth. Any departure from the principles which they honoured so profoundly, seemed to derogate from the glory of God and the welfare of the Church. Hence, they did not stop to reason coldly when the temple of truth was invaded by audacious and unholy hands. They would drive out the intruders with whips and cords—they would eject them from

Puritan intolerance.

their abodes — from the precincts of the colony itself. They would have nothing to do with them; for they sought, as it appeared to them, to bring dishonour on what was most sacred and sublime. Hence, they did not scruple to banish the Baptists and Quakers, in spite of unexceptionable morality and inoffensive lives, because they blended certain doctrines with their system of truth which were regarded as dangerous to the Church of Christ. Hence, they had no reproaches of conscience in awarding to witches the punishments which their age prescribed. They abominated the idea that ignorant and self-sufficient fanatics could be favoured with the special illumination of the Deity, when the Bible was in every hand. They were shocked that any persons could have the audacity to communicate with the agents of Satanic power. They did not stop to reason. They acted, without reasoning, from the prejudices of their age, and from the education they had received. It is no argument against their superior culture, that the people in Virginia, who did not make high pretensions, should have been free from similar delusions and animosities. The Virginians were thinking of other things — of cultivating tobacco, and studying their physical prosperity. Those men who, in our days, are zealously embarked in trade, politics, or pleasure, are not the men who feel strongly and act vigorously respecting dangerous moral innovations. Those who are infinitely their superiors in culture, in genius, and in heart, may exhibit passions and weaknesses of which their inferiors will never be accused.

The Puritans evinced only a natural infirmity.

And these truths should be borne in mind when we discuss the character of great men, or unfold the relations of great events. It is only in this light that the conduct of the Puritans may be palliated for their participation in religious persecution. Let not great historical facts be

denied. Let them be admitted cheerfully by all. And then let us view acts which derogate from the fame of the good and great in the light of true philosophy and Christian candour, and we shall ordinarily see great palliatives. None are indeed perfect. We are called to lament the follies of those we honour. But, with all their follies and mistakes, we see nevertheless a great difference between them and those who are more faultless, but less glorious.

I have already shown the lamentable delusion which led to the banishment of Roger Williams, and the foundation of Rhode Island. The next marked outburst of popular prejudice, and which can never be justified, was in reference to the Quakers. It commenced in 1656, and extended, at intervals, for many years. It was not confined to Massachusetts, but equally disgraced Virginia and other colonies.

Quakers persecuted

Allusion has already been made to the celebrated founder of the Society of Friends, and also to their doctrines, which contained some principles for the first time advanced in the world, and which have contributed, in no inconsiderable manner, to the progress of truth and civilization. But there were some ideas of more questionable value, which were advanced with presumptuous audacity, and were exceedingly offensive to the men of their generation. The notion that the Bible was a dead-letter book, unless illuminated by the Inner Light, thus recognizing special divine revelations, and placing them above the authority of the Scriptures, was repugnant to the Puritans, who placed the authority of the Scriptures above all other authority. And when this idea, and other new doctrines equally obnoxious, were advocated with wild enthusiasm, and with a recklessness inconsistent with the respect which seemed due to both rulers and priests, accompanied with extravagance and indecorum of manners, yea, even undisguised indecency, hard to be reconciled with the calm and rational deportment of the present followers of Fox, the indignation and disgust of the colonists were excited to the highest degree. For Quakers, male and female, in some instances, not only committed acts which would now, in any civilized country, subject them to imprisonment in the house of correction, but manifested utter contempt for courts of justice, titles of honour, and the ordinary laws of society. Their reputation had preceded them to New England, and, when they arrived, there were such strong prejudices against them, that they were immediately arrested and examined to see whether they bore any bodily marks of witchcraft. And when such indications were not found, they were sent back to Rhode Island, from which colony they came.

Quakers in New England.

Banishment of the Quakers.

A law was passed, sentencing them to fine, imprisonment, and exile. The four associated colonies adopted this law, and urged Rhode Island to do the same. But the Assembly wisely regarded any punishment for religious opinions as inconsistent with their principles, and a violation of their charter. The few Quakers who had come to these distant settlements to propagate their doctrines, were not content to remain in Rhode Island, and were resolved to be martyrs rather than remain in rest and quietude. Accordingly, they soon returned to Massachusetts. There they were joined by Mary Clarke, the "wife of a tailor in London, who announced that she had forsaken her husband and six children in order to convey a message from heaven to the people of New England." They immediately raised their voices to abuse everything especially revered in social life, or in the ordinances of the churches. They were again seized, flogged, and dismissed with yet more severe threats. Still they

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returned with increasing numbers, and succeeded in making converts and exciting compassion. The magistrates of Massachusetts, exasperated at the repetition of their extravagances and the influence of their principles, introduced, in 1658, a law into the Assembly denouncing the punishment of death upon all Quakers returning from banishment. Although many opposed this sanguinary and illiberal proposition, it was nevertheless carried, and, in the two following years, four persons were put to death, among whom was Mary Dyer, once a conspicuous disciple of Mrs. Hutchinson.

1658. Penal laws.

The fortitude with which these persecuted people met their fate, and the compassion which their sufferings occasioned, alarmed the magistrates; and penal rigours were relaxed, and continued to be relaxed, as the Quakers became more orderly, or their principles were better understood.

1688. Toleration under William and Mary.

When William and Mary were seated on the throne, more liberal views were also embraced in the colonies respecting religious toleration, which was finally extended to all Christians excepting Catholics, whose principles, it was maintained, so openly advocated the suppression of all intellectual independence, that, in self-defence, the Protestants, of nearly every party, felt themselves justified in withholding the privileges which themselves claimed.

1674. Intolerance respecting Catholics.

The intolerance shown to Catholics, partly the result of traditionary hatred, was most unjust in Maryland. That province had been settled by them, and they had ever exercised the greatest practical liberality. But when dissenters from their faith settled among them, for they were not excluded, and outnumbered them, they subjected the Catholics to persecution, forbade the celebration of the mass in public, 1704, and deprived them of the right of suffrage. These disabilities were at length removed; but,

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in several States, Catholics, and Catholics alone, of the Christian sects, were ineligible to any high civil office.

A. D. 1692. Salem witches.

But the most remarkable exhibition of superstitious delusion and hateful severity which disgraced the early colonists, was in reference to witches. It was supposed that certain unhappy people, chiefly old women, had made a covenant with the devil for the tormenting of human souls — a notion, however, not peculiar to New England, but which was common to England and various parts of Europe. Some of the greatest men of the age were firm believers in witchcraft, sorcery, and magic; and severe penal enactments were made against those who were supposed to practise those arts, in every country in Christendom. Henry VIII. made witchcraft a capital offence; and many persons lost their lives for this imputed crime, even during the Commonwealth.

Puritan horror of witchcraft.

The Puritans were not exempt from the superstition of their times, and they also punished witchcraft with death, since they regarded it as a voluntary compact between the devil and evil-minded persons. And the prevailing delusion was stimulated by Increase Mather, and his son Cotton Mather, clergymen of Boston, and greatly distinguished for learning and sanctity, although their piety bore a close resemblance to Catholic asceticism. The latter person even took a child into his house who was supposed to be bewitched, that he might have an opportunity of studying Satanic influences; and the girl made a dupe of him, and furnished him with materials for a book on "Witchcrafts and Possessions," which had great influence on the common mind.

The delusion spread from Boston to Salem. Children were seen to perform pranks which could not have happened but for the agency of infernal spirits. The greatest pains were taken to discover those who had bewitched

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them. Towns appointed committees for the purpose, and magistrates zealously lent their aid. Examinations took place of accused persons in the churches, where were assembled the chief people of the towns. On the most trivial and absurd accusations, respectable people were arrested, tried, found guilty, and executed. The governor of the colony, Phipps, took an active part, 1692, in the prosecutions. And he was sustained by the General Court. So powerful was the delusion, that it was hazardous to express doubts in reference to the accused. The disbelief in witches was itself almost tantamount to an alliance with evil spirits. The calm and wise dared not express their convictions. Those whom the afflicted accused, either in malice or recklessness, were looked upon as damned by the credulous crowd, and those who stimulated their folly; and it was in vain to seek escape, except by confession of the crime. The jails were full of prisoners; new accusations increased, every day; alarm and terror filled all minds. Neither age nor sex was spared. Evil spirits were supposed to hover over the land. Magistrates were even condemned, and a clergyman by the name of Burroughs was executed.

Cruelties inflicted on supposed witches

Reaction.

At last, persons of such high character and influence were accused, that the eyes of the community were opened. Clergymen and magistrates of the highest social position and moral worth, became implicated. The General Court was alarmed, as well as the more judicious of the people. A clergyman of Andover had the courage to remonstrate publicly against the prevailing delusion, and the special court which had been established for the trial of accused persons was abrogated. Finally, King William vetoed the witchcraft act, and, by order of the governor, all prisoners were released, 1693, but not until more than twenty innocent persons had been executed, and fifty-five

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tortured until an acknowledgment of guilt had been wrung from them.

With the passing away of this delusion, which prevailed most extensively in Salem, a decline was also perceptible in the religious ardour of the colonists, and their views were modified respecting a theocratic government. The great peculiarities of Puritanism were no longer seen in their ancient force. Latitudinarianism became prevalent and fashionable. The half-way covenant was adopted. Colman in Boston, and Stoddard in Northampton, even admitted all persons to the communion and the privilege of church membership, who were not immoral in their lives. The ministers no longer pretended to advise and control the executive and legislative governments; and Cambridge itself, much to the mortification of Mather and the members of the old theocratic school, presently passed under the control of the latitudinarian party, which went by the name of Arminian, and which insinuated, if it did not openly profess, a leaning towards Socinianism.

Decline of the distinctive features of Puritanism.

Oliver Cromwell

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS.

Thus far, we have considered chiefly the internal history of the colonists; their struggles, their contests, their opinions, and their delusions. It is well, now, to turn our eyes to the influence which English legislation had on their prosperity as merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturists. All the colonies recognized, to a greater or less degree, their dependence on the mother country. They were governed by English laws. They yielded homage to English governors. Their charters established a close connection between them and the English government. It was only when they were feeble and insignificant that they escaped the notice of kings and Parliaments, and enjoyed an unrestricted freedom. As they became flourishing they were subjected to the influence of English legislatures, and the more more powerful they became the more they felt the yoke.

Influence of English legislation on the colonies.

Commercial restrictions were imposed as early as the colonies promised to enrich the proprietors. The first were imposed on Virginia, when tobacco became a considerable article of export—during the reign of Charles I. In 165¢, the Parliament, after its triumph over the king, passed a law that foreign ships should not enter any of the ports in Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas, and Virginia, much to the detriment of the latter colony, which sold great quantities of tobacco to Dutch traders.

Legislation respecting tobacco.

Cromwell, still more than Charles I., was induced to

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restrict colonial commerce, in order to confirm the maritime power of his country; and especially when he perceived that Holland was engrossing so large a share of the trade of the world.

1651. Navigation act.

The first navigation act was carried through Parliament by his influence, 1651, by which the commerce between England and her colonies, as well as the rest of the world, was to be conducted by English ships alone. This act was passed, however, not so much with a view of absorbing the wealth of Virginia, as to cripple the commerce of the Dutch; in consequence of which a naval war followed between England and Holland, in which Blake, De Ruyter, and Von Tromp gained such lasting laurels.

1660. Navigation act of Charles II.

The British merchants, however, were not satisfied with the desire of Cromwell to make England the emporium of trade, but also claimed an entire monopoly of colonial commerce. And, soon after Charles II. was restored to the throne, a new navigation act was passed, 1660, by Parliament, which gave to them all they desired. It was decreed that no commodities should be imported into any British settlement, or exported from thence, but in British vessels, navigated by English sailors; and that no valuable and staple products, the growth of the colonies, should be shipped thence to any other country than England. Nor was it allowed to import into the colonies any European commodities which were not laden in England and transported in English vessels.

Dependence of the colonies on England.

Nothing, it is evident, could be more exclusive than this act, by which the colonies were kept in a state of complete mercantile dependence on the mother country, and by which England alone was benefited. But Parliament was not content with this, but prosecuted a domineering policy, and assumed the prerogative of regulating the trade of the several colonies with each other.

Bk. III. Ch. 3. A. D. 1668

This act, in England, was regarded as a masterpiece of commercial wisdom and political sagacity. In America it excited indignation and disgust. It was plainly an invasion of the rights of the settler. It tended to make them slaves. It had in it nothing paternal, nothing protective; but a cold, calculating, mean way of enriching the mother country at the expense of the colonies. There might be some excuse in the policy, so far as it was intended to be conducted against foreign nations; for England had a right, like China, to make its own regulations of trade in intercourse with foreigners; but the Americans were not foreigners. They were not regarded as such, but as the children of Great Britain, exposed to peculiar dangers, and in peculiar need of indulgence and protection.

Its injustice and popularity.

Resentment of Virginia.

In none of the colonies did this tyrannical system exact greater resentment than in Virginia, "where the larger commerce of the people, their pre-eminent loyalty, and the recent liberal forbearance of Cromwell, made the burden more severe and exasperating." No sooner was the Navigation Act promulgated in Virginia, than the colonies warmly remonstrated against it as a grievance, and petitioned for relief. Charles paid no attention to the state of angry feeling, but rather resolved to enforce the most vigorous measures, in which he was seconded by the Parliament. The provincial authorities then evaded the conditions of the act, and winked at noncompliance; which called out a royal mandate commanding the provincial governor to enforce the law.

Clandestine intercourse

Although a clandestine intercourse was kept up with the Dutch on Hudson River, still the effect of the act was to depreciate the value of tobacco — the staple of the colony, since it was now confined to one market. The colonists remonstrated, and feebly retaliated. Statutes were enacted to restrain the culture of tobacco and intro-

Bk. III. Ch. 3. A. D. 1668.

duce new staples instead, but without success. The great effect of the Navigation Act was to weaken those sentiments of loyalty which the Virginians had ever peculiarly cherished, and prepare the way for future rebellion.

Navigation Act particularly injurious to Virginia.

The Navigation Act was not so injurious in its effect on the northern colonies as on the southern during the seventeenth century, but ultimately it caused great disaffection from Massachusetts to South Carolina. The colonies, in defence, either imposed export duties on goods shipped in British vessels, or made exceptions in favour of colonial ships, which called out the complaints of British merchants and manufacturers to the Board of Trade, and led to incessant difficulties. It was the constant policy of England to prevent the growth or manufacture of any article in America which formed a staple in the mother country. Wool, for instance, in the seventeenth century, was the great article which was raised by British farmers for purposes of manufacture and foreign trade. Hence 1699. Parliament passed an act in 1699 prohibiting wool, or any manufacture made or mixed with it, which was produced in America, from being transported from even one colony to another, or even to be laden on any ship, vessel, cart, or horse, under any pretence. All manufactures were discouraged which could be furnished by British merchants, which of course reduced the colonies to great dependence, keeping them constantly poor, and in debt to the mother country; for the export of raw materials, such as timber, pitch, and tobacco, never could produce enough to furnish the colonies with any except the coarsest and meanest fabrics, and these only to a limited extent. None but the wealthy could afford to wear silks or fine woollens; and tea, coffee, and other luxuries, were sold at exorbitant prices which amounted to a prohibition, except among favoured individuals. The colonists were obliged to spin

Poverty and oppression of the colonists.

Bk. III. Ch. 3. A. D. 1721.

and weave their own wool and linen in their own houses, or go imperfectly clad. Even the production of iron, at one time, 1721, was prohibited in the colonies; and this prohibition would have been enforced, had it not been for the serious remonstrance of colonial agents. Not a furnace could be erected in America — not a flock of sheep could be raised — not a ship could be built — hardly a blacksmith's shop could be constructed, without calling forth the doleful complaint of some interested British manufacturer or mechanic to the Board of Trade. The mercantile jealousy which the mother country constantly evinced, was equally sordid and ungenerous.

Remonstrances of the colonists.

The colonies, however, in the early period of their history, did not dispute the right of the British Parliament to impose restrictions on their commerce. They merely remonstrated, and, when their remonstrances were of no avail, retaliated in some feeble form, or contented themselves with the expression of displeasure. They looked upon themselves as a part of the British empire, and Parliament as the supreme authority. It was not until Great Britain proceeded to legislate on the government of the colonies, as well as on commerce and industry, that the spirit of independence was awakened, and the great rebellion took place.

CHAPTER IV.

POPULAR DISCONTENTS, AND EARLY CONTESTS WITH GOVERNORS.

Bk. III. Ch. 4.

Complaints of royal governors.

HARDLY had the colonists escaped from the influence of tyranny and persecution, both civil and religious, in England, and established themselves in their new abodes, before they began to be jealous of the authority of their rulers and governors in America. In nearly every colony, the people were desirous of greater privileges, as they increased in numbers and power. No matter whether governors were appointed by kings, by parliaments, by absolute proprietaries, by corporations, or by the suffrages of the people themselves, they found increasing obstacles in the exercise of their functions. There was always some object of popular complaint—some struggle between those who ruled, and those who were ruled. Either taxation, or English legislation, or royal encroachments, or the arbitrary rule of governors, or restricted franchise, or interference with religious and social rights, were subjects of complaint and resistance. The people did not quietly and permanently acquiesce even in compacts and arrangements with which they were at first contented. The same disquietude, unrest, and discontent, which have ever marked nations and individuals alike in the most favoured and the most unfortunate situations, equally characterized our ancestors. It seems to be one of the laws of progress

Popular discontents.

that discontents and agitations should arise; for surely there could be no advance if men were uniformly contented with their lot. No state of society is perfect. There is no situation without glaring evils, however desirable, or however praised.

Bk. III. Ch. 4.

Favoured as all the colonies were, in respect to government, from the very first, and in every part of the country, when compared with the nations of the old world, there were everywhere causes of complaint. The great contest of all time was going on between the rich and the poor — between the privileged and the more unfortunate classes. In the forests of America, as in every other part of the world, and in all ages, aristocracy and democracy conflicted. The rich wished to perpetuate the advantages they had gained by their talents or industry—the learned and dignified looked down on the pretensions of the ignorant and base — magistrates aimed to strengthen the arms of power — and those who had nothing to lose sought, by commotion and agitation, to overturn existing institutions, and, in the conflict of parties and sects and interests, to elevate their own social position, and grasp privileges which had ever been denied them. Democratic as were the early settlers in comparison with Europeans, the great body of them grew still more democratic every day in the wilderness; and the tendency of American society, from the first planting of the colonies, has been continually to the increase of democratic power. Every change of government, every revolution, and every great social excitement, have contributed to raise the mass of the people in their aspirations, self-respect, and self-sufficiency, if not in real virtue and intelligence, as must of course be the case where the abstract principles of universal liberty are generally advocated, and form the basis of political institutions.

Discontent of the people with their situation and privileges.

Progress of democracy.

Bk. III. Ch. 4. A. D. 1660 to 1688.

The most aristocratic of all the colonies was Virginia; but even the aristocrats of Virginia, so loyal in their professions, and so attached to kings and parliaments, did not acquiesce in restrictions on their commerce, and loudly complained when Charles II. prevented the free exportation of tobacco to any other country than England. They resisted royal commissioners and royal governors, and showed a spirit of disaffection by no means agreeable to James II. They claimed the right of nominating their own treasurer under William III., at a time when the governor controlled the army, the revenue, the interpretation of the law, the administration of justice, and the Church. They refused to contribute for the defence of the colonies against France, when required by the king. They resisted the demands of the governor, whenever such demands seemed against the interests of the colony; and the governors were obliged, in their quarrels, to resort to dissolutions of the Assembly. They even alleged, in 1718, that Parliament could not levy any tax on them without the consent of the General Assembly.

Resistance to royal governors.

Jealousy of magistrates in Massachusetts. 1632 to 1731.

In Massachusetts, the struggles of the people against arbitrary power, and their jealousy of royal governors, were still more marked, since the great body of the people were more democratic in their sympathies, and intelligence and wealth more equally diffused. As early as 1640, the freemen had shown their jealousy of magistrates by declining to re-elect them more than one or two years in succession, for fear that they would aspire to perpetual authority. In 1641, they prepared a body of laws in which their interests were carefully guarded. Even the excellent Governor Winthrop was impeached, and was obliged to defend himself, in 1645, before the magistrates, deputies, and an assembly of the people, from the charge of having abused his authority.

Bk. III. Ch. 4. A. D. 1665 to 1730.

They subsequently treated the commissioners whom Charles II. sent over, on his restoration, with marked discourtesy; and such was their resistance to the mother country, when it attempted to enforce the Navigation Acts, that their charter was taken away. They refused to pay the taxes which Andros, the royal governor, imposed when the charter was forfeited, and finally rose up against him and imprisoned him when news arrived of the second English revolution. And when Bellamont was governor, in 1698, the General Court would not allow him to carry out his instructions, and jealously insisted upon greater liberties. The Legislature of Massachusetts even once resorted to the extreme measure of stopping supplies when its petitions were disregarded by the king, in 1731, so that no public officer received any pay for more than two years. And, indeed, down to the period preceding the American Revolution, Massachusetts, from time to time, resisted all encroachments on its liberties, and the royal governors were unable to carry out their plans.

Contests with governors.

General dissatisfaction of the colonists with government.

The same jealousy of power was seen in nearly all the other colonies, no matter on what principles they were founded. As the population increased, difficulties with proprietaries and governors increased also. The people always had a great reluctance to pay quit-rents to proprietaries, whether in Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, or New York. And they all alike resisted the enforcements of the acts of trade. They all alike rebelled against oppressive governors. Even the people of Pennsylvania encroached on the private rights of the generous founder of their colony, and he found it wise to grant such privileges as they desired; and, before his death, almost a pure democracy was founded. But even these did not content the settlers. Constant collisions between the

Bk. III. Ch. 5. A. D. 1691.

proprietary, as owner of unappropriated territory, and the people, eager to enlarge their freeholds, took place. At the death of Penn, the executive was dependent on the people for its support, and all subordinate executive officers were elected by them. The judiciary also was fettered by the people, and all legislation originated with them.

Affairs in Pennsylvania,

And in New York.

But in none of the colonies was resistance to royal power more marked than in New York; and in none was it more necessary. It was early seen in the most stubborn violation of the Navigation Acts, and in the resolutions passed by the Colonial Assembly in 1691, in which it was asserted that no tax whatever could be levied on the colony without the consent of the Legislature. But it was during the administration of Lord Cornbury that the Legislature showed the greatest courage, which indeed almost amounted to audacity; and Queen Anne was obliged to remove from office the obnoxious governor who ruled the province in her name. Of all the representatives of royalty in America, Lord Cornbury, grandson of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, was the most contemptible and the most oppressive. Happily, however, for the colonies, the administration of such men as Cornbury, Andros, and Dudley, fanned the spirit of resistance, and led to self-reliance.

Preparation for future independence.

Thus were the people of the various colonies preparing themselves for future independence. Thus were democratic sentiments gradually gaining ground. Thus was hatred of English taxation silently engendered. The hardy colonists, accustomed to toil, educated in the school of self-reliance, and conscious of their strength, felt, for half a century before they dreamed of independence, that they already constituted a great nation, destined to illustrious deeds.

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But this independence to which they so nobly aspired, and this greatness which they were destined to realize, were not to be obtained until they had measured their strength with most desperate enemies in the field, and had acquired the valuable instructions of experience. It was necessary that they should more fully learn the spirit of Indian warfare, and the military tactics of European foes. The great contests of European monarchs were extended even to the shores of the New World, and the hardy colonists were reluctantly embroiled in the strife of kings. The Indians were incited, by French arts, to more powerful combinations, and encroachments were made by rival colonists on the territories of each other. Indian and French wars form no inconsiderable part of colonial history during the first half of the 18th century, which it is now time to present.

Position of the colonists.

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CHAPTER V.

EARLY INTERCOLONIAL WARS.

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GREAT BRITAIN exercised an influence on the colonies not only by attempting to enforce the acts of Parliament respecting trade, and by imposing upon them tyrannical governors, but also by involving them in her wars with European powers.

Jealousies of the Dutch and English towards the French.

William III. brought with him into England that intense hatred of Louis XIV. which had characterized him as Prince of Orange. The recollection of the injuries which Holland had received from the modern Nebuchadnezzar, and his unscrupulous efforts to subvert the civil and religious liberties of Europe, incessantly haunted the mind of William. And his antipathy was also shared by his new subjects, who both feared and hated the French king, not only because he aimed to destroy the balance of European power, but because he persecuted the Protestants. England, moreover, was jealous of French ascendency in the politics of Europe, and of the efforts which France made to extend manufactures and commerce, those branches of industry which she herself wished to monopolize. Not least in the scale of these aggressions were the projects of the French to engross the fisheries, and secure their ascendency on the American continent.

It was for these reasons that England maintained a desperate contest with France, with but little interruption, during the reigns of William and of Anne, until Louis XIV. was completely humbled by the victories of Marlborough.

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The English colonies entered into the feelings of the mother country, and made great exertions to resent the encroachments of the French, even to dispossess them of those territories which were fairly theirs, both by prior discovery and settlement. Acadie, Canada, the region of the Great Lakes, and the Valley of the Mississippi, belonged to the French. Also the most lucrative traffic with the Indians was carried on by them, as well as profitable fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in common with other natives.

The colonies share the hostility.

Union of French and Indians.

The French were not disinclined for the contest for the sovereignty of North America; and, uniting with the Indians, whom they had conciliated by Jesuit missionaries, made destructive inroads into the New England colonies and the province of New York. The English colonists retaliated, and carried the terror of their arms to the banks of the St. Lawrence.

The desultory and protracted warfare with the French Canadians, and their allies the Indians, constitute the intercolonial wars until nearly the close of the reign of Anne.

1689.

French Canadians invade the English colonies.

The first one broke out in 1689, when the colonies had a population, altogether, of about two hundred thousand people, half of whom were removed from the scene of hostilities. So soon as a declaration of war between England and France was known in America, Baron Castin excited the Penobscot Indians to renew their depredations on the settlements along Casco Bay and the Piscataqua River, while Count Frontenac, as governor of Canada, detached three parties to desolate the villages on the Mohawk and Hudson. The influence which the French had acquired over the Indians was exerted to stimulate them to deeds of unparalleled barbarity.

The English, on the other hand, encouraged the Mohawks and other tribes of the Iroquois to invade Canada and continue those atrocities which had nearly driven the settlers of Montreal to desperation. The Iroquois stood in the way of the French for continuing their settlements across the country to the banks of the Mississippi, and were the most formidable enemies which the white man, of any country, had ever encountered in America.

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Expedition against Canada.

The attacks of the French and Indians on Salmon Falls, which have been previously mentioned in another chapter, aroused all the northern colonies, and a large force was raised to carry the war into Canada itself. Massachusetts took the lead in this united enterprise, and also, in addition, sent out eight hundred men, under Sir William Phipps, and proved successful. Port Royal was easily taken and unscrupulously plundered, 1690.

Meanwhile, the main body of the colonists, led by Winthrop, son of the ex-governor of Connecticut, and assisted by a party of Mohawks, advanced towards Canada. The expedition proved unfortunate. The van of the forces under Schuyler was repulsed by Frontenac, while the rest were stopped short at Lake George by the small-pox and want of provisions.

Expedition under Phipps.

Phipps about this time sailed from Boston with a large force of two thousand men, besides a considerable addition from New York, which Leisler had fitted out. A hostile Indian carried the intelligence in fourteen days to Quebec, which had time to prepare for its defence; for Phipps, unacquainted with the navigation of the St. Lawrence, was nine weeks before he reached the city. Moreover, Frontenac, hearing of the disasters of the English at Lake George, hastened to Quebec and arrived in time to defend the city, which was even then strong in fortifications. Phipps was obliged to abandon the enterprise, and with difficulty could keep his men from mutiny, so dispirited were they with

failure, and disappointed in not obtaining the promised plunder.

A. D. 1699.

The Indians, meanwhile, kept up a frontier war, and tormented and killed all who fell into their hands, with the exception of those whom they sold in Canada as prisoners. It was at this period, during the latter part of the war, that Wells and York were burned, and Haverhill and Andover attacked. The peace of Ryswick, which was proclaimed in Boston December 1699, put an end to the war which had proved so disastrous to the English colonies.

Peace of Ryswick.

War of the Spanish succession.

It was soon, however, recommenced with increased bitterness. Louis XIV. had secured, by intrigue and management, the throne of Spain for one of his grandsons. This foolish ambition to place a Bourbon prince on the throne of Charles V. and Philip II., provoked beyond measure the princes of Europe, and a general confederacy was entered into to curtail his power.

This attempt of the king of France to retain the ascendency in Spain united the two countries together, and both were bound to sustain the claims which each nation put forth on the American continent. Although the Spaniards had remonstrated against the attempts of the French, under D'Ibberville, 1699, to colonize Louisiana, yet, on the family alliance between the Bourbon sovereigns, both Spaniards and French turned their arms against the English settlements.

League between the French and Spaniards.

The central colonies were not destined to suffer much by the renewal of the war. The Iroquois had made a compact of peace with both France and England, and rigidly adhered to it. But South Carolina, bordering on Spanish Florida, and New England, coveting the fisheries, were exposed to hostilities.

In 1702, South Carolina began hostilities, and the

governor, James Moore, headed an expedition of six hundred people for the reduction of St. Augustine, and succeeded in taking the town, though not the fort, to which the garrison retired. Nor could he long occupy the ground he had taken, for the appearance of two Spanish vessels near the mouth of the harbour compelled him to retreat, with the loss of his ships and stores, across the country.

A. D. 1702.

As South Carolina had embarked in the contest with the hope of making slaves of the Indians who were friendly to the Spaniards, Moore, three years after, with another company of fifty men, and assisted by one thousand Creeks, allies of the English, advanced into the territories of the Appalachees of Florida, whom Spanish missionaries had taught some elements of civilization, and made captives of one hundred and fifty of them, and carried the English flag triumphantly through the wilderness to the Gulf of Mexico. This expedition furnished the English with a claim to Georgia, whose central forests were inhabited by the Creeks. The war resulted, thus far, in an extension of the English boundaries far into those territories which the Spaniards considered as a part of Florida.

War in Florida.

1704. Indian ravages in Massachusetts.

The war at the North was disastrous to Massachusetts, which colony alone was desolated. The frontier settlements of course suffered most. In February, 1704, the village of Deerfield, on Connecticut river, was attacked; forty-seven persons were killed, and one hundred and twelve were carried prisoners into Canada. For three successive years the inhabitants were obliged to keep sentinels abroad, and lived in constant fear of the Indian tomahawk. "Children, as they gambolled on the beach; reapers, as they gathered the harvest; mowers, as they rested from using the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household, — were victims to an

Bk. III. Ch. 5. A. D. 1710.

enemy who disappeared the moment a blow was struck, and who was ever present when a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance."

These barbarities inspired the English colonists with detestation of the missionaries who were supposed to instigate them, and of the savage foes who were used as instruments by the French; and a course of retaliation was adopted. A bounty was offered for every Indian scalp; and the unfortunate natives were hunted like wild beasts in the forests which they once proudly called their own.

Reduction of Port Royal.

Meanwhile, preparations were made in the colonies for the reduction of Acadie and Canada; but it was not till September, 1710, that any success crowned their efforts, beyond ravaging an unprotected coast. But a fleet of thirty-six English and colonial vessels anchored before Port Royal, whose garrison, weak, reduced, and disheartened, immediately surrendered.

Failure of the expedition against Quebec.

This expedition encouraged the English to make still greater preparations; and, accordingly, a fleet of fifteen ships-of-war and forty transports, carrying seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, sailed from Portsmouth, and reached Boston in safety. This great armament, amply sufficient for the reduction of Quebec, was entrusted to a man both obstinate and incapable — Sir Hovenden Walker—and signally and disgracefully failed in the object for which it was designed. The fleet did not leave Boston till the middle of July, 1711; and it was the twentieth of August before it reached the St. Lawrence. A fog arising, the ships were drifted among the breakers of the Egg Island, where eight of them were lost, and nearly nine hundred men were drowned. A council of war was held, and it was decided that it was impossible to proceed.

Bk. III. Ch. 5. A. D. 1713.

Thus Quebec was saved from attack, and leisure was given to fortify Montreal, threatened by an army from the colonies, which, however, retreated when the disaster which had happened to Admiral Walker was known. The failure of both enterprises was severely felt in the colonies, which had issued a large amount of bills of credit to defray the expenses of the war, and had calculated upon complete success.

Termination of hostilities.

Hostilities were closed the following year, 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht, one of the most important in its consequences ever made in Europe, by which the balance of power was restored, and peace established for nearly half a century. By this treaty, Spain lost all her European provinces, but retained her colonies; while France ceded to England the free trade of Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadie. Dearly, however, was peace procured, and small were the benefits which England reaped for the loss of fifty millions of pounds, to say nothing of the great destruction of human life. Louis XIV., however, was the great sufferer, since he lost fame, power, and aggrandizement — the great objects to which he had ever aspired—together with armies which had been his boast, and treasures which France never recovered.

Thus closed the intercolonial wars which occurred during the reigns of William III. and Anne, in the course of which the English colonies had doubled their population, and had begun to attract the attention of the civilized world, not only for their intrinsic importance, but also, and in a higher degree, for the promise they gave of becoming, some day, a mighty empire.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF THE COLONIES AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Bk III. Ch. 6. A. D. 1656.

Progressive improvement of the colonies.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many obstacles with which the colonists had to contend, their condition constantly improved. Neither Indian wars, nor religious persecutions, nor grievous commercial restrictions, nor oppression from royal governors, nor contests with the Canadians, nor the hardships attending the new life in the wilderness, prevented a steady and progressive increase, both of population and wealth. The tide of emigration still rolled on towards the West; the colonists found a market for the raw materials they raised, but which they could not manufacture; their habits of industry produced thrift and comfort; their institutions of learning trained them to habits of reflection, and taught them self-respect; their religious education restrained them from vice, and inspired them with elevated sentiments; while their political organization, their town meetings, their provincial assemblies, and their management of public affairs, fitted them for self-government and future freedom.

Population.

It is difficult to know the exact population of the colonies at the beginning of the eighteenth century, since the accounts of most writers are contradictory. It is probable there were nearly 400,000 inhabitants, of which Virginia and Massachusetts had over 70,000 each, Connecticut 35,000, Rhode Island 10,000, New Hampshire 10,000,

Bk. III. Ch. 6. A. D. 1658

Maryland 35,000, North and South Carolina 10,000, New York 40,000, New Jersey 20,000, and Pennsylvania 40,000. This estimate is not an exact one, but is as near the truth as we can now arrive. Of these colonies, Massachusetts and Virginia were the most powerful and flourishing. In all of them, a more liberal government was exercised than in cotemporaneous French, Spanish, and Portuguese settlements, where the power of royal governors was almost despotic. The English colonists carried with them to America the ideas of freedom and equality, and the government at home was restrained within the circle of constitutional liberty.

English claim the right of taxation.

During the seventeenth century, the colonies patiently submitted to, if they did not theoretically acquiesce in, the supreme power of Parliament. The revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne, established the submission of America to legislative control. "No taxation of the colonies was practically attempted by the Parliament, except what arose from the regulation of commerce; but the abstract right of indefinite taxation was proclaimed repeatedly, and a power assumed to alter the American charters, or at least to modify the constitutions which those charters had created."

Popular discontents.

Overawed by the superior strength of the mother country, embarrassed by the movements of the French in Canada, annoyed by the Indians, and not united by any political association, the colonists submitted to English legislation, rather than admitted the rights which England claimed. But this submission was rarely cordial, and popular discontents continually arose, especially in view of the offensive and arbitrary manner in which the royal governors exercised their functions. They were not men of talents and rank, but generally needy dependants and mean sycophants about the court, who sought to

Bk. III. Ch. 6. A. D. 1690.

recommend themselves to the king by headstrong zeal to support his prerogatives.

Transportation of English felons.

The colonies also were offended by the transportation of English felons into their midst; a practice in which the government persisted, until the conquest of Louisburg by the people of Massachusetts opened the eyes of Parliament as to the character and strength of the colonists, who were heretofore supposed generally to be criminals and negroes.

Appointment of governors.

All the colonies had their Legislative Assemblies, in which their freemen were represented; but there was a considerable variety in their civil constitutions, and in the exercise of executive powers. In Maryland and Pennsylvania, the proprietaries had the appointment of governors. In Carolina and New Jersey, the soil belonged to the proprietary, and executive power to the king. In Virginia and New York, both belonged to the crown. In Massachusetts, the property of the soil was vested in the people, although the king appointed the governor. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, the people both owned the soil and appointed the executive officers. These distinctions led to disputes respecting boundaries, but favoured the discussion of political ideas.

Education.

The colonists early took the interests of education under their especial care, and expected nothing and received nothing from the British government. It is not probable that England was pleased to see this progress of mental culture, since it naturally led to a spirit of independence. The colonies were regarded merely as a theatre where the sons of needy courtiers could exercise authority, or earn fortunes—as a market for British manufactures—as a nation of friends and customers, interested in the glory, and favourable to the commercial importance of England. The interest which she as a government took, was purely

Bk. III. Ch. 6. A. D. 1675.

selfish—to promote her own prosperity, not that of the colonies. So long as they would raise abundance of raw material, and would receive her manufactures, she was content. Schools and educational institutions would not obviously increase her commercial importance; therefore, they were neglected. Nothing was encouraged which was not of direct service to her. She did give a donation to found a college in Virginia, that of William and Mary; but this is the only instance of her bounty in the cause of literature and science. She shackled the press, and discouraged the printing of books.

Popular education.

Nevertheless, the walls of Harvard and of Yale were reared without assistance from the government of Great Britain, and schools were established in the colonies where young men could prepare themselves for the liberal professions. The ministers of religion took them under their especial patronage. Education was enjoined upon parents as a duty, and few grew up without the requisite knowledge to enjoy those blessings which had been reaped by industry, and secured by freedom. As early as 1704, a newspaper was printed in Boston, and printing-presses were set up in Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut. But the press was not free from odious restrictions until 1755.

State of agriculture.

No great improvements were seen in the art of agriculture, or agricultural implements. The great abundance of land, and the ease with which the common crops were raised, prevented much attention to draining, or manures, or rotation of crops. Attention was chiefly given to clearing the land of forests, rather than to making it productive. The tools which were used were generally brought from England, with the exception of the woodman's axe, the most necessary of all the implements of the early colonists. Oxen, horses, and sheep, were ori-

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ginally imported, as well as bees; none of which the Indians had seen.

A. D. 1673.

Decline of the Indians.

The unfortunate aborigines declined as the new races advanced, both in character and in numbers. Still, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, there were ten thousand native warriors in New England, and a proportionate number in other colonies, with the exception of Virginia, where they had been nearly exterminated. The Indians, however, disappeared more rapidly in consequence of the vices and diseases they had contracted from the white man, than from war. Ardent spirits and the small-pox carried off more than the sword or the tomahawk.

Negro slavery.

On the other hand, negro slaves increased with more fatal rapidity than the Indians melted away. All that Africa could give to England in exchange for manufactures, was labourers for her colonies. Ships entered every considerable harbour of the colonies, south of Newport, laden with slaves; nor did the merchants of the North scruple to engage in this kind of traffic. The coast of Guinea furnished these slaves in the greatest numbers; and the unhappy victims of European cupidity were crowded into the holds of ships, ill-ventilated and worse-provisioned, where, manacled together, and delirious from fever, large numbers of them died before reaching the American coast.

Had the climate of the North been favourable to the physical constitution of the negro, and unfavourable to free white labour, slavery might have been perpetuated in New England, as it was in Virginia, as one of the institutions of the country. But the slave was valuable as he proceeded south; and Providence therefore entrusted chiefly to the southern colonies the guardianship of an unfortunate people.

It is difficult to say how many Africans had been introduced into the colonies at the commencement of the eighteenth century; but probably not less than one hundred and fifty thousand. The English took from Africa, between 1680 and 1700, about three hundred thousand; but these were intended for the West Indies, as well as for the continental colonies, and many of them must have died on the passage.

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A. D. 1660 to 1688.

The English opposed to colonial restrictions on the slave trade.

However convenient it was for the American colonies to make use of slave labour, yet, as a whole, they were opposed to the slave trade; and the first American Congress decreed, in 1776, that no slave should be imported into any of the thirteen united colonies. It was the avarice of British merchants, and the selfishness of the British government, as much as the convenience of southern and West India planters, which caused the constantly increasing traffic in slaves; for, before the declaration of American independence, as many as three millions of Africans were transported from their native shore in British vessels alone, to say nothing of five millions in addition who were consigned to slavery by the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the French.

General Oglethorpe.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

DOMESTIC HISTORY UNTIL THE OLD FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

THE history of the colonies during the reign of George I. and the first twelve years of George II. is not particularly eventful or important. Yet, during this period, the population and resources of the colonies rapidly increased, and a theatre was preparing for great developments of action and passion.

War with the Yamassees.

In 1715, two years after the peace of Utrecht, which closed the second intercolonial war, South Carolina was reduced to the brink of ruin by an extensive conspiracy of the Indians. The Yamassees, a powerful tribe on the Savannah River, were the chief promoters of it. Encouraged by the Spaniards in Florida, who were jealous of the English settlements, they united with the Creeks and Cherokees, and inflicted, suddenly and unexpectedly, great barbarities upon the settlers of Pocotaligo and its vicinity, and advanced upon Charleston. A panic spread throughout the colony, for all the Indian tribes south of the Savannah River had united together to exterminate the civilized invaders. But Craven, the governor, by making extraordinary exertions, raised a considerable force, and

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advanced to meet the Indian warriors. A bloody battle was fought on the banks of the Salke-hachie, in which the savages were completely routed. But they were not driven out of the colony until four hundred of the inhabitants had lost their lives. Property to the amount of 100,000*l.* was destroyed.

Revolution in South Carolina.

The war with the Yamassees was followed by a domestic revolution. Since the people had defended themselves without the aid of England, they resolved henceforth to govern themselves and have no more to do with the proprietaries. Accordingly they elected a governor of their own — James Moore, and, without bloodshed, palatines, landgraves, and caciques, together with all those feudal institutions which the proprietaries had sought to revive, passed away for ever. The Carolinians sent an agent to England to defend their course, and obtained their end.

The old charter was abrogated, Carolina became a royal province, and Sir Francis Nicholson was sent out to govern it in 1721. The assembly which he called confirmed the late revolutionary proceedings, regulated the administration of justice, reduced official fees, and established a system of local electioneering.

Mississippi company.

About this time New Orleans was founded by the French, and that famous scheme for improving the French provinces was projected by John Law, which had so great an influence on the settlement of Louisiana. It was called the Mississippi Company, and was closely connected with the royal bank of which Law was the director, and had for its object the parcelling out of the Valley of the Mississippi among stock-jobbers and commercial gamblers, in order to raise money for the French government, deeply embarrassed by the extravagances of the court and the old wars of Louis XIV. It does not fall within the limits of this history to detail the acts and misrepresentations by

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which the Mississippi stock rose in value, and by which the debts of government were shifted from individuals to a company of its own formation. But during the height of the delusion which afterwards, when dispelled, brought such calamity on the commercial classes of France, the Valley of the Mississippi was visited by thousands of Frenchmen with a view of making their fortunes; for Louisiana was supposed to abound not merely in the precious metals, but in everything which constitutes a paradise on earth. On the downfall of Law and the bursting of his bubble, 1720, Louisiana was already planted, and French settlements extended, at intervals, nearly the whole length of the Mississippi. Although the French suffered frequent wars with various tribes of Indians, the population in 1740 was not far from ten thousand people, about a third of whom were negro slaves.

Failure of the scheme of Law.

1720. to 1740.

Bills of credit in the colonies.

One of the evils of this period was the depreciation of paper money. The colonies were poor. They had but little gold and silver. And yet they were obliged to raise large sums to defray the expenses of their numerous military expeditions. They could not make a forced loan without exciting clamour. They could not wait to collect taxes, for the enemy was at the door. They had to resort to bills of credit. These rapidly depreciated in value, since they could not be redeemed. In order to get rid of this calamity, public banks were instituted in nearly all the colonies, which gave a temporary impulse to trade, but ultimately increased the difficulties. No issues were large enough to satisfy the people. Every increase of paper led to a new issue, and every new issue raised the comparative value of the precious metals, and consequently led to a depreciation of paper money. In 1738, the New England currency was worth but one hundred for five hundred dollars; of South Carolina, one for eight; while in Lon-

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don the paper of North Carolina was worth but one for fourteen.

A. D. 1729.

England undertook to fix the value of colonial paper which was practically impossible, and led to disputes and collisions. But this was not the only subject of contention. The royal officers claimed for the British navy all pine trees of the province of Maine which were fit for masts. The English government also forbade, 1725, the assembling of a synod of Congregational ministers in Massachusetts to establish points of discipline and faith. It attempted to enforce in Connecticut, 1728, the laws of primogeniture. It resolved to make the royal governors independent of all legislative influence by securing them permanent salaries. In Massachusetts the legislature was in the habit of voting yearly such a grant as the services of the governor seemed to require, which England affected to regard as an attempt to shake off an obedience to the crown. In all the provinces there were constant subjects of complaint and contention. Nor did Pennsylvania escape. Even in that colony, Logan wrote to the proprietary, "faction prevails among the people, whose constant cry is liberty and privileges." In Maryland, Lord Baltimore was insolently treated by some of the assemblies. The spirit of insubordination to royal authority was manifest for half a century before the great rebellion.

English exactions.

Duties on colonial produce.

There were contests not only for the enjoyment of greater liberty, but for the sake of commercial gain. Nothing irritated the colonies more than the duty imposed by Parliament, 1733, on molasses, rum, and sugar, which were brought from the French and Dutch West India Islands. And nothing was a more fruitful source of ill-feeling towards the colonies than the complaints of British merchants whenever the colonies engaged in any article of manufacture, however necessary. The whole object of

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British legislation with regard to America was to raise up a nation of customers for the merchants and manufacturers of the parent state. But this selfish policy need not here be further enlarged on.

A. D. 1728.

Bishop Berkeley.

The colonies about this period received a visit from one of the most distinguished of the English philosophers, Dr. Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne. He conceived a plan of improving colonial education and converting the Indians, and with this view repaired to Rhode Island, 1728, to lay the foundation of a college; expecting a large grant from the British government, as George I. had approved his scheme, and directed Sir Robert Walpole, his prime minister, to recommend it to the notice of the House of Commons. The minister was not favourably inclined, and when George II. came to the throne he felt relieved from all obligation. Berkeley, disappointed in receiving aid, returned to England, leaving his library to Yale College and the people of Rhode Island.

1740. Jonathan Edwards.

But a greater philosopher than Berkeley soon after appeared in New England, whose influence on the American mind was more marked and permanent. This was Jonathan Edwards, the minister of Northampton, and a native of Massachusetts. His Treatise on the Will has placed him in the first ranks of metaphysical writers of any age or country. But it was not as a scholastic and religious metaphysician that his influence was most remarkable in his day, but rather as the leader of a great religious revival. George Whitefield was his illustrious coadjutor in this religious excitement, which has had no parallel in the religious history of the country, 1740.

1742. David Brainerd.

Chauncey and other eminent divines of the latitudinarian party opposed the movement as fanatical, but it was sustained by a great majority of the more earnest and religious. Among the fruits of this revival were new

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efforts to convert the Indians. David Brainerd, 1742, distinguished himself as a missionary among the Delawares; and even Jonathan Edwards himself, obliged to leave Northampton by reason of his unpopular attempts to enforce religious discipline, became a preacher to the Housatonic Indians at Stockbridge. It was here, in this lonely retirement, that the most able of his metaphysical treatises was written. At Lebanon, Connecticut, Eleazar Wheelock established an Indian missionary school, 1754 which was subsequently removed to Hanover, New Hampshire, and became Dartmouth College.

Foundation of Dartmouth College.

Nearly contemporaneous with the foundation of this institution was the establishment of King's College in New York, now called Columbia, and of Nassau Hall at Princeton, 1748. Education in Pennsylvania at the same time received an impulse from Benjamin Franklin, then the editor of the first American periodical magazine, and the free academy which he projected finally settled into the University of Pennsylvania. In 1752, Franklin made those electrical discoveries which gave him a European reputation, and laid the foundation of his lasting fame; next to Washington, the most distinguished person born in America before the Revolutionary War, but already famous when Washington was a boy.

Columbia College.

Settlement of Vermont

A little while before the "great awakening," a fortification was built on the Connecticut River, 1724, where Brattleborough now stands, the oldest English settlement in Vermont, years before it was merged into a state. Meanwhile, another colony which demands our attention, was struggling for existence on the banks of the Savannah.

CHAPTER II.

SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA.

Bk. IV. Ch. 2. A. D. 1700 to 1732.

THE thirteenth and last of the colonies settled by the English in North America was Georgia. It owed its colonization, in part, to the jealousy of the English government of the Spaniards in Florida, and in part to the philanthropic efforts of Col. Oglethorpe to ameliorate the condition of poor debtors. A great part of the territories of South Carolina remained unoccupied, and that especially which had been the scene of Indian wars, between the Savannah and the Altamaha, and which formed the southern frontier, was peopled only by Indians. It seemed necessary for the security of South Carolina, as well as the general interests of Great Britain, that a settlement should be made in the southern part of the country before the Spaniards should attempt to annex it to Florida, or the French to Louisiana. But it was not easy to find men ready to embark their fortunes in the attempt to colonize a region peculiarly unhealthy, and exposed to hostilities from Indians, French, and Spaniards. Some motive more powerful than the love of gain was needed in this emergency.

Causes which led to colonization of Georgia.

General Oglethorpe.

Fortunately, the zeal of a few benevolent individuals, bent on removing a great social evil, accomplished what the desire for wealth could not. No colony ever was founded upon principles more completely philanthropic than the one designed by Oglethorpe. He, the descend-

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ant of an ancient and honourable family, educated at Oxford, a military officer of rank and fame, a member of Parliament, and a man of great practical benevolence, had his attention particularly directed to the condition of those unfortunate persons who were immured in prison for small and trifling debts, which they, in their poverty, were unable to discharge. The foulness of jails and the cruelty of imprisonment were among the many social evils of the age. The sordid principles of commercial thrift outweighed the love of liberty and regard for the great rights of man. Decency, charity, and freedom were all forgotten by a nation devoted to commercial enterprise. The legislation of England seemed to be mainly directed to secure the rights of property. A trifling theft sentenced a needy beggar to the gallows. An inconsiderable debt was punished with a thraldom as vile as the bondage of the greatest culprit in our age. Misfortune in trade was more to be dreaded than exile and slavery, for it also brought social disgrace as bitter as the penalty which was expiated in a filthy dungeon. No pictures of misery can be more revolting than those which have been handed down to us of the interior economy of prisons in England in the eighteenth century.

Visits the prisons.

State of jails in the eighteenth century.

It so happened that the reverses of fortune consequent on the commercial gambling which prevailed in England during the South Sea mania, filled the jails with unfortunate prisoners. Many of them had enjoyed high social positions and envied wealth; were people of taste, culture, and intelligence, but doomed, alas, from the effect of national delusion — the hope of enormous gains for small investments, to blighted hope, mortified pride, and actual suffering. The great increase of prisoners multiplied the horrors of confinement. Moreover, the corrupting influence of imprisonment rapidly undermined all the moral

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sentiments and corrupted those who before their imprisonment were pure.

The evil was so great that it was brought to the notice of Parliament, and James Edward Oglethorpe had the honour of being chairman of a committee of inquiry. He had already conceived the idea of transporting to America the unfortunate debtors, and proposed to the government to found a colony between Carolina and Florida for the objects of his benevolence. Parliament entered into his design, and granted him 10,000*l.* in aid of his object. Other benevolent individuals co-operated, and, when the plan was matured, applied to King George II. for a charter, which was readily granted, by which the territory between the Savannah and the Altamaha was erected into a royal province, under the name of Georgia, and was vested in twenty-one noblemen and gentlemen, of whom the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Percival, Lord Tyrconnel, and Colonel Oglethorpe, were the most distinguished. Lord Percival was chosen president of the corporation, and Oglethorpe volunteered to accompany the emigrants and exercise the functions of provincial governor.

Oglethorpe obtains a royal charter for Georgia.

Large donations to the enterprise were obtained from public-spirited individuals throughout the kingdom, as well as from the House of Commons and the Bank of England, and preparations were actively made for the settlement of the colony, whose seal bore the device of a representation of silk-worms, with the motto "Non sibi sed aliis"—not for ourselves, but others; the emblem of disinterested benevolence. Moreover, the culture of silk was contemplated by the corporation, and considerable pains were taken to procure worms and mulberry trees, which, it was supposed, would flourish as well in Georgia as in Italy.

Donations from benevolent individuals.

On the 6th of November, 1732, the first company of

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colonists, consisting of one hundred and sixteen persons, embarked under the command of Colonel Oglethorpe. They first landed in Charleston, where they were hospitably received by the people and the Legislature. The latter voted them a large supply of cattle and provisions, and the emigrants soon after departed for their new abode. They selected a high bluff on the Savannah for a settlement, which they called after the name of the river, and, having conciliated the favour of the Indians by presents and friendly intercourse, laid the foundation of a new State. The infant colony was soon after reinforced by new emigrants, and the benevolent governor returned to England to secure its defence and further welfare.

The first colonists of Georgia.

Code of laws.

By the code of laws which the trustees had adopted, fifty acres of land were allowed to every indentured servant, and to every emigrant sent out by the corporation. No grants of over five hundred acres of land were permitted to any individual. The use of rum was prohibited, as well as negro slavery. Women were not allowed to inherit land—an arrangement meant to prevent a plurality of allotments from subsequently falling into the possession of a single individual. In default of male heirs, estates were to revert to the trustees. The whole code showed but little common sense, and was difficult to be enforced; it evinced benevolent intentions, rather than enlarged views of human nature and happiness. It was peculiarly unpractical, and unfitted for the condition of an infant colony.

Immigrants to the new colony.

Oglethorpe was well received in England, and obtained benefactions from the king and parliament. He induced a company of Moravians to emigrate to his new colony, where so much was promised, and so little was realized. He also led thither another reinforcement of three hundred persons, 1736, among whom were John and Charles

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Wesley—young enthusiasts, who contemplated the conversion of the Indians, as well as the religious growth of the colony. But the age of religious enthusiasm had passed away. Mystic piety found no admirers in a colony of discharged debtors; and the great founder of Methodism, after an unhappy sojourn of two years, during which he was involved in constant controversy, unappreciated by the people and unsupported by the governor, melancholy, homesick, and suffering from ascetic duties, was glad to return to England. There, however, he succeeded in kindling a religious life among the middle and lower classes, and in establishing a discipline for the members of his association, which, for wisdom and effectiveness, has had no parallel in the history of religious legislation.

John and Charles Wesley.

Second emigration to Georgia.

In the second emigration, more regard was paid by the trustees to the physical strength and condition of those who embarked. One hundred and fifty Highlanders, soon after joined by others from the north of Scotland, gave energy and security to the colony, and proved among the most laborious and industrious of the people.

Difficulty with Carolina.

The regulation of the trustees respecting the suppression of all trade in rum, nearly produced a rupture between Georgia and Carolina. The Carolinians attempted to store a considerable quantity of this liquor at Augusta, a fortified post on the Savannah, for the purpose of trade with the Indians; but, as the vessels laden with it were passing Savannah, it was seized and destroyed. The act was, however, explained satisfactorily, and a mutual understanding between the colonies took place, which resulted in the agreement of the Carolinians not to smuggle strong liquors among the settlers in Georgia.

The people of Georgia were not long satisfied with the laws which the trustees had imposed. It was perceived

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that Carolina had greatly the advantage, both on account of a more liberal tenure of land, and of the use of negro slaves. They therefore demanded of the trustees the liberty to import negroes, without which they predicted the utter desertion of the colony. The Moravians and the Scotch Highlanders, however, strongly protested against the introduction of slavery; but all the complaints of the settlers were alike disregarded by the trustees.

Opposition to slavery.

Georgia threatened by the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, the injuries inflicted upon British commerce by the Spaniards, and the arrogant claims they put forth respecting Georgia, involved England in a war with Spain, in 1739; and effectual measures were adopted to secure the new province to the English crown. Oglethorpe was made a general, and commander-in-chief of the united forces of South Carolina and Georgia; while a regiment of six hundred troops was sent to the colony, together with a grant of twenty thousand pounds.

Spanish intrigues.

The Spaniards intrigued to raise a conspiracy among Oglethorpe's soldiers, and also to seduce the negro slaves, who now numbered, in South Carolina, forty thousand. Partial success attended these efforts, and five hundred negro fugitives reached Florida, and were formed into a regiment. But Bull, the governor of South Carolina, vigorously attacked them, and easily dispersed a body, unused to fire-arms, and abandoned to intoxication.

St. Augustine invested.

In the mean time, a regiment of troops was raised in Virginia, and North and South Carolina, to co-operate with Oglethorpe. It was resolved to commence offensive operations, and St. Augustine was invested with an army of two thousand men. The invasion was unsuccessful. The Spanish garrison was well defended, and, in addition, received a powerful reinforcement; while the colonial troops, enfeebled by the climate, by fatigue, and by

CHAPTER III.

THE THIRD INTERCOLONIAL WAR.

Bk. IV. Ch. 3. A. D. 1744.

While the colonies were rapidly advancing in population and commercial importance, a new war broke out between England and France, and involved the colonies in fresh troubles. This war grew out of the question of the Austrian succession. On the death of the Emperor Charles VI., the male line of the house of Hapsburg became extinct. By the Pragmatic Sanction, the empire devolved on Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of the late emperor. The sovereigns of Spain, Saxony, and Bavaria, disputed the rights of the Austrian empress to this great inheritance, and presented rival claims. France interfered in the contest, and opposed the succession of Maria Theresa, from jealousy of her great power. The aid of England was invoked by the empress, and was granted, not so much from a regard for her rights, as from opposition to France. The subsidies of England to Austria irritated France, and provoked her to a declaration of war. All the powers of Europe were thus involved in the contest which grew out of the troubles of Maria Theresa—a contest which did not terminate until more than a million of lives had been sacrificed, and one hundred millions of pounds sterling had been expended by Great Britain.

War of the Austrian succession.

Nor was the war confined to Europe, but extended to all the colonies of France, Spain, and England. In the East, the commercial companies of France and Eng-

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land struggled for supremacy, which finally resulted in the entire conquest of India by the troops of the East India Company. In the West, the struggle began for the exclusive possession of North America, and finally ended in the conquest of Canada, and the ruin of French interests on the western continent. It may be here remarked, that the great war of the Austrian succession was really the effect of international jealousy. The claim of Maria Theresa to the empire of Germany was a matter of comparative indifference. It simply furnished a pretext and an occasion of war, and was not the *real cause* of hostilities. *That* is seldom presented by statesmen; indeed, it is in general studiously concealed.

Ravages of the French and Indians.

But, before news was received of a declaration of war between France and England, a body of French from Cape Breton captured an English fort on the north-eastern extremity of Nova Scotia. Moreover, French privateers from Louisburg greatly annoyed the New England fishermen; while the Indians, incited by the French, renewed their ravages on the frontiers.

Proposed attack of Louisburg.

In view of these things, Shirley, then governor of Massachusetts, proposed to the General Court an expedition to attack Louisburg, the strongest fortress in North America. The proposal was adopted, and an application made to all the northern colonies to join in the enterprise, which was undertaken without the aid, or even the knowledge, of Great Britain. Only the New England colonies rendered any valuable assistance, or embarked with any spirit in the scheme. Connecticut raised five hundred men, Rhode Island and New Hampshire each three hundred; while Massachusetts enlisted, in seven weeks, a force of 3250 men. The command was given to William Pepperell, a wealthy merchant of Kittery, in Maine; and Whitfield, then a preacher in New England, lent the influence of his

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great name to the enterprise, and furnished a motto for the New Hampshire banners.

A. D. 1745.

The expedition, composed of fishermen, whose avocation was now gone, of mechanics, lumbermen, and husbandmen, embarked at Boston, April 4th, 1745, and on the 30th came in sight of the walls of Louisburg, forty feet thick at the base, and thirty feet high, surrounded by a ditch eighty feet in width, and furnished with nearly two hundred pieces of artillery. So perfect were the fortifications, that it was supposed that two hundred men could defend them against five thousand assailants.

Siege and capture of Louisburg.

As soon as the disembarkation was effected, the siege was commenced, and vigorous attacks were made; not, however, with much prospect of success. But the garrison, composed of six hundred troops, was discontented and mutinous, and the commander incapable and irresolute. On the first misfortune, the governor lost spirit, and offered to capitulate; and the strongest fortress on the continent fell, as if by the hand of Providence, certainly not from the effect of military skill, into the possession of a body of undisciplined fishermen and farmers, with the loss to the conquerors of only one hundred and fifty men.

Moral effect of the victory.

For this service Pepperell was made a baronet, and commissioned as a colonel in the English army, as well as Shirley, who had projected the enterprise. The success which had attended it cheered the drooping spirits of George II., and afforded a momentary consolation for the great reverses and misfortunes which the English suffered in other parts of the world. But the great effect was to implant confidence in the minds of the American colonists themselves, and teach them self-respect.

The surrender of this strong fortress revived the hope, so often disappointed, of the conquest of Canada; and a large force was projected in the colonies. Massachusetts

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raised 3500 men, Connecticut 1000, New Hampshire 500, and Rhode Island 300; while New York voted 1600 men, New Jersey 500, Maryland 300, and Virginia 100. Great Britain agreed to send a large fleet and army to co-operate, to be joined at Louisburg by the New England troops; while those from the other colonies were to be assembled at Albany, under the command of Governor Clinton, of New York.

Force raised to invade Canada.

Expedition abandoned.

As the British fleet did not make its appearance, the Massachusetts troops joined Clinton at Albany. But the alarm of a French invasion, and the difficulties of a march through the wilderness, prevented the advance to Montreal, and the enterprise was abandoned. Parliament, which had encouraged the colonies in this futile attempt, paid the expenses, which amounted to 235,000*l.* Soon after, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, put an end to the troubles. Louisburg was restored to the French, and Massachusetts received 183,000*l.* as indemnification for the money expended on the expedition.

1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle stipulated the restoration of all conquests made on every side during the war. The restoration of Louisburg occasioned the most painful surprise and mortification in the colonies, which not even the indemnification paid to Massachusetts could prevent. No war was ever more disgraceful to Great Britain than that of the Austrian succession. It increased the national debt eighty millions sterling, without procuring the slightest national advantage, or the redress of a single injury of which she had complained. Nor was any one of the belligerent parties a gainer by the war; and to all, except Great Britain, its termination was an advantage.

This treaty also left the question of boundaries undecided, and, consequently, did not remove the occasion of future war. The French still aimed at the entire possession of the North American continent,—to erect on these western shores a new and military despotism. They based their claim to disputed portions of the American continent, as did indeed the English, on the ground of prior discovery; and as it was difficult for the rival powers to prove who really did first discover those portions, the grand cause of contention still remained. But, then, this claim to prior discovery was rather a pretext for, than a cause of, war. Ambition and avarice were the real causes — sentiments which have ever peculiarly animated the French nation, under an absolute monarchy as well as under a republic.

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Objects of dispute.

The particular objects of dispute were the boundaries between Canada and New England, and the extent of Louisiana. It was the aim of the French to unite these remote territories. They claimed what now composes the largest portion of the United States — even the valley of the Mississippi, and the country around the great lakes. To connect these immense territories, and to control the Indians, they erected a chain of military posts from Canada to Louisiana, which will be considered in the succeeding chapter.

Death of General Wolfe.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOURTH INTERCOLONIAL, OR OLD FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

A. D. 1748. to 1753.

French and English jealousies.

HERETOFORE the hostilities in which the French and English colonies had been engaged originated in quarrels between European states, and were subordinate to the main current of affairs across the Atlantic. They began and ended when war or peace was declared in Europe. But the contest which is now to be presented grew out of collisions in America itself, and was not closed until it had involved the whole European continent and even the ancient empires of India. It was the final struggle between the French and English for the country on the great lakes and on the Mississippi River; or, in other words, for supremacy on the American continent. "Had either or both of the contending monarchs," as has been forcibly expressed by Graham, "perceived how injurious their collision must prove to the interests of royalty, surely the war which we are now approaching would never have broken out, and human prudence would have anticipated the mighty stream of events which, commencing with the conquest of Canada, and issuing in the independence of the United States and the impulse thereby communicated to the spirit of liberty and revolution throughout the world, has so wonderfully displayed the dominion of supreme wisdom and benevolence over the senseless, selfish, and malignant passions of men." But French and Eng-

The French and English struggle for the colonies.

lish animosity, commencing with the claim of Edward III. to the crown of France, nourished, by successive contests, by religious differences, and unnatural rivalry, for centuries, was extended to the most distant sections, both in America and Asia, and arrayed otherwise peaceful colonists in destructive antagonism. They stigmatized each other with epithets hard to be endured. They encroached upon each other's rights. They laid claim to each other's territories. They both sought to monopolise the fisheries of the coast and the trade with the Indians in their distant forests.

Comparative force of the parties.

Of these two races in America the English were by far the most powerful. They numbered more than a million of people in the various colonies. They were in possession of nearly the whole of the sea-coast which was desirable, and their settlements extended one hundred and fifty miles into the interior. And among the English colonies liberty and education, those great auxiliaries to national strength, were in a flourishing state. The people were devoted to agriculture, were moral and industrious, and were bound together by the ties of friendship and mutual interest. The French numbered only about fifty thousand; they possessed scarcely any sea-coast or harbour; they had made settlements only on two great rivers, nearly two thousand miles apart; they were checked and controlled by a rigid colonial despotism; they were indifferent to the great interests of commerce and manufacture, and cared more to fortify and occupy strong and remote forts than to improve the soil, or cultivate industrious habits. Between such states and people the final issue of a contest could not be doubtful. And yet the French, intoxicated by their military successes, and indulging in dreams of universal dominion, were eager to embark in the unequal contest. The English, on the other hand, conscious of

Mutual causes of war.

superior strength, and equally ambitious, were not behindhand with their rivals in arrogance and encroachments.

It is difficult to decide who were the first to provoke an appeal to arms. They mutually accused each other of being the aggressors. Both parties were to blame, and both were doomed to be sufferers. The English government made a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio River to a company of London merchants and Virginia land speculators, with the privilege of exclusive traffic with the Indians; which manifestly was an encroachment on the rights of the French, if discovery and occupation gave a claim to the Mississippi and its tributaries. The French occupied more than sixty posts at different points between Canada and New Orleans, and a flourishing trade had long been carried on with the Indians. This constituted a title to the western country, according to the principles which were then maintained in Europe. On the other hand, the French were accused of erecting a chain of fortresses along the St. Lawrence, the region of the lakes, and the course of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, to the Gulf of Mexico, with a view of cutting off all communication of the English with the interior, and of occupying the finest territory on the American continent, as far as the Pacific Ocean. For even in that age the future greatness of America was appreciated and acknowledged, and it was not until the colonies had secured their independence that it became the fashion in England to affect indifference and contempt.

French ambition.

Design of the French.

The design of the French to restrict the growth of the British settlements was perceived as early as 1715, and, as the English meditated the possession of the whole continent, the French were regarded, of course, as hostile, and as aiming at aggrandizement. But what most irritated the English, both at home and in the colonies, was the

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erection, by the French, of a chain of fortresses in what they considered as their territory, or as belonging to Indian tribes under their protection. England expostulated, and conferences were held at Paris to settle the difficulties, especially those of boundary. But these only increased the irritation and perplexity which already existed between the two nations, and induced the French to strengthen, rather than abandon, the posts they had fortified. The colonies were as indignant as the mother country, especially Virginia, which was interested in the success of the Ohio Company. Accordingly, Governor Dinwiddie despatched George Washington to the French commander on the banks of the Ohio, with a letter requiring him to retire from the country upon which he was supposed to encroach. The future hero of the Revolution was then only twenty-one years of age, but of great promise, being known as a man of uncommon energy, judgment, and fortitude. None better than he knew the wilderness through which he was to journey, having traversed parts of it as a land-surveyor. He was also a major in the militia, and discharged the duties of adjutant-general. He cheerfully undertook the dangerous mission, which he nobly discharged, but without producing the effect desired. The French still continued to construct their fortifications.

Erection of forts by the French.

First appearance of Washington.

1754. Dinwiddie now called on the neighbouring colonies for aid to resist French encroachments, and the Virginia Assembly granted ten thousand pounds to defend the frontiers. North Carolina voted a regiment of four hundred and fifty men. The other colonies did not then respond to the call of the governor of Virginia, being engrossed with domestic difficulties.

A regiment of six hundred men had been enlisted in Virginia, of which Frye was colonel, and Washington

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lieutenant-colonel. Joined by two independent companies from New York, and one from North Carolina, the colonial troops penetrated to the frontier, with the view of dispersing the French, and building a fort at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. But the French had already strongly fortified that post, which, in honour of their governor-general, they called Du Quesne. Washington, by the death of Frye, became the commander of the forces, and advanced to make himself master of that important fortress, having already been successful in an attack on a detachment of the enemy at the Great Meadows. Here he built a stockade fort, and then marched towards Du Quesne. But hearing of the approach of a superior French force, he fell back upon Fort Necessity, which he had but lately built, resolved there to defend himself. But, after a vigorous defence, he consented to capitulate, on condition of retiring with all the honours of war, and his troops retaining their arms and ammunition. Washington retreated with little loss to Wills' Creek, and assisted in the construction of Fort Cumberland—the westernmost English post.

Washington marches against Fort Du Quesne.

Failure of the expedition.

Meanwhile, the colonies, persuaded that a sanguinary war was impending, took measures for mutual defence, and prepared to raise both money and men. But disputes about precedence and rank, and jealousy of a president-general, prevented the confederation which had been proposed by Franklin, and which was moreover distasteful to Great Britain and many of the colonies. The discussion of a plan of union served, however, to familiarize the idea of a federation, and prepared the minds of the people for that form of confederacy which was afterwards adopted in the Revolutionary War.

Projected union of the colonies.

The British ministers, on receiving intelligence of the establishment of French posts on the Ohio, and of Wash-

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ington's defeat, perceived that a war between France and England was begun, and took immediate measures for vigorous hostilities. Early in 1755, General Braddock was despatched to America with two regiments of infantry, while the provinces were called upon to furnish their quotas of men and money, to which call they cheerfully responded. Braddock summoned the provincial governors to meet him at Annapolis, and settle military operations. Three expeditions were projected. The first, against Fort Du Quesne, was to be conducted by Braddock himself, with British troops; the second was entrusted to Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, and was designed to reduce Fort Niagara; and the third was to attack Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and to be undertaken by militia from the northern colonies, under Colonel Johnson.

Braddock sent to America.

The French made still greater preparations, when they learned the departure of Braddock; and a force of four thousand regular troops, with a great quantity of military stores, under Baron Dieskau, embarked for America, and most of them succeeded in reaching their destination.

Invasion of Nova Scotia.

While these preparations were making for a sanguinary war, the people of New England agreed to invade Nova Scotia, on condition of being reimbursed by the English government for the expenses of the expedition. Accordingly, about three thousand men, under the orders of Colonel Winslow, of Massachusetts, departed for Nova Scotia. There they were joined by three hundred regular troops, and a small train of artillery; and the command of the united forces was given to Colonel Moncton, an English officer of experience and talents. The expedition was not particularly glorious, but was completely successful. The French forts erected in the province were destroyed, the French troops dispersed, and the unfortunate settlers carried captive to New England, and scattered

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over the colonies. The Acadians were the most interesting French colonists in America, and no plea of necessity could justify the cruelty of tearing them away from their homes, and consigning them to wretchedness and poverty.

This successful, but useless expedition, diffused a momentary joy over the English colonies, and was regarded as an omen of future triumphs—alas! soon succeeded by a series of disasters of the most melancholy character.

Braddock's advance to Du Quesne.

The army destined to reduce Fort Du Quesne, advanced under Braddock to Fort Cumberland amid unexpected difficulties. Here the British regulars were joined by the Virginia levies, the united forces amounting to twenty-two hundred men. Through almost impenetrable woods, and over the rough ridges of the Alleghany mountains, the troops of Braddock slowly made their way. Vexed at delay, the infatuated general left half his men, with the heavy baggage, under Colonel Dunbar, and pushed on heedlessly in advance. Washington was his aid-de-camp; and he and others remonstrated against his recklessness, and warned him of his danger. But Braddock would take no advice, despising alike his Indian enemies and his provincial friends. At length, when he had penetrated to within seven miles of Fort Du Quesne, just after fording the Monongahela, his van, composed of English regulars, was assailed by an invisible enemy. Eight hundred French and Indians, concealed by the high grass and undulations of an open wood, poured upon the English a most destructive fire, singling out the officers especially for their deadly aim, of whom sixty were either killed or wounded. Braddock knew not how to advance or retreat, and insisted upon fighting according to rule, as if Indians were to be subdued in their own forests by European tactics. Accordingly, he lost half of his men and his own life. The provincials, accustomed to Indian

Falls into an ambush,

And is defeated.

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warfare, were the only troops who effectually resisted; and Washington, the only unwounded officer who was mounted, succeeded in securing their retreat — preserved, perhaps miraculously, certainly providentially, for the future service of his country. The defeated army, unpursued except for a few miles, did not rally until they reached the camp of Dunbar. They would have been entirely cut off, had not their savage foes preferred plunder to massacre.

Expedition against Niagara.

Meanwhile, the second expedition, designed to attack Fort Niagara, and composed of Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, together with a few Indians and militia, proceeded from Albany to Oswego. On reaching Lake Ontario, August 21st, Shirley's forces were so much reduced by desertion, so overcome with fatigue, and so discouraged by the news of Braddock's defeat, that the expedition was abandoned.

Against Crown Point.

The forces which were to proceed to Crown Point, consisting of five or six thousand militia from New York and the New England States, and entrusted to the command of Colonel William Johnson and General Lyman, reached, toward the end of August, the southern extremity of Lake George. Meanwhile, Dieskau, with two thousand troops, advanced to relieve the fortress. Informed of his approach, Johnson detached a body of one thousand men under Colonel Williams, and some Indians under Hendrick, to resist him; but, encountering Dieskau's army in a narrow defile, they were driven back with great loss. Among the slain were Williams and Hendrick. The former, before he left Albany, bequeathed a legacy for a free-school in Western Massachusetts, which has since grown into Williams College.

Dieskau was so elated with his success, as to venture upon an attack of Johnson's camp, which was protected

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by impassable swamps and a breastwork of fallen trees. But the assailants were soon driven back, with the loss of one thousand men. Dieskau himself was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. Had the provincial militia known how to avail themselves of their success, or had they been favoured with an able commander, they might have taken Crown Point; instead of which, they even permitted the French to fortify Ticonderoga, while the Indians perpetrated their customary barbarities on the frontier settlements.

Defeat of Dieskau.

1756.

Thus completely failed the three expeditions which England and the colonies had fitted out to dispossess the French of their strongholds. But these military operations, of course, led to a formal declaration of war between England and France; and preparations were made for prosecuting hostilities on a greater scale. The colonies agreed to raise as many as twenty thousand men; while England voted 115,000*l.* as a reimbursement to the provinces concerned in Dieskau's defeat. The French, too, sent out a reinforcement under Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau.

England remunerates the colonies.

The campaign of 1756, however, terminated without anything being accomplished by the English, partly because the colonies did not raise so large a force as they had contemplated, and partly because differences arose between the English and provincial officers respecting rank. And all plans of offensive operations were abandoned in consequence of the successes of Montcalm, who had succeeded in capturing the forts which the English had built on Lake Ontario. Upwards of one thousand men, and one hundred and thirty-five pieces of artillery, together with a great quantity of provisions, fell into the hands of the French general.

Successes of Montcalm.

The campaign of 1757 was limited to the defence of

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the frontiers, and an expedition against Louisburg. But no scheme of defence could avail much when the great frontier forts were in possession of the French, and the Indians were free to commit their destructive ravages; and, so far from capturing Louisburg, the large force of twelve thousand troops which General Loudon led against it, assisted by eleven ships of the line, was forced to retreat, since a fleet of seventeen French ships had anchored under the very batteries of the fortress.

Another expedition against Louisburg.

Continued disasters to the English.

While the English wasted their strength in a futile attempt against Louisburg, Montcalm, with eight thousand men, laid siege to Fort William Henry; a strong fortification which the English had lately built on the southern extremity of Lake George. Colonel Munroe had only two thousand men to defend the post, and was obliged to surrender, especially since no effort was made for his relief by General Webb, who, with four thousand men, was entrenched at Fort Edward, fourteen miles distant. Montcalm, satisfied with his success, returned to Canada.

Thus, after three campaigns, the French still held possession of the disputed territory, and had, in addition, gained signal advantages. They had expelled the English from Fort Oswego and from Lake Champlain, and had devastated the whole north-western frontier of the British colonies. The English had gained nothing but disgrace, and had wasted money and men enough to have conquered Canada. The French exulted, while England was filled with mortification and alarm. The feeble ministers of George II. were assailed with reproaches from every corner of the land. It was necessary for the king to make a change, or yield to French supremacy; and William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, came into power.

William Pitt.

The moment this great man assumed the reins of state, a new spirit animated both England and her colonies.

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The most vigorous measures were immediately adopted, and great preparations were made for offensive war. The active minister wrote circular letters to all the provincial governors, inviting the colonies to a generous co-operation, promising them compensation for any expenses they might incur, and appealing to their patriotism and their courage. A common zeal animated all the colonies, who responded nobly to the call of Pitt. Massachusetts voted to raise 7000 men, Connecticut 5000, New Hampshire 900, New York 2680, New Jersey 1000, Rhode Island 500, Pennsylvania 2700, and Virginia 2000. Meanwhile, 12,000 British troops, under General Amherst, early in May, arrived at Halifax, beside the regular forces which were brought together from the various provinces.

Pitt's ministry.

The united English and American armies at this period, composed by far the largest military force ever yet assembled in America, and equal to the whole number of male French settlers in Canada. The supreme command was given to Abercrombie—the chief blunder which the English minister made, after assuming the direction of the war.

The old schemes of Shirley were renewed. Three expeditions were planned — the first against Louisburg, the second against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the third against Fort Du Quesne.

Louisburg was first assailed. Early in June, 1758, Admiral Boscawen appeared before that fortress with thirty-eight ships, and fourteen thousand troops. It was defended by only three thousand men, and was moreover in a state unfit to withstand a cannonade. It of course capitulated, and, with it, fell all its dependencies.

Capitulation of Louisburg.

The second expedition, though well planned, failed from the incapacity of the general-in-chief. Abercrombie, at the head of fifteen thousand men, embarked on Lake

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George in flat-bottomed boats, landed near its outlet, and advanced upon Ticonderoga. The van of the army, led by unskilful guides, became entangled in the thickets, and would have experienced the same catastrophe which befel Braddock, had not Lord Howe, a brave and gallant officer, at the head of the right centre column, unexpectedly rescued the panic-stricken troops, though with the loss of his life. The British forces, without further opposition, then advanced to the attack of Ticonderoga, which was strongly defended. The assailants were repulsed with the loss of two thousand men, and, dismayed by their disasters, made a rapid retreat to Fort William Henry.

Attack on Ticonderoga.

Capture of Du Quesne.

The expedition against Fort Du Quesne was more successful. It was entrusted to General Forbes with seven thousand men. After encountering great difficulties in the pathless wilderness, they reached, in the latter part of November, the French fortress, whose garrison, reduced to four hundred and fifty men, retired as they advanced. The fort was of course taken, and its name was changed to Pitt, in honour of the minister.

Projected invasion of Canada.

The campaign was thus honourably terminated, on the whole, notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga. But preparations were made with great zeal for still more vigorous measures the next year. The genius of Pitt planned the entrance to Canada by three distinct routes, with the view of attacking simultaneously all the strong fortresses in the country. It was designed that an army under General Wolfe, who had greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg, should ascend the St. Lawrence and attempt the capture of Quebec. General Amherst, who had superseded Abercrombie, was directed to march against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then to penetrate Canada, and join Wolfe at Quebec. The third army, composed of provincials, and conducted by

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General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, was to be sent against Fort Niagara, and, after reducing that post, was ordered to embark on Lake Ontario, descend the St. Lawrence, subdue Montreal, and then join Amherst and Wolfe.

The campaign of 1759 resulted gloriously to England, but chiefly in consequence of the successes of Wolfe, who, without the co-operation of the forces of Amherst or Johnson, succeeded in taking the most important fortress in America, and the capital of Canada.

Crown Point and Ticonderoga abandoned by the French.

General Amherst, on reaching Lake Champlain, found both Crown Point and Ticonderoga abandoned, their garrisons having been withdrawn for the defence of Quebec; but he was unable to advance to the assistance of Wolfe, from a lack of vessels to transport his troops. He was obliged to content himself with the possession of the shores and forts of Lake Champlain.

Reduction of Niagara.

Prideaux had a prosperous voyage from Oswego to Niagara, but was killed while investing the fortress by the bursting of a gun. The command devolved on Johnson, to whom the fort surrendered; but he, like Amherst, was prevented from descending the St. Lawrence for want of proper shipping.

Wolfe's expedition against Quebec.

To Wolfe alone belongs the glory of the conquest of Quebec. After a successful voyage from Louisburg, he disembarked, with eight thousand troops, towards the end of June, on the Isle of Orleans, a little below Quebec. His naval superiority gave him the command of the river, and he succeeded in gaining possession of a high eminence opposite Quebec. But two months were wasted without much prospect of success. His batteries had no effect on the fortifications of the strongest fortress in the land, and he was unable to bring the French into an engagement At last, the intrepid general meditated an attack on the

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only point where the fort was weak. Could he but once succeed in reaching the heights of Abraham, he might induce the French commander to give him battle, and the possession of Quebec would be the fruit of victory.

Heights of Abraham.

The heights in question were about a mile above the city, and were guarded only by a feeble garrison; for a few men were deemed quite sufficient to prevent any number of assailants from climbing to their summit. Nor was it even dreamed of by the French that the English would attempt to do so; for the steep and rocky sides of the hill were nearly precipitous towards the river. Should the garrison be on its guard, repulse would be fatal.

Their ascent by Wolfe.

Nevertheless, undeterred by danger, Wolfe resolved to scale the heights. Accordingly, his army moved up the river a few miles, apparently with the intention of landing in several places; but when midnight approached, the troops were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to the only spot where a landing could be effected, and an ascent made. They fortunately escaped the notice of the sentinels, and, before day, the whole army had ascended the narrow path which led them to the heights. Even then, the victory was but half won; for a battle, between nearly equal forces, must be fought before the city could be won. Had Montcalm retired behind the walls, it may well be doubted whether Wolfe could have reduced the city; but he advanced, with chivalrous ardour, to meet the enemy on equal ground. Both armies were destitute of artillery, with the exception of two small pieces on the side of the French, and a few which the English had contrived to hoist up after they had gained the summit of the heights. But the battle was scarcely less desperate on account of the absence of artillery. It raged with singular fierceness on both sides, and victory did not incline to the English until both commanders had been

Battle of Quebec.

mortally wounded. That battle decided the fate of Quebec. The city, five days after, capitulated, and has ever since remained in the hands of the victors.

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Effects of the victory.

The conquest of Quebec, while it diffused universal joy throughout the British dominions, was dearly gained by the death of Wolfe, the most promising and successful general of whom England was proud, next to the Duke of Marlborough. The people mourned for him as they did for Nelson, half a century later, with unaffected grief. Had he lived, he would have been rewarded with estates, and titles, and decorations; but, cut off prematurely from life and its prizes, a grateful nation could only decree him a monument, and cherish the memory of his fame.

1760. French reverses.

The French made desperate efforts to recover the ground they had lost, while the English renewed their preparations for the entire subjugation of Canada. The campaign of 1760 opened, in the month of April, by the embarkation of ten thousand men from Montreal, under the command of M. de Levi, the successor of Montcalm, with the hope of recapturing Quebec. Murray, who had succeeded Wolfe, had hardly three thousand men, and his provisions were scarce. Wishing to avoid a siege, the English imprudently marched out from the garrison, and, giving battle to the French at Sillery, were defeated, and forced to retire behind their entrenchments. They soon after received supplies by sea from home; and the French, thinking that the whole English fleet, which had wintered at Halifax, had arrived, raised the siege, and retired to Montreal.

Against this last stronghold all efforts were now directed. Here the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, determined to make a desperate stand, and had rallied around him all his scattered troops.

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The colonies assisted General Amherst all in their power, and three armies advanced from different directions towards Montreal, numbering altogether twenty thousand men,—regulars, militia and Indians. These armies, commanded respectively by Amherst, Haviland, and Murray, met nearly simultaneously, on the seventh of September, before Montreal. The French commander, perceiving that resistance was now hopeless, demanded a capitulation, and, the next day, surrendered to the English every place of strength in Canada.

Surrender of Montreal.

Thus fell the colonial possessions of France on the continent of America, with the exception of the infant settlement of Louisiana. Great was the exultation of England, and equally great that of the colonies, especially those of New England, who were now delivered from the scourge of Indian war on the frontiers.

War with the Cherokees.

The southern colonies were, however, involved in a war with the Cherokees, which the Virginians had provoked, and which the French had stimulated. A party of Cherokees, retiring from assisting the English against Fort Du Quesne, having lost their horses, seized such as they could find in the woods, which happened to belong to the Virginians. Inconsiderately this violation of the rights of property was resented, and several Indians were killed. The Cherokees, incensed at receiving such treatment from those whom they had but just assisted, vowed revenge. Receiving arms from the French, and incited by their intrigues, they plunged into a furious war with their former friends, and commenced a desolating incursion on the frontiers. Virginia and the two Carolinas combined for mutual defence. A large force marched into the territories of the Cherokees, when the Indians submitted without bloodshed, and concluded a treaty of peace. But, their chiefs being insulted by the governor of South Carolina,

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they renewed their incursions. General Amherst, on being made acquainted with the dangers to which the southern colonies were subjected, sent a detachment of Highlanders, under Colonel Montgomery, to their relief. These, united with provincial troops, marched into the Cherokee country, committing most destructive ravages, and routing the Indians in a great battle near Etchoe, their central settlement. He then withdrew his troops from Carolina, and rejoined the British army, 1760.

Defeat of the Cherokees.

As soon as he was gone, the Indians rallied, and committed new ravages. A second application was made to General Amherst; and the Highland regiment, under Colonel Grant, was ordered back to Carolina. New levies were also made by the provinces in 1761, and Grant was enabled to prosecute hostilities at the head of twenty-six hundred men. On the tenth of June, he encountered the Indians where Montgomery had fought the year before, and routed them with great slaughter, laying waste their corn-fields and villages. The defeated Cherokees sought refuge in the mountain defiles, and, humbled and subdued, sued for peace, which was granted; and the colonies enjoyed complete repose.

French losses in the West Indies.

Nor were English successes limited to the conquest of Canada, and the suppression of Indian hostilities. Guadaloupe, Martinique, and all the Caribbean Islands, fell into their possession. The French fleet was ruined, and England obtained the sovereignty of the seas.

Death of George II.

Meanwhile, George II. died, October 25th, 1760; and in the following year, that great man, by whose genius glory had shone upon the British arms, had ceased to be minister. George III. did not like the ascendency he had gained, and was ambitious of ruling alone.

Scarcely had Pitt retired, before war broke out between Spain and England, by which the former lost Havana, and

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incurred the ruin of her colonial commerce. The brilliant successes of the English, not in America merely, but in India and every quarter of the globe, induced the humbled powers of France and Spain to enter into negotiations for peace. In 1763, a treaty was signed at Paris, by which Great Britain retained Canada, and indeed the whole country east of the Mississippi, New Orleans alone excepted. Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, together with New Orleans, was ceded to Spain. Havana was exchanged for Florida. France lost all the territory on the American continent for which she had so zealously contended; and nothing remained of her conquests but her language, religion and laws, which even British legislation could not take away from the *habitans* of Canada, or the planters of Louisiana.

Treaty of Paris.

Its beneficial effect on the colonies.

To none was peace more grateful than to the colonies in North America, who had borne a large share of the burdens of the war, but who, by its glorious termination, could look forward to security and prosperity. British glory and American safety seemed to be identified. There never was a time when the colonies were bound to Great Britain by such general sentiments of affection and esteem, gratitude and hope. Had England cherished these sentiments, the colonies might have been long preserved. But the avarice, jealousy and pride in which England indulged, weakened those sentiments which constituted her real power; and a spirit of resistance was enkindled, which gradually ripened into a revolutionary passion.

Their continued growth.

Nor did this long war with the French and Indians arrest, though it may have impeded, the growth of the colonies. In physical resources, as well as in population, they all continued to increase. The conquest of Canada, and the subjection of the eastern Indians, gave a new

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impulse to the settlement of Maine; and the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln were added to York. New settlers occupied the coast, also, from the Kennebec to the Penobscot, and emigrants from New England sought the distant territories of the Acadians.

New Hampshire.

New Hampshire equally profited by the peace of Paris, from which may be dated the prosperity of the province, which contained, at this time, over fifty thousand people. Emigrants also came from other colonies, now that external danger was removed, and penetrated not only to the interior, but even into Vermont, whose "Green Mountain Boys" were soon to be distinguished in the struggle with the mother country.

Massachusetts.

Massachusetts contained at this time a population of two hundred and fifty thousand, of whom over five thousand were slaves. Connecticut numbered one hundred and fifty thousand, with a still greater proportion of slaves. Rhode Island had forty thousand, of whom one-tenth were enslaved. In New England there were five hundred and thirty Congregational churches, still characterized for Puritan principles.

New York.

New York contained about a hundred and twenty-five thousand people, and its largest town was already celebrated for mercantile thrift and enterprise. No reliable account of the population of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, or Georgia, has been handed down; but all of these colonies kept pace with the others in prosperity. About this time, the passion for emigration to more western sections began, and the Valley of Wyoming on the Susquehannah was planted by an association from Connecticut.

Virginia.

Virginia at this time contained about two hundred thousand souls, half of whom were slaves. Tobacco was still the great article which occupied the attention of the

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colonists, nearly seventy thousand hogsheads being annually exported. In the more southern colonies, rice and indigo formed the most important articles of exportation. Cotton, which has since become the great staple of the South, was not yet cultivated.

Literature and the arts.

Nor were the interests of education neglected with the material growth of the colonies. New schools and colleges arose. Lawyers began to obtain more public consideration. The fine arts were advanced by Copley and West, and eminent scholars appeared in every department to which genius was directed.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Bk. V. Ch. 1. A. D. 1763 to 1775.

Greatness of the American revolution.

THE American Revolution, in whatever light it may be viewed, was the grand event of the eighteenth century, and one of the most momentous, in its consequences, in the whole history of society. It excited intense interest throughout the civilized world, when it took place, and its effect has been constantly progressive. All other subjects of American history are certainly tame in comparison with it. It is memorable for the great deeds of heroes, for the development of unknown energies, for the establishment of a new western empire, for the shock it gave to political power in Europe, for the impulse it communicated to the cause of liberty throughout the world, and for the hope it inspired, among all oppressed people, of their own future triumph.

This great event might have been delayed, had the government of England been gifted with greater political sagacity, and had it exercised more prudence and moderation. But blindness, arrogance, and a spirit of oppression, are as natural to an unboundedly prosperous nation, as the development of great energies among those who are industrious and self-reliant.

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reached the height of her prosperity and power. Her ships whitened the ocean. Her armies occupied nearly all the strongest fortresses in America and Asia. Her colonial possessions were greater than any nation had ever possessed before. Her empire comprehended the extremities of the known world. Her manufactures were sought and prized in every corner of the earth. Her wealth was prodigious and unbounded. Her merchants were richer than ordinary princes. Her nobles formed the proudest aristocracy which ancient or modern times had ever seen. Her triumphs of art, science and literature, were the glory and the boast of the age. In every thing she was great and unsurpassed. No wonder that sentiments of pride were engendered.

England at the peace of Paris.

British pride and arrogance.

But pride is the curse of man. It is as blind as it is self-complacent. It ever goeth before destruction. England, intoxicated with prosperity, overlooked the incipient greatness of her colonies, underrated their strength, and trifled with their affections. She imposed upon them burdens which were irreconcilable with freedom. She cast upon them insults which not even imbecility will bear. She forced upon them rebellion, without considering the terrible power of union among those who felt that they were capable of freedom.

Feeling of the colonies.

Nor could any European power have long fettered the energies of continually expanding colonies, conscious of strength, as well as of justice and right. They had grown from feeble settlements to powerful States, and there seemed no limit to future increase. There was scope for every variety of talent, and every form of enterprise. The people were born free—had been nursed in freedom, had ever loved it passionately, had ever defended it with enthusiasm. They had also, from the first, been taught self-reliance. They had multiplied in spite of all obsta-

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cles. They had discovered their own strength in various intercolonial wars. They had measured themselves with regular troops from the mother country. They had learned the art of self-defence.

Dissatisfaction with British rule.

When, then, they perceived that England regarded them, not as children, but as servants—that they were to be kept in base dependence—that their interests were to be made subservient to those of British merchants and the pride of British nobles — that, as they grew strong, additional burdens would be imposed, — they resolved no longer to wear the yoke. Why should they submit to evils which they could throw off? When love was weakened, when interest no longer bound them, and when the desire for absolute independence was nearly universal, was it not in the nature of things that a struggle for liberty should one day be made, and, when made, be crowned with glory and honour?

It was the will of God that a great and free nation should arise in the West. And it is as absurd to speculate on the means by which this event could have been prevented, as it is to wonder why the old Roman Empire should have passed away, when the vices of self-interest had perverted all orders and classes among the people, and prepared the way for violence and anarchy.

British aggression.

Yet the story of English aggression is interesting, and teaches lessons of moral wisdom. The desire to domineer, arising from great pride and prosperity, on the one hand; and the spirit of liberty, fanned by unnumbered influences, on the other, gave rise to the American Revolution. The consideration of these conflicting principles and interests is the present subject of our inquiry.

It has already been shown that Great Britain, from the time of Cromwell, had enforced a system of commercial restrictions. The various navigation acts had fettered the

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commerce of the colonies, and operated unfavourably on American manufactures. To these evils the colonists had at length submitted, though always with reluctance and expostulation. The moral effect of these restrictions was to create alienation on the part of the colonies, which constantly increased with their growth, and would in time have alone occasioned a disruption. This event was not wholly unforeseen in England, but was placed at some remote and indefinite period—a notion encouraged by the mutual jealousies and divisions of the colonies, and an exaggerated importance attached to the power of Great Britain.

Contemplated military force in America.

Scarcely any British statesman, with the exception of Lord Camden, perceived the necessity of wholly removing these restrictions, especially after the conquest of Canada, which had revealed to the colonies new sources of internal strength. But such was the infatuation of government, that it resolved to extend rather than curtail the control exercised by the parent State; and scarcely was the peace of Paris announced, before it declared its intention of maintaining permanently a regular army in America, and supporting it at the expense of the colonies. No declaration could have been more unfortunate, especially as all external danger was now removed, and as a regular British force for protection had not been sent, when, owing to the molestations of both French and Indians, their presence was really necessary.

Interference with colonial trade.

Another cause of alienation was the attempt of the British government to suppress smuggling in the colonies, by calling in the aid of the naval forces on the coast. All the commanders of ships-of-war cruising in the American seas, received commissions from government to act as custom-house officers, and were authorized to receive an ample share of contraband or confiscated cargoes as the

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reward of their disagreeable duties. These naval officers were then generally rough, boisterous and impetuous, and often acted with inconsiderate zeal, making constant blunders and mistakes, which called forth the indignant remonstrances of those merchants whose ships they had perhaps unjustly seized or detained.

Contraband trade.

Moreover, the British governor and colonial custom-house authorities had, for a long time, connived and winked at a contraband trade between the colonies and the West India Islands, inasmuch as articles of British manufacture were, to a considerable extent, advantageously disposed of. But the naval officers did not regard the advantages which the colonies reaped, without injury to the mother country, and were prompt to seize indiscriminately all ships conducting those branches of trade which hitherto had passed without question or notice.

The colonies refuse to purchase British goods.

The colonies, indignant, proclaimed their intention to purchase, in future, no British commodities which were not absolutely necessary, since they could not pay for them with the gold they had hitherto procured from French and Spanish colonies. The British ministers yielded so far to their complaints as to authorize, by act of Parliament, the commerce which had previously been considered contraband, but loaded its most valuable articles with heavy duties.

Contemplated taxation.

Had the English government been content with this mode of raising a revenue in America, the Revolution might have been delayed. But it was not. It was resolved to levy a domestic tax upon the colonies, on the ground that, as they were protected by British arms, they should contribute something towards that protection.

The colonies looked upon the project of taxation with other eyes. They regarded it as the beginning of a system which would be indefinitely extended in proportion as

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they were willing or able to meet the demands of British rapacity. They saw no justice or right in direct taxation, when they were not represented in Parliament. The only connection which they admitted, was the recognition of their entire equality with Englishmen at home — as entitled to the full privileges of Englishmen, if they were to share their burdens. Moreover, they no longer desired the protection which England now was ready to bestow. They looked upon the army to be sent among them, as a means of coercing obedience to tyrannical injunctions,— not to save them from foreign attacks. They had taken care of themselves in times of weakness and danger. They surely could do so now, when dangers were removed, and when the means of resisting them had increased. They were willing to be ruled in accordance with those royal charters which, from time to time, had been given them. They were even willing to assist the mother country in expelling her enemies from adjoining territories. They professed the strongest attachment to her laws, her interests, and her institutions. They sought no political influence in England, and waived their rights as Englishmen to be represented in Parliament. But they could not see by what right they should be made to pay for English aggrandizement, or contribute to those wars by which England alone was benefited. If they could be taxed without their consent in one thing, they could be taxed to an indefinite extent, and would incur the danger of a mean and ignominious subjection—would fare worse than Ireland — would be reduced to the condition of a conquered country—would become what Sicily, and Gaul, and Greece, and Africa, were to ancient Rome — what parts of the East have become to modern European powers,— provinces to be rifled, robbed, and enslaved.

Colonial views of English taxation.

Its injustice

The scheme of taxation originated with George Grenville, successor of the Earl of Bute, as prime minister to George III. He was a man of great talent, but inconsiderate, unpractical, and rash. He had already shown himself unfit to contend with the spirit of the age, by his impolitic prosecution of Wilkes for a political libel. But then, it should also be said, the great body of the British aristocracy shared with him the delusion respecting America. His scheme of taxation met with general favour.

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George Grenville.

Not so in America. As soon as his design was revealed, it excited alarm, aversion, indignation, resentment. The project was discussed in all the Provincial Assemblies, and was universally condemned as unjust, oppressive, and hateful. From all the colonies, petitions were prepared and presented to the English government. They sent agents to England, to remonstrate with the minister. They printed pamphlets and made speeches without end.

His plan of taxation.

But, in spite of remonstrances, and protestations, and appeals from colonial agents, especially from Franklin, Ingersoll and Jackson, the minister was resolved to proceed; and accordingly, early in the year 1765, brought a bill into Parliament for collecting a duty on stamps. The tax, it was true, was light, but the principle involved gave importance to the precedent.

1765. Stamp Act.

Then followed the debates in Parliament, in which William Pitt, General Conway, and Colonel Barré, distinguished themselves in opposition to the ministers. In reply to the speech of Charles Townshend, who styled the colonies "children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms," Colonel Barré made this ever-memorable reply, preserved by all historians: "*They planted by* YOUR *care!* No! your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships

Debate in Parliament.

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to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle and formidable of any people upon the face of the earth. *They nourished by* YOUR *indulgence!* They grew up by your neglect. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them who were perhaps the deputies of deputies, sent to spy out their liberties, and to misrepresent their actions—men, promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in your own. *They protected by* YOUR *arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, and have exerted a shining valour for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood. Believe me—remember, I this day told you so—that the same spirit of freedom which actuated those sons of liberty at first, will accompany them still,—that they are a people jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them if ever they should be violated."

Eloquence of Col. Barré

In spite of the warnings of the distinguished orator and soldier, who had served in America, and of the petitions of London merchants, and of the remonstrances of the colonies, the bill passed the House of Commons by a very large majority—250 to 50—and was not even obstructed in the House of Lords. So great was the national delusion!

Passage of the Stamp Act.

The news of the passage of this fatal act, March 22d, 1765, created an immense sensation throughout the colonies. Patrick Henry in Virginia, James Otis in Massachusetts, Trumbull in Connecticut, and others scarcely less distinguished, lifted up their indignant voices against it in the various Assemblies of which they were members. There was everywhere a general ferment. In Boston and Providence there were popular riots. The clergy preached

Its effect in the colonies.

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political sermons. The Stamp Act was both ridiculed and denounced; and on the day when the execution of the act was appointed to commence, the first of November, every distributor of stamps in America had resigned his office. Not a stamp was to be seen. Nor was this all. Associations were formed not to import any more British goods until the hateful act was repealed; and that sheep might be increased, and American manufactures encouraged, people agreed not to eat lamb or mutton.

Resignation of Grenville.

Grenville was not prepared for this outcry. The unpopularity of the measure, and the difficulty of enforcing it, together with the odium which he incurred by the prosecution of Wilkes, induced him to resign the reins of government.

The Rockingham administration.

Grenville was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, one of whose first measures was to bring in a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, although the Commons insisted upon their right to tax America. Pitt supported the repeal, and maintained that the kingdom had no right to tax the colonies; and his decisive avowal made a profound impression on the House. But the ministry by no means took the ground of Pitt. They placed the repeal on the score of expediency. On this ground alone, the Commons, by a vote of 275 to 167, voted for the repeal of the tax, February 22d, 1766. The examination of Benjamin Franklin as a witness before the bar of the House, had also great influence in producing repeal. He was then an agent in England for Pennsylvania, and his prompt and pointed replies gained him great credit, both for genius and extent of information.

Repeal of the Stamp Act.

Joy in the colonies.

The news of the repeal produced transports of joy in America, mingled with surprise, exultation, and gratitude. The Provincial Assemblies voted addresses of thanks to his majesty, and to royal ministers and distinguished

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statesmen, especially to Lord Camden, Pitt, and Barré. Several provinces voted statues to the king, to Pitt, and to Camden. Faneuil Hall was adorned with full-length pictures of Pitt and Barré, the former of whom became a popular idol. Professions of attachment to the mother country again became general and cordial.

The Sugar Act.

But, after the first flush of popular enthusiasm, new subjects of complaint arose. The Stamp Act was indeed repealed, but the Sugar Act remained in force. Moreover, royal troops were sent to America, as if to overawe the people, and compel obedience. It was reported that new bodies were to arrive. But the crowning evil was a new scheme of colonial taxation.

William Pitt.

This originated with Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of Rockingham retained office but a few months, and was succeeded by the Duke of Grafton, in August, 1766, as First Lord of the Treasury. Pitt, recently created Earl of Chatham, was nominally the prime minister, but was unable to attend to business on account of ill-health. Nor had he much influence on his colleagues, who were, in most instances, tories; and they were left to pursue their own policy. It was a blot on the fair fame of this great statesman, who had hitherto sustained the American cause, that he consented to form a part of an administration which acted in direct opposition to the course he had uniformly pursued. It is true, he still opposed his colleagues in the council chamber; but his voice was no longer heard in the House of Commons, the scene of his glory, in vindication of the cause of liberty. Could *he* have been seduced by the glitter of a coronet and the title of a lord? Certain it is, that no man ever made a greater mistake than he, in accepting a seat among "the Incurables." He gained social rank, dignity, ease, titles. But he lost popularity,

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power, and self-respect. The "Great Commoner," who might, as a popular leader, have arrested the calamities which so soon befell his country, now deprived of his strength, which lay in the affections of the people, relapsed into indolence and spleen, and was laid on the shelf as a man who had parted with his secret; a Samson shorn of his locks, without his eyes, the sport of his seducers, the pity and reproach of those whom he had once defended. Great was the fall of Pitt when he descended from his glorious position as ruler of the House of Commons and idol of the nation, to be a nominal minister and a powerless earl. No wonder that he languished and died.

His folly in being made a peer.

1767. Duties on glass, tea, &c.

A tory ministry, which hated liberty, an infatuated king, who repented, like the Egyptians of old, the concessions he had made, and the courtiers, who affected to lament the humiliation of royalty, resolved to retrieve their dignity. Ambition and pride prevailed over wisdom and moderation. It was resolved to impose a tax on the colonies, as the sign of their dependence and degradation; perhaps with the hope of ultimately increasing the national revenue. Accordingly, Townshend introduced his bill into the House of Commons, May 1767, to impose duties on all glass, lead, painters' colours, tea, and paper, imported into America. It met with scarcely any opposition, and was triumphantly passed.

Opposition and outcry in America.

Sullenness, indignation, and gloom, returned to the colonies on the report of this new taxation; not that they dreaded the burden, but they hated the principle. Trust in Parliament was irreparably weakened. Confidence in royal ministers fled. New combinations of opposition were organized. The press, the pulpit, and the senate chamber, teemed with invective and reproach. The cry of alarm was raised. The appeal to patriotism was made

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from ten thousand tongues in every section of the country.

A. D. 1767.

Patriotism of the Americans.

Foremost among the patriots of Massachusetts were Thomas Cushing, James Bowdoin, Samuel Cooper, Josiah Quincy, Robert Treat Paine, John Winthrop, James Otis, and Joseph Hawley; all of whom were men of great social position, talents, and weight of character. Equally distinguished as popular leaders were John Rutledge, Henry Lawrence, David Ramsay, in South Carolina, and Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, and Richard Henry Lee, in Virginia. In all the colonies there arose orators to plead the cause and stimulate the energies of freemen. John Dickenson, in Pennsylvania, in a treatise called *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer*, warned his countrymen not to be deluded by the moderate rate of the new duties, designed only to prepare their necks for a weight which would bear them to the ground, while the inhabitants of Boston passed resolutions to discontinue the importation of all British commodities. The Assembly of Massachusetts addressed to all the sister colonies a circular letter, inviting them to co-operate in some general scheme of resistance, and nearly all the provincial assemblies acceded to the overture.

Changes in the British ministry.

In the mean time, some changes had occurred in the British ministry. Townsend had died, and was succeeded by Lord North; a man devoted to royal prerogative. Lord Hillsborough, also a distinguished partisan of the crown, had been entrusted with the management of American affairs, which had been withdrawn from Lord Shelburne. This latter nobleman strongly reprobated the conduct of Massachusetts respecting the circular letter, and instructed Governor Barnard to require of the Assembly its disapprobation of the act as hasty and rash. The minister also wrote a circular letter to all the provincial governors,

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breathing insolence, folly, and spleen, which occasioned, of course, general disgust, and increased the rising disaffection.

A. D. 1768

New cause of offence.

Additional cause of offence arose in America from the rigid enforcement of the laws of trade, which called forth opposition and inflammatory publications. The merchants were irritated by suits for past breaches of revenue laws, and by new strictness in the collecting of duties. A sloop laden with wine from Madeira, belonging to Hancock, was seized on the charge of smuggling a part of the cargo, although nothing was done contrary to custom and usage. A riot ensued, which resulted in the flight of the revenue commissioners to Castle Island, where a company of British artillery was stationed. In the midst of this ferment Barnard acquainted the General Court with the letter he had received from Lord Hillsborough, which communication excited still more the patriotic spirit. The House refused to rescind its measures, and justified itself in a remonstrance to the Earl of Hillsborough. On the following day, July 1, 1768, the governor dissolved the assembly, and the town and corporation retaliated by denouncing him as a traitor, and choosing a convention to meet in Boston to consider the public danger. This convention was regarded by the governor, and by the British ministry, as a treasonable and criminal association, and therefore its petitions and acts were wholly disregarded. Moreover, Boston was regarded as in a state bordering on revolt, and therefore it was occupied by two regiments, while the harbour was commanded by a fleet of seven ships of war. The people were required to furnish quarters for the troops. They peremptorily refused, and the State House was accordingly seized by the governor, and the town overawed by a military garrison stationed in it as a citadel. The Common was covered with tents, and

1768.

Troubles in Massachusetts.

Troops sent to Boston.

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the streets were paraded by sentinels. Boston had all the appearance of a town under martial law.

Removal of the legislature.

The House of Representatives, on assembling in May 1769, resolved that it was inconsistent with their dignity and freedom to deliberate in the midst of an armed force, and petitioned the governor to remove the trooops from Boston. Upon his refusal they declined to enter upon business, and the governor adjourned the court to Cambridge, and finally prorogued it as unmanageable, and returned to England to lay his complaints before government, leaving the administration in the hands of Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson.

Spirit of resistance in Virginia.

In Virginia the spirit of resistance was equally marked. The General Assembly unanimously passed resolutions that the sole right of taxation belonged to the representatives of the people, and that all trials for treason should be conducted in the colonial courts; for which offence it was dissolved by the governor, Lord Botetourt. The members, instead of dispersing, reassembled in a dwelling-house, and, after choosing their late speaker, Peyton Randolph, for moderator, unanimously signed an agreement to import no more British goods, to which the people, throughout the colony, acceded.

Inspired by the example of Virginia, the Assembly of South Carolina refused obedience to the act for providing quarters for British troops, and passed resolutions similar to those of the Virginia Assembly. Maryland, Delaware, New York, and Georgia, adopted substantially the same resolutions. Indeed, the non-importation agreement was generally adopted throughout the colony, and everywhere the right of American legislatures to supersede the authority of Parliament was discussed and advocated.

Nothing produced greater irritation among the colonies, and led to a revolutionary spirit more decidedly, than the

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quartering of troops in Boston. It was the occasion of perpetual tumult. A mob of boys and men made it a constant practice to insult the military, and the military, at length provoked beyond endurance, fired upon the people. This act of violence created such an excitement that the governor, Hutchinson, found it expedient to remove the troops from Boston.

Lord North repeals duties, except on tea.

About this time, 1770, Lord North succeeded the Duke of Grafton as prime minister to George III., and, in order to pacify the Americans, yet still maintain the right of taxation, brought forward a motion in Parliament to repeal all obnoxious duties, except that on tea. This was carried by a large majority, and his measure became a law. It had in some respects the effect he intended. It furnished an excuse to the colonies to abandon the non-importation agreeements, which were now limited to the article of tea alone. But it was far from allaying the spirit of disaffection, soon destined to burst out into a revolutionary storm. New disputes constantly agitated the colonies.

New disputes.

These arose from the continued restraints on colonial manufactures; from the presence of large bodies of foreign troops; from rumours of a plan to establish episcopacy by law; from the support of royal governors by the government at home, thus destroying all dependence on colonial legislatures; from repeated dissolutions of colonial Assemblies by royal governors, and from the accounts which these governors transmitted to England of the state of the provinces, which were considered as libellous and unjust. These, and various impolitic measures of the English government, hastened the crisis.

Nothing was more injudicious than the conduct of the ministry respecting the tea duty act. By the constant refusal of the colonies to use this luxury, except so far as

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it could be smuggled by the French, Dutch, Danes, and Swedes, tea had accumulated in the warehouses of the East India Company to the amount of seventeen millions of pounds. The government would not repeal the duty of threepence per pound, and the Company did not like to lose their commercial profits. Hitherto, a heavy tax had been imposed on the exportation of tea from England. This export duty was removed by the government, under the impression that the Americans would now purchase tea, since its price was reduced. Accordingly, the East India Company freighted several ships with the article, and sent them to the various American cities, hoping to dispose of it. But this course only showed how ignorant both British merchants and ministers were of the temper of the American people. The inhabitants of Charlestown suffered the tea to be landed, but deposited it in public cellars, and locked it up from either sale or use. The citizens of New York and Philadelphia prevailed on the consignees to disclaim their functions, and forced the ships to return to London with their cargoes. The Bostonians were not so quiet. A mob of fifty men, dressed like Indians, boarded the ships, staved the chests, and threw the tea into the water. This affair happened on the 16th of December, 1773; and when the news of it reached England, the rage of ministers was excessive. In their indignation, they brought a bill into Parliament to shut up the port of Boston, and remove the seat of government to Salem, which passed almost unanimously. This was followed by another, which gave the appointment of nearly all officers to the governor, without the approval of the Council, which was virtually an abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts. A third bill was also passed, which provided that all persons charged with murders committed in support of government, should be tried in

Opposition in the colonies to the duty on tea.

1773.

Boston Port Bill.

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England. This was again followed by a fourth act, which provided for quartering troops in America, April, 1774. The liberties and chartered rights of the colonies were now plainly assailed. They were regarded as rebellious, and only to be brought to terms by a military force. Ministers foolishly resolved to terrify them into submission, notwithstanding the expostulations of Chatham, Burke, Barré, Fox, Conway, Dunning, and other illustrious statesmen, who perceived that these severe measures would end in war, and that war would lead to the everlasting separation of the colonies from England.

Troops sent to Boston.

The colonies, distressed, embarrassed and indignant, now meditated a congress of delegates to take measures for their common defence, and advance their mutual interests. The people everywhere were excited by popular orators. Inflammatory publications were openly circulated. Associations were formed for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Proceedings in the courts of justice were suspended, and ordinary business was neglected, in the general ferment of impassioned feeling. Nothing was thought of but resistance. Thomas Jefferson wrote a pamphlet in which sentiments of independence were broached. The spirit of liberty animated all classes from New Hampshire to Georgia.

Resistance contemplated.

And yet the colonies did not, at this time, contemplate a separation. Nor were they prepared to plunge into a general revolt. They were only irritated and indignant to an extraordinary degree. They were resolved on resistance, rather than independence. It is true, there were those who saw that resistance would lead to war, and war to separation; but such men were in advance of public sentiment. In spite of the invasion of long-cherished rights, there was yet a lurking love of the mother country, which, had it been cherished, would have delayed the Revolution.

And resistance rather than independence.

This was the time, if it were ever to be, when the colonies should have been coerced by an overwhelming military force, before measures of resistance were matured. But the British government neither sought to heal the wounds which their impolitic measures had inflicted, nor adopted a bold and prompt course of intimidation. Pitt would either have refrained from taxation, or would have sent an army of forty thousand men to subdue the rebellious colonies. But every measure of the present ministers proved a blunder, increasing the general discontent and irritation, without producing any decided advantage. They supposed that the Boston Port Bill would produce jealousy and disunion among the different towns of Massachusetts, by dividing among them the commerce previously enjoyed by the metropolis. But, on the contrary, it produced a strong feeling of generous disdain, sympathy, and co-operation. The people of Marblehead offered the use of their wharves and warehouses to the Boston merchants. The citizens of Salem also refused to avail themselves of the misfortunes of their neighbours.

Disaffection of the colonies.

Meeting of Congress.

In the midst of this general ferment, the contemplated Congress assembled at Philadelphia, September 5th. It was composed of delegates from all the colonies except Georgia; and as these were chosen by the several provincial legislatures, the national mind was fairly represented. The instructions which they received, however, only authorized them to deliberate on the means to secure the rights and liberties of America as a colonial possession of Great Britain. Revolt was not contemplated, although it may have been hastened in consequence of the assembly.

Its great men.

Of this Congress, Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen President. It consisted of fifty-three delegates, all of whom were men of character and influence. Among the more distinguished of them were Samuel and John

Adams, of Massachusetts; Sherman and Dean, of Connecticut; Livingston and Jay, of New York; Henry, Washington, and Lee, of Virginia; and the two Rutledges, of South Carolina. The proceedings were conducted with closed doors, and with great unanimity—with prudence, talent, and despatch. It was resolved that obedience was not due to any of the recent acts of Parliament, and that Massachusetts should be sustained in her resistance to what was universally considered to be unjust and unconstitutional. A "Declaration of Colonial Rights" was voted. A protest was made against standing armies maintained in the colonies without their consent. All the immunities hitherto enjoyed by the colonies were claimed as established rights. The Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Quartering Acts, the Tea Act, the Boston Port Bill, the act for the regulation of the government of Massachusetts, and the two acts for the trial in Great Britain of offences committed in America, were enumerated as violations of the rights of the colonies. In order to enforce these rights, it was agreed to hold no commercial intercourse with Great Britain and the West Indies, and to take every measure to encourage domestic manufactures and the breeding of sheep.

Declaration of Rights.

While preparations were thus making for the American Union, affairs were fast hastening to a crisis in Massachusetts. The military forces which had been sent out to coerce or watch the colony, were commanded by General Gage, who had succeeded Hutchinson as governor. He fortified Boston Neck, and cut off all communication of the town with the country, justifying, all the while, his military preparations on the plea of self-defence. Congress, in turn, adopted defensive measures, and appointed a Committee of Safety, at the head of which was John Hancock, with power to call out the militia. It also took

Boston Neck fortified.

Committee of Safety.

measures for the defence of the province, and for procuring military stores. Gage denounced these proceedings; but none, save his own officials, paid any attention to his proclamation. The other cities of the Union appointed committees of safety, volunteers were everywhere enrolled, and arms and ammunition were seized. The country was generally aroused by the expectation of serious conflicts, and all things indicated an approaching convulsion.

Perplexity of Parliament.

Great Britain received the report of these proceedings, and of the general state of insubordination, with any feelings but those of indifference. The cabinet was perplexed, and Parliament was agitated. The more experienced and profound of British statesmen perceived the importance of the crisis. Lord Chatham resumed his seat in the House of Lords, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, and attempted to arouse his countrymen to a sense of the great difficulties in which they were so unappily involved. He besought ministers to withdraw the troops from Boston, and revoke their obnoxious acts. He showed the folly of metaphysical refinements about the right of taxation, when a continent was in arms. He spoke of the means thus far employed for enforcing obedience as inefficient and ridiculous. He panegyrized the American Congress and the American people. The Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne supported his motion. Lord Camden, as an ex-chancellor and constitutional lawyer, declared that England had no right to tax America.

Effort of Lord Chatham.

Burke, Barre, and Fox.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Burke, Colonel Barré, and Mr. Fox, proposed conciliatory measures. "My hold on the colonies," said Mr. Burke, that great master of moral wisdom, "is the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privilege, and from equal protection. These are the ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron.

Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil privileges associated with your government; they will cling and grapple with you, and no power under heaven will be able to tear them from their allegiance. But let it once be understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another, then the cement is gone, and everything hastens to dissolution. It is the love of the people — it is their attachment to your government, from their sense of the deep stake they have in such glorious institutions, which gives you your army and navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience without which your army would be but a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timbers."

Infatuation of Parliament.

Nor were warning voices lifted up against the blunders and folly of government in the British Parliament alone. Dean Tucker, who foresaw a long war, with all its expenses, urged, in a masterly treatise, the necessity of at once giving to the Americans the liberty they sought. Others, who looked upon the colonies in a commercial point of view, respectfully petitioned Parliament to repeal their offensive enactments. Bollan, Franklin, and Lee, agents for the provinces, also petitioned to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons, that they might explain the subject of grievances, and communicate important information.

Warning voices disregarded.

But the moral wisdom of Burke, the reasonings of Tucker, and the entreaties of Franklin, were alike lost on an infatuated people. On Lord North, as the great representative of the English mind, the blame must rest for ever of not adopting, in season, conciliatory measures, before conciliation was impossible — not half measures, indefinite and equivocal, but, which could but partially allay irritation, when passion was stronger than reason or fear; but rather those which surrendered, in good faith,

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the unjust claims which ministers had advanced. Had he, however, at the eleventh hour, withdrawn his offensive measures, it is doubtful whether he would have been sustained. It was resolved to coerce the colonies, and they were accordingly declared to be in a state of rebellion.

Warlike measures.

This declaration was in fact a declaration of war—of no common war, but of desperate, deadly strife. It was so understood by the popular leaders in America. "We must look back," said they, "no more. We must conquer or die. We are placed between altars smoking with the most grateful incense of glory and gratitude on the one part, and blocks and dungeons on the other." Necessity now stimulated those who before were timid. The passion for liberty animated the bold. All classes of people now felt that they must choose between slavery and freedom, and every one echoed the sentiment of Henry—"Give me liberty, or give me death!" "There is," said this impassioned orator, "no longer any room for hope. We must *fight*. I repeat it, sir, we *must* fight. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as ours, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Nor is there retreat but in submission and slavery. Gentlemen may cry peace! peace!—but there is *no* peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the crash of resounding arms."

Patrick Henry.

Impending conflagration.

Such were the sentiments now boldly declared in the Continental Congress. There was only needed a spark to kindle a conflagration. The tide of revolution could not now be suppressed. The moment that blood should actually be shed in defence of liberty, that moment it would prove a signal for a general rising of the people, and for the declaration of American independence.

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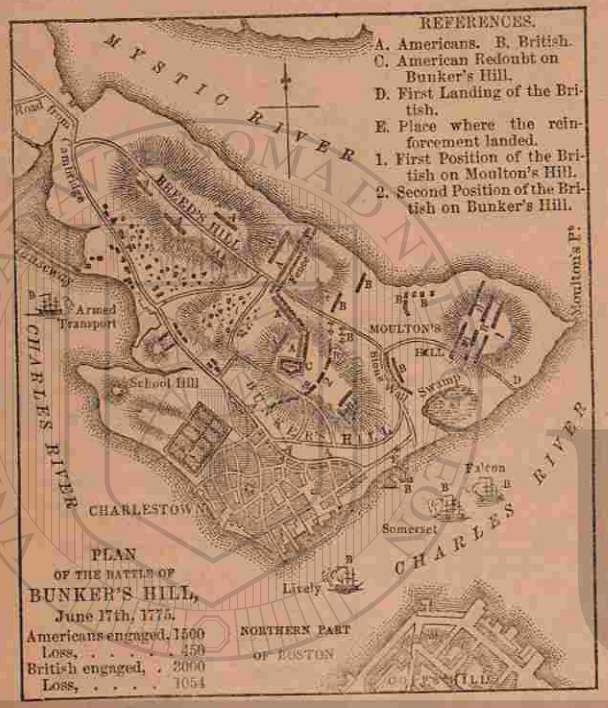
The town of Lexington, in Massachusetts, was the immortal spot where the first altar to perpetual liberty smoked with human sacrifice — where the fire of revolution was kindled, which spread, with the rapidity of lightning, until the whole continent was in a blaze.

The fire kindled.

General Gage, having learned that military stores and arms were deposited at Concord, resolved to seize them, and despatched eight hundred troops, under Colonel Smith, for that purpose. His design was suspected, alarm-bells were rung, the people flew to arms, the provincial militia assembled, and preparations for resistance were made. The head of the British column confronted, at Lexington, a force of one hundred minute-men. The British officers called upon them to lay down their arms and disperse. The order was not obeyed, and the British fired. Only eight men were killed; but the blood of eight men spilled, was enough to arouse the whole nation. The militia around Concord and Lexington rushed to the aid of their brethren in arms. The British troops, surrounded by superior numbers, hastily retreated. They were pursued. Their retreat became a rout, and they would have been entirely cut off, had not Lord Percy, despatched by Gage, advanced to their relief.

Battle of Lexington.

With the battle of Lexington, April 19th, 1775, opened the first act of the eventful drama of the American Revolution. The die was now cast, and, for seven succeeding years, the question for Americans to solve was—liberty or slavery.



REMARKS.

To commemorate the important event illustrated above, the Bunker Hill Monument, a plain but striking obelisk, has been erected on the site of the battle, 62 feet above the level of the sea. The corner-stone was first laid by La Fayette, on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, June 17th, 1825. This foundation having been found insecure, it was relaid in a more substantial manner, in March, 1827. The monument was completed July 23d, 1842, at a cost of $119,800. It is substantially built of hewn Quincy granite, being 208 feet high from the base to the commencement of the apex, and from thence to the summit 13 feet, in all 221 feet. The interior of the structure is circular, having a diameter of 10 feet 7 inches at bottom, and 6 feet 4 inches at top, and is ascended by 294 steps. The top is an elliptical chamber, 17 feet high, 11 feet in diameter, with 4 windows, and presents one of the most splendid views in the United States, combining in a remarkable degree the beautiful and the sublime. Being the most elevated object in the vicinity, this monument will stand in commemoration of the gallant patriots who here fought and fell in defence of their country's rights, and nobly contributed to the independence of the United States.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST CAMPAIGN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

THE news of the battle of Lexington produced an immense sensation throughout the colonies. The young men of Connecticut, burning with rage and valour, flew to arms, headed by Israel Putnam, who heard the news as he was ploughing in the field. He instantly unyoked his team, and marched, with a large body of volunteers, to the vicinity of Boston, to join his brethren in arms. Thither also repaired three regiments from New Hampshire, one of which was commanded by John Stark. No less than twenty thousand men blockaded the British troops in Boston, and it was resolved by the New England colonies to raise ten thousand in addition, with large stores of ammunition. The other colonies showed equal spirit. The whole country was fairly aroused.

Effect of the battle of Lexington.

In the first impulse of enthusiasm, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner raised a force among the Green Mountain boys with a view to seize Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which fortresses were defended at that time by only sixty men. The same project had been conceived by Benedict Arnold, of New Haven; and he had even been commissioned colonel, with authority to raise men in Vermont. As Allen, with eighty men, approached Ticonderoga, he was joined by Arnold, who, being refused the command, agreed to serve as a volunteer. The fort was surprised,

Forces raised.

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and easily taken. Warner was then sent to seize Crown Point, which, without difficulty, fell into his hands. The captured fortresses furnished two hundred pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of military stores, to the army of the insurgents. Arnold, in the mean time, joined by new recruits, succeeded in occupying the important post of Skenesborough, now Whitehall; and then, sailing down the lake in a schooner he had seized, surprised St. John's, and captured an armed vessel, with which he returned to Crown Point.

Fall of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Before the tidings of these successes could reach Congress, which reassembled on the tenth of May, it had resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of affairs consequent upon the battle of Lexington. It was reported that hostilities had been commenced by British troops, and it was therefore voted that the colonies should be put in a state of defence. A petition to the king was also voted, together with an address to the people of Great Britain. A proclamation was issued for a day of solemn fasting and prayer throughout the colonies, as on the eve of great calamities.

Doings of Congress.

But the most important measure which the Continental Congress adopted, was the appointment of a commander-in-chief. George Washington, one of the members, was proposed by Johnson, of Maryland, and was unanimously elected. He consented to serve without a salary, stipulating only for the payment of his expenses. Artemas Ward of Massachusetts, Charles Lee of Virginia, Philip Schuyler of New York, and Israel Putnam of Connecticut, were appointed major-generals. Horatio Gates, of Virginia, was chosen adjutant-general, with the rank of brigadier. Both Lee and Gates were Englishmen, and had considerable military experience. Congress also gave commissions as brigadiers to Seth Pomeroy, William

Appointment of general officers.

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Heath, and John Thomas, of Massachusetts; David Wooster and Joseph Spencer of Connecticut, Nathaniel Greene of Rhode Island, John Sullivan of New Hampshire and Richard Montgomery of New York. These were the general officers. The colonels and other inferior officers in the camp before Boston also received commissions.

Battle of Bunker Hill.

But, before these arrangements were completed, was fought the battle of Bunker Hill, 17th of June, which was productive of great moral results. The British army, commanded by General Gage, and reinforced by a large body of regulars under Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, now numbered ten thousand men, and were strongly posted at Boston. The American forces which blockaded the town numbered sixteen, and were commanded by General Ward.

To complete the blockade of Boston, Colonel Prescott was ordered, with one thousand men, including a company of artillery, to take possession of Bunker's Hill, an eminence one hundred and thirteen feet high, in the northern part of the peninsula of Charlestown, and which commanded the great northern road. By mistake he advanced to Breed's Hill, eighty-seven feet high, on the southern extremity of Bunker Hill, nearer to Boston. Before morning, his troops had thrown up a redoubt which commanded the harbour of Boston. To dislodge the Americans from this dangerous post, Gage sent Generals Howe and Pigot, with three thousand men. The English embarked in boats from the wharves in Boston, and landing at Morton's Point, at the eastern extremity of Breed's Hill, formed into two columns, and advanced towards the redoubt, supported by a fire from the ships and batteries. They were permitted to press on until within one hundred yards of the provincials, when a well-directed fire was

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opened upon them, which threw them into disorder. They rallied, and again advanced. Again they were driven back in confusion. General Clinton, with new troops, advanced to the assistance of the British, and a third time they were led up the hill. By this time the powder of the provincials began to fail, and they were forced to fight at the point of the bayonet. The redoubt was now attacked in three several places, by superior forces, aided by artillery, and was carried. The provincials retreated across the neck, and the hill remained in possession of the British. The battle was dearly gained, more than one thousand being killed and wounded in the attack, while the Americans lost only four hundred and fifty, among whom, however, was Doctor Joseph Warren, chairman of the Committee of Safety, who had, a few days before, received the commission of major-general, but who served as a simple volunteer. His death was regarded as a great public calamity, and was deeply and universally lamented. Generous, brave, zealous, and influential, — he was the John Hampden of the times.

Death of General Warren.

Washington at Cambridge.

In about two weeks from the battle, which tested the ability of the provincials to meet British veterans, Washington joined the army, and fixed his head-quarters at Cambridge. Ward, with the right wing, was stationed at Roxbury; and Lee, with the left, at Prospect Hill, two miles north-west of Breed's Hill. The camp was soon joined by some companies of riflemen from Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania; and, with all their forces, the British were prevented from advancing into the country.

The situation of Washington was embarrassing and difficult. On him was laid the task of organizing an army of raw and undisciplined recruits, distracted by sectional jealousies, and unprovided with adequate means; and,

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with these forces, was obliged to keep in check an army accustomed to war, not greatly inferior in numbers, perfectly equipped, and provided with money and stores.

Congress, which had not the constitutional power it at present has, nevertheless did all it could to assist Washington, and provide the means of successful resistance. It voted bills of credit, established a post-office system, issued military commissions, corresponded and co-operated with colonial legislatures, prepared articles of war, and set forth a declaration of the justice and necessity of their course in taking up arms.

Appropriation by Congress.

The English Parliament proceeded to measures equally decided. It confiscated all American ships and cargoes, and decreed the colonies in a state of revolt. It voted liberal supplies to the king's ministers, who had negotiated for the aid of German mercenaries, and otherwise increased the military forces. It looked upon all conciliation as at an end, and thought only of coercion and vigorous offensive operations. General Gage was recalled to give an account of the battle of Bunker Hill, and was succeeded in command by General Sir William Howe.

Appropriation by Parliament.

The provincial governors, appointed by royal authority, abdicated their governments soon after the breaking out of hostilities, and generally retired to British shipping for protection. They quickly perceived that they could do nothing, without overwhelming forces to sustain them, when all the colonies were in arms, and united together.

Contemplated invasion of Canada.

The first movements of the American Congress and army were more vigorous than could have been expected from their deficiency in money and military stores. Nothing less than the conquest of Canada was contemplated. Ticonderoga and Crown Point had fallen into their hands, and why should not Montreal and Quebec? Nothing seemed impossible to men animated by the first impulses

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of bravery and patriotism, before experience had taught them the difficulties even of defence.

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General Schuyler invades Canada.

This task was entrusted to Generals Schuyler and Montgomery; and, on the tenth of September, they appeared before St. John's, but with a force inadequate to reduce it. Schuyler returned to Ticonderoga for reinforcements, was there taken ill, and was prevented from rejoining the army, the command of which devolved on Montgomery. He successively captured Fort Chambly, St. John's, and Montreal, and advanced, in the latter part of November, with a small force of a few hundred men, to attack Quebec; expecting, however, the co-operation of Colonel Arnold.

Arnold's enterprise.

That enterprising, but unprincipled officer, with 1100 men, had penetrated through the forests, swamps, and mountains of Maine, ascending the Kennebec, and descending the Chaudiere, and, in six weeks after his departure from Boston, had reached the banks of the St. Lawrence. Could he have crossed the river at once, he might have captured Quebec; for this important fortress was defended by only two hundred regular troops. But he found no boats, and, before he could construct them, Governor Carleton made his appearance from Montreal, organized the people of Quebec into military companies, landed the sailors, and increased the force of the citadel to 1200 men.

Unsuccessful attack on Quebec.

Arnold, however, on the 13th of November, crossed the river, and ascended, as Wolfe did before him, the Plains of Abraham. His little army had dwindled to six hundred men, and, as he had no means of attack, he retreated to a post twenty miles up the river, where he awaited the approach of Montgomery. On the 1st of December, the two commanders formed a junction of their troops, and advanced to attack the strongest fortress in

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the country. Nothing could be more rash or more bold. Their united forces numbered only a thousand men; while the enemy, in superior strength, were entrenched behind fortifications which could have defied ten times their number, especially as their artillery was too light to be of any service. Still, an assault was resolved upon, after three weeks had been wasted in an ineffectual siege. On the 31st of December, in a snow-storm, the attack was made, and failed; Montgomery being killed, and Arnold wounded. The men fought with desperate courage, but courage thrown away. Four hundred of them were lost, and the remainder retired three miles from the city, and kept up, during the winter, the semblance of a blockade behind ramparts of frozen snow.

A. D. 1775.

Death of Montgomery.

Embarrassments of Washington.

Meanwhile Washington remained in the camp before Boston, attempting to organize an army which was enlisted but for a few months. The first burst of enthusiasm was over. A short acquaintance with military life had damped the ardour of the troops, and they longed to return to their homes. The commander-in-chief was surrounded with difficulties. The camp was in danger of desertion. The time of the Connecticut and Rhode Island regiments expired in December, and none of the troops were engaged beyond the 1st of April.

Congress votes supplies.

In this emergency, Congress called earnestly upon the several provinces for a renewal of enlistments, and corresponded with the friends of liberty in foreign lands. Parliament was no less active, and voted twenty-five thousand additional troops for the American service. It was resolved, by both parties, to prosecute the war with vigour when the spring should return.

1776.

The campaign of 1776 opened (March 4th) with the occupation of Dorchester Heights, now South Boston, by the American troops. This eminence commanded both

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the harbour and the town of Boston. Unless the Americans were dislodged, the town must be abandoned by the British. Accordingly, General Howe resolved upon an attack; but, a storm having made the harbour impassable, it was delayed until the American works were so strengthened that no resource was left but an evacuation of the town.

Retreat of the British from Boston

By a tacit agreement, the British troops, numbering seven thousand men, besides two thousand sailors and marines, were unmolested in their retreat; and on the 27th of March, Washington entered the town in triumph. His army, in and around Boston, numbered fourteen thousand men, exclusive of militia, and was now enriched by considerable quantities of military stores which the fugitive enemy had left. Washington, after a short sojourn, hastened for New York, both to defend that place and correspond more easily with Congress, which now issued four additional millions of continental paper, appointed a Standing Committee to superintend the treasury, established two new military departments, Southern and Middle, and commissioned six new brigadiers — Armstrong, Thomas, Lewis, Moore, Stirling, and Howe.

Washington moves towards N. York.

But these measures were insufficient, when compared with that great event which was to separate for ever the colonies from the mother-country. For some time it was publicly discussed, whether or not American Independence should be officially declared. The idea encountered, in the several colonies, strenuous opposition, but every day was gaining converts. On the 7th of June, the subject was introduced into Congress by Richard Henry Lee, who moved, in obedience to instructions from Virginia, "that the United Colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved." Congress

Debate in Congress respecting Independence.

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resolved itself into a committee of the whole to debate the resolution. It was opposed by some of the greatest friends of liberty and some of the ablest men in Congress, as premature, — among whom were John Dickenson, Robert R. Livingston, and Edward Rutledge. John Adams was the most conspicuous advocate of the measure, which passed by a majority of only one State — seven against six. On the ever-memorable 4th of July, the Declaration of Independence, drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, was publicly proclaimed from the door of the State-House in Philadelphia, amid the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and shouts of universal rejoicing. It was everywhere received by the Americans with unbounded enthusiasm, while it took the English nation by surprise, and firmly united it against the new republic. Both countries were now arrayed against each other in fierce hostility. The only question to solve was — liberty or slavery.

July 4. Declaration of Independence.

A few days before this great event occurred, (June 28th,) General Howe had landed on Staten Island, with the army which had retreated from Boston; and, a few days after, he was joined by his brother, Admiral Lord Howe, with large reinforcements from England. These forces, united with those of Clinton, from the South, numbered 24,000, and all of them were veterans. A large addition to these was also expected, and nothing short of the complete subjugation of the country was confidently anticipated. It was the design of the British to occupy New York and the Hudson river, and thus open a communication with Canada, while, at the same time, they separated the Eastern from the Middle States.

June 28 General Howe on Staten Island.

The American general could oppose to this great army only 27,000 undisciplined troops, most of whom were militia, and part of whom were entirely ineffectual, partially provided with arms and ammunition, and distracted

Strength of the American army

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by sectional jealousies; still he resolved to prevent, if possible, the occupation of New York by a superior force.

General Howe lands on Long Island.

Howe, before he made preparations to occupy New York, sent a letter to Washington, offering terms of accommodation; but as it was directed merely to George Washington, Esq., without recognising his military rank, he very properly declined to receive it. Without losing any more time, the British general landed his troops at Gravesend, proposing to approach New York by way of Long Island. The American army, in anticipation of this movement, was stationed at Brooklyn. Between the American camp and the British army was a range of hills, the passes of which were imperfectly guarded; through these the British troops advanced in the night of the 26th of August, and nearly surrounded the Americans the next morning. A battle ensued; but, attacked in the rear and front by superior forces, the Americans were compelled to retreat, with a loss of nearly two thousand killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Among those who were captured were Generals Sullivan and Stirling. The British lost about four hundred men.

Aug. 26. Battle of Brooklyn Heights.

Aug. 30. Retreat of Washington.

After such a check, Washington deemed it prudent to retreat from Long Island, which, of course, fell into the hands of the British (August 30th). He left a considerable force in New York, but encamped with his main body on Harlem Heights, ready to retire, if necessary, across the Harlem river.

Howe negotiates

After the battle of Long Island, Howe proposed to confer with some members of Congress, in their private capacity as gentlemen, in order to bring about a reconciliation. Congress refused to send any of their number as individuals, but, as they were desirous of peace, offered to send a committee; and Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge

were appointed to confer with the British commander. They met on Staten Island; but nothing resulted from the interview, neither party being willing to abandon the ground it had taken.

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Sept. 16. Military operations resumed.

This negotiation having failed, military operations were resumed. The English ascended, in their ships, both the Hudson and East rivers, and landed on the east side of the island, about three miles above the city. Orders were sent to Putnam, who commanded in the city, to evacuate immediately; and it was only by moving rapidly to the western shore, that he and his troops escaped capture. The next day (September 16th), the Americans repulsed the enemy in a skirmish, but lost Colonel Knowlton and Major Fitch.

Occupation of N. York by the British.

Howe, having entered the city, and not deeming it prudent to attack the camp of Washington on Harlem Heights, resolved to cut off his communication with the Eastern States. With this view, the main body of the British army, passing up the Sound, landed in the vicinity of Westchester, fourteen miles from New York, while ships of war, ascending the Hudson, cut off the supplies of the Americans from New Jersey. Thus in danger of being shut in by overwhelming forces, the commander-in-chief abandoned the island altogether, with the exception of three thousand men, whom he left at Fort Washington, on the Hudson, and retreated to White Plains, and afterwards to the heights of North Castle, where he strongly fortified his camp (October 28th). It was the policy of Howe to bring the Americans into an engagement, and it was their policy to avoid one, inasmuch as they were vastly inferior, both in number and discipline, to the British, who now numbered 35,000 men.

Retreat of the Americans.

Foiled in the attempt to engage the Americans in battle, and not daring to attack their fortified camp, the

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British general sought to subdue the forts on the Hudson and penetrate New Jersey. Washington, perceiving this, crossed the Hudson, near the Highlands, with the main body of the army, and joined Greene at Fort Lee, leaving three thousand men, under Colonel Morgan, for the defence of Fort Washington. This force was inadequate, and, accordingly, being attacked by the enemy, the fort surrendered, and all the men, with a great quantity of artillery, fell into the hands of the British. They now occupied the whole of the island, and commanded the Hudson. They next directed their attention to Fort Lee, which post Washington was obliged to evacuate, leaving behind him his military stores. He retreated across the Hackensack, before superior numbers, and thence across the Passaic, with forces constantly diminishing, so that by the 1st of November he had scarcely three thousand men. Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton were successively abandoned by the retreating army. On the 8th of December he crossed the Delaware at Trenton, the only barrier between Philadelphia and the British army. So rapid was his retreat that the van of the pursuing army appeared as the rearguard of the retreating one had crossed the river.

Fall of Fort Washington,

And of Fort Lee.

Retreat of Washington.

This was one of the most gloomy crises in the war. The English were everywhere victorious and triumphant. They stretched along the banks of the Delaware from New Brunswick to the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, ready to cross the river so soon as it should be frozen. Their forces were large, and well provided with arms, ammunition, clothing, and provisions. They were elated with success, and expected soon to reduce the whole country. The American troops scarcely numbered one-quarter of the enemy, were scantily provisioned, had inadequate military stores, and were much dispirited. Lee

Success of the English.

Gloomy state of American affairs.

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was a captive, being surprised at a house three miles from his main body, where he carelessly quartered. Newport was abandoned. A British fleet blockaded Rhode Island. Georgia and Carolina were visited by an Indian war. Congress had retired to Baltimore.

Under these discouragements, and in view of the desperate state of affairs, Congress wisely conferred on Washington almost dictatorial powers. He was authorized to displace all officers under the rank of brigadier; to fill up all vacancies; to take for the use of the army whatever he needed, allowing the owner a reasonable price; to arrest all disaffected persons, and to raise forces wherever he could find them. These powers were to continue for six months.

Washington armed with new powers.

By great exertions he recruited his army to seven thousand men; and, while the British were relaxing their watchfulness, during the approaching Christmas festivities, he resolved to "clip their wings." On the evening of Christmas, with twenty-five hundred of his best troops, he crossed the Delaware, nine miles above Trenton, and advanced, in a snow-storm, to attack the enemy. They were completely taken by surprise, and fled, but not until one thousand Hessians were taken, with six pieces of artillery. Washington lost only nine men. After performing this brilliant exploit, he recrossed the river.

The American army recruited.

Determined to follow up his success, Washington, on the 28th of December, again crossed the Delaware, and occupied Trenton, now deserted by the enemy, where he was joined by some Pennsylvania militia. But Howe, alarmed at the surprise of Trenton, sent Cornwallis, with a strong force, to attack the Americans. Washington again was in a dangerous position. To cross the river in the face of a vastly superior enemy was too hazardous to be attempted. To risk a battle was equally rash. He

Dec. 28. Battles of Trenton and Princeton.

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resolved neither to retreat nor fight the enemy at Trenton, but, by a bold and unexpected march, to gain the rear of the enemy at Princeton; and then, if successful, to fall upon his stores at Brunswick. Accordingly, by a circuitous road, he reached Princeton at midnight (January 3d), where a regiment occupied the college, which soon surrendered. A marching regiment, in the rear of the same, fled towards Brunswick; and two others, in advance, marching to join Cornwallis, were attacked, but succeeded in joining him, after a desperate contest.

Army retires into winter-quarters.

The Americans were about to hasten to Brunswick and seize the English magazines, when Cornwallis, having penetrated the plan of Washington, was already close upon his rear. The order to advance on Brunswick was countermanded, and Washington, desirous to occupy a defensible position, marched to Morristown, and entrenched himself. Cornwallis, not venturing to cross the Delaware with an army in his rear, and not anxious to continue a winter campaign, retired to New Brunswick.

Results of the campaign.

Thus closed the first regular campaign of the war, — the main army of the Americans being entrenched at Morristown, while Putnam held Princeton on the one side, and Heath, the Highlands on the other. The recovery of New Jersey by the fragments of a defeated army secured to Washington great military fame, in this country and in Europe, while it inspired the American people with fresh hopes of being able to secure their independence. The recruiting service revived, and a new army was organized. Stirling, St. Clair, Mifflin, Stephen, and Lincoln were made major-generals; Poor, Glover, Patterson, Varnum, Learned, Huntingdon, George Clinton, Wayne, De Haas, Cadwalader, Hand, Reed, Waden, Muhlenberg, Woodford, Scott, Nash, and Conway, received commissions as brigadiers. The prisoners taken

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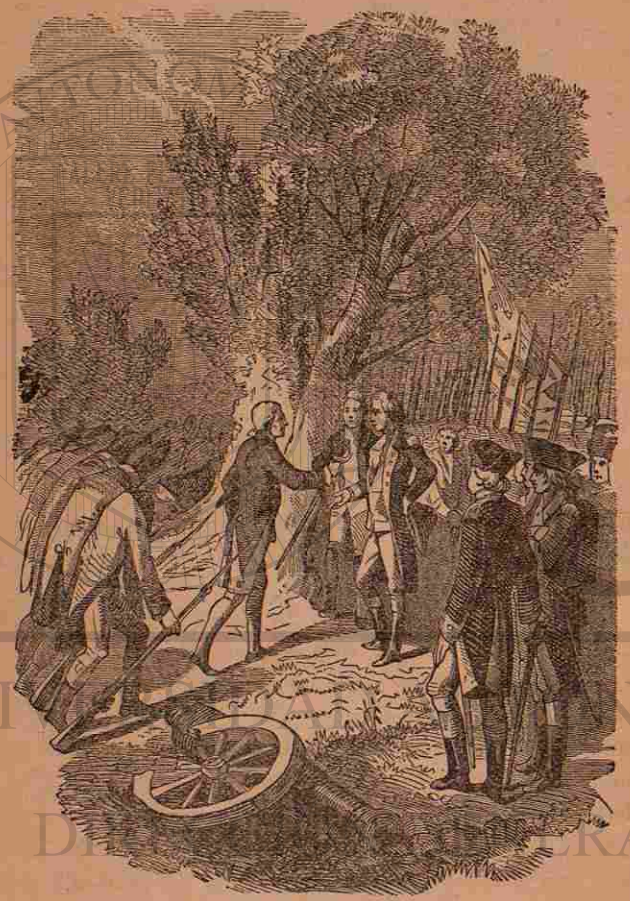
on either side were partially exchanged. Several ships of war were built. Privateers were commissioned; and so successful were their operations, that nearly three hundred and fifty vessels, worth, with their cargoes, five millions of dollars, were captured, and many of them sold to the French. A national flag was adopted — the thirteen stars and stripes, — and negotiations entered into with France for assistance. In September, Franklin, Deane, and Lee had sailed, as commissioners to the French court, and received from the government a small sum of money, which was expended in the purchase of arms and military stores. But Congress was perplexed by financial embarrassments. American bills of credit began to depreciate, and loans were not easily obtained. The attempts to sustain depreciated paper-money were abortive, and introduced confusion and calamity. Under all circumstances, a successful stand was made; but difficulties and embarrassments perplexed both Congress and the commander-in-chief, who had now earned the name of the American Fabius.

Commissioners sent to France.

Financial embarrassments.



Surrender of Burgoyne.

CHAPTER III.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1777, UNTIL THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE.

THE war into which the obstinacy and stupidity of the ministers had plunged the English nation was, nevertheless, popular, and whatever money and supplies were asked for were readily granted by Parliament. It was resolved to invade the provinces from Canada, and a large force was placed at General Burgoyne's disposal for that purpose. It was also resolved to prosecute the war with vigour in other sections. Few, in England, doubted that America would be reduced before another season should close.

March. Opening of the campaign.

The campaign opened early. In March, 1777, a detachment from New York, then occupied by the British, was sent up the Hudson to destroy the stores collected at Peekskill, the lowest point on this river held by the Americans. In consequence of this attack, which was successful, new efforts were made to strengthen the defences of the Highlands, and Putnam was sent to take the command. A month later, the town of Danbury, in Connecticut, was attacked by General Tyson, at the head of 2000 men, and the provisions there collected for the use of the American army were destroyed. Tyson then retreated, but was molested by two corps of militia, one under Wooster, and the other under Arnold; but he suc-

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ceeded in reaching head-quarters, with the loss of 170 men, killed and wounded. Wooster was unfortunately killed, and Arnold for his bravery was made a major-general.

Expedition to Sag Harbour.

The Americans retaliated by a similar marauding expedition under Colonel Meigs, sent against Sag Harbour, by which twelve English vessels were destroyed, a large quantity of provisions seized, and ninety men taken prisoners. Soon after, General Prescott, being quartered carelessly in the vicinity of Newport, was captured by a small party, as Lee had been the preceding year. He was afterwards exchanged for Lee.

May 24. Capture of Gen. Prescott.

Howe marches into N. Jersey.

But, early in June, military operations were conducted on a great scale. Howe, being reinforced, left New York, with 30,000 men, and advanced into New Jersey, with the view of penetrating to Philadelphia, or of bringing Washington out of his entrenchments, and forcing him to a general engagement. He had then removed to Middlebrook, with 8000 men.

June 30. His design on Philadelphia.

But the American Fabius was too wary to fight under such disadvantages; and Howe, disappointed, embarked 18,000 men at Staten Island, with the view of approaching Philadelphia by water, leaving the remainder of the army under General Clinton, to co-operate with General Burgoyne on the Hudson.

Washington meets Lafayette.

Washington, uncertain as to the destination of Howe, proceeded to Philadelphia, to confer with Congress; and, there, for the first time, he met the Marquis De la Fayette, who had just arrived, and who had offered himself as a volunteer in the American service. This generous nobleman, influenced by zeal for the cause of liberty, had purchased a ship at his own expense, and loaded it with military stores for the use of the Americans. Silas Deane, in Paris, had promised him the commission of

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major-general, and Congress, admiring his disinterestedness, readily gave it to him, without, however, any military command. Among other distinguished foreigners, who came with him, was the Baron De Kalb, a German veteran, who also was commissioned a major-general.

In the mean time, General Howe, learning that the Delaware was obstructed, entered the Chesapeake Bay, and landed at the head of Elk river, in Maryland, half-way between the Susquehanna and the Delaware, and sixty miles from Philadelphia. Washington concentrated his forces, which amounted to 15,000, at Wilmington, to await the British army, which was much superior. Soon after (September 11th), he retired behind the Brandywine, where he was attacked and defeated, and obliged to retreat, during the night, to Chester, and the next day to Philadelphia. Here he remained but a few days, then recrossed the Schuylkill, and proceeded to attack the British near Goshen, twenty miles from Philadelphia; but a violent rain compelled both armies to defer the engagement.

Aug. 27

Sept. 3.

Americans defeated, and retreat.

Howe occupies Philadelphia.

On the 22d, Howe crossed the Schuylkill, below the American army, and nothing but a battle could now save Philadelphia. Washington, with inferior forces, which were deficient in arms and ammunition, and wearied by recent marches, did not dare to risk a battle, and suffered the enemy to occupy the city. Its fall had been foreseen. Congress had adjourned to Lancaster, and the public stores and private property of value had been removed.

Oct. 4. Defeat of the Americans at Germantown.

While Howe occupied Philadelphia, his main army was encamped at Germantown, and Washington resolved to attack it. The attack was unsuccessful. What promised to be a victory proved a defeat, with the loss to the Americans of over 1000 men, who were, after this repulse, obliged to retire twenty miles further into the country.

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The next effort of the Americans, in this quarter, was to prevent the English fleet from ascending the Delaware to Philadelphia, and there forming a junction with the army. Accordingly, Forts Mifflin and Mercer, which commanded the Delaware, were strongly fortified. Both these defences were attacked by the enemy on the 22d of October, at first unsuccessfully; but, after a series of attacks, they were abandoned, and the navigation left open to the English.

Defences on the Delaware abandoned.

But, while the enemy triumphed in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, a series of brilliant and unexpected successes awaited the Americans in New York, and made the subjugation of the country next to impossible.

British plan of invasion.

It was the plan of the British to invade the country from Canada — capture Ticonderoga and Crown Point — take possession of the posts on the Hudson, and form a junction with the troops at New York; and thus entirely separate the Eastern from the Middle States. Accordingly, General Burgoyne, with a brilliant army of more than 8000 men, on the 16th of June, left St. Johns, established magazines at Crown Point, and proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. General St. Clair, who commanded the fortress, had only 3000 men — an inadequate force, — and hence abandoned the fort, which, of course, fell into the hands of the enemy. He had sent his baggage and stores to Skeensborough, but these were unfortunately overtaken by the enemy, and destroyed. Nor was this his only loss. The rear of his retreating army, amounting to 1200 men, against his orders, had stopped at Hubberton, six miles west of Castleton, and were attacked (July 7th) by General Frazer, and so completely were they destroyed or dispersed, that only ninety men, under Warner, joined his small army, two days after. He at first retired to Rutland; but, on the 13th of July

Retreat of St. Clair.

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he male a junction with the main army, under Schuyler, at Fort Edward, on the Hudson.

The loss of Ticonderoga and all its artillery, the disaster at Skeensborough, and the defeat at Hubberton, together with the dispersion of the American troops, almost overwhelmed Congress. The English seemed to be triumphant everywhere. New York was in possession of the enemy. Philadelphia had also fallen, and was garrisoned by Howe's army. There was great difficulty in raising men and money. Want of confidence in the American generals was whispered, and nothing seemed to prevent the full realization of all the British schemes. Burgoyne was so confident of success, that he issued a proclamation for the re-establishment of the royal authority. Through the unbroken wilderness between Lake George and the Hudson he made his way — all impediments were overcome, and at last, on the 29th of July, the banks of the Hudson were reached, and he had only to penetrate to Albany, and be safe and victorious.

Disasters of the Americans.

July 29. Arrival of Burgoyne on the Hudson.

But when he arrived at Fort Edward, which the Americans had abandoned to him, he found that he was deficient in provisions, nor could he advance advantageously until they were obtained. He therefore despatched a strong detachment, of 800 men, under Colonel Baum, to seize a quantity of stores which the Americans had collected at Bennington. It so happened that a party of New Hampshire militia, under the command of Colonel Stark, had lately arrived at Bennington. Informed of Baum's approach, Stark sent off expresses for the militia and the forces in the neighborhood. He was also joined by fugitives from Hubberton. Baum, not wishing to encounter these forces, entrenched himself, six miles from Bennington, and sent back to Burgoyne for reinforcements. But before these could arrive, Stark had attacked

Fort Edward abandoned.

Aug. 16. Stark's victory.

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him (August 16th). "There they are!" said the gallant colonel — "We beat to-day, or Sally Stark's a widow!" Scarcely were the entrenchments carried and the enemy dispersed, before the reinforcements arrived. The battle was renewed, and gained by the Americans, who lost only 14 killed and 42 wounded. Of the enemy 200 were killed, and 500 taken prisoners, together with 1000 stand of arms.

Success of the Americans.

This disaster was a severe check to Burgoyne, and was soon followed by the defeat of another expedition, which he had sent to reduce Fort Schuyler, near the head of the Mohawk. These successes operated like magic, in reviving the spirits of the Americans, and depressing those of their enemy. Volunteers, as well as regulars, daily arrived at the camp of Schuyler, amid the islands at the mouth of the Mohawk while the Indians and Canadians began to desert Burgoyne. Much, however, to the chagrin of Schuyler, he was superseded by Gates, just as affairs began to turn in his favour and as the way for victory was prepared.

Schuyler superseded by Gates.

Gates had now a large force of 6000 strong, besides militia, to resist the English general, who was delayed a month for lack of provisions. Having, however, collected enough to last for thirty days, Burgoyne, about the middle of September, crossed the Hudson to Saratoga, and slowly advanced on his march to Albany. Gates, meanwhile, had left his camp amid the islands of the Mohawk, and occupied Behmer's Heights, near Stillwater. On the 19th of September, Burgoyne having arrived within two miles of the American camp, he was attacked, but nothing decisive resulted. His advance, however, was impeded, and he was compelled to entrench himself, hoping for a relief from Clinton. But the expected aid not arriving, and suffering from want of provisions, it was

Advance of Burgoyne towards Albany.

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necessary for him to risk another battle or retreat. He preferred the former; and, on the 7th of October, another action occurred, in which prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. Burgoyne lost the day, and was forced to return to Saratoga. Here, however, his situation was not improved. He had only three days' provisions, and was surrounded by superior forces, flushed with recent success. He could neither stay where he was, nor retreat, nor advance. Under these circumstances, he was compelled to surrender. 5642 prisoners, with all their arms and military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans. Ticonderoga and all the forts on the northern frontier were abandoned when the news of this great misfortune reached the English. Clinton, who had advanced with 3000 men to relieve Burgoyne, retreated to New York.

Surrender of Burgoyne.

The surrender of Burgoyne indicated the fate of the war, since it showed that the Americans fought under greater advantages than their enemy, and that the country itself presented difficulties which were insurmountable to an invader. It mattered but little that cities were taken, when the great body of the people resided in the country, — were scattered over mountains, valleys, and forests — were willing to make sacrifices, and were commanded by generals whom no danger could appal, and no disasters could discourage. Washington, Gates, Greene, Putnam, Lee, and others, knew that the issue of the conflict was no longer doubtful. None were blind but the English ministry. They alone still dreamed of achieving an impossibility, — for it is impossible to subdue a great nation, determined to be free.

Prospects of the war.

Lord North, however, on hearing of the total surrender of the great Northern army, which was to complete the subjection of America, was forced to propose conciliatory

Propositions of conciliation.

measures. He sent commissioners to America, who offered all that the colonies had ever asked previous to the Declaration of Independence. But conciliation, without the recognition of entire independence, was now too late.

France joins in the war.

The surrender of Burgoyne had also a great effect on the French nation—ever dazzled by outward success, and easily led where glory opens the way. The government may not have sympathized with the American cause, but it hated England more than liberty, and accordingly acknowledged the independence of America, and prepared to aid it with its forces, which action of course involved the nation in a war with England. Lord North had now to contend with the most powerful nation on the continent of Europe, as well as rebellious colonies.

Condition of the American army.

Notwithstanding the probability of ultimate success, the Americans were greatly embarrassed for lack of money,—nor was the army well supplied with clothing and stores, to meet the approaching winter. Out of 11,000 men in Washington's camp at Valley Forge, near Philadelphia, nearly 3000 were barefooted, and suffering under severe privations. The officers were compelled to trench upon their private property, and made sad complaints to Congress. Moreover, a cabal was formed against Washington himself, whose late disasters contrasted unfavourably with Gates's brilliant successes. Many influential members of Congress doubted Washington's fitness for the supreme command; while a correspondence, extremely derogatory to his military character, was carried on between Gates, Mifflin, and Conway. Human nature showed its degeneracy even among patriots and heroes.

Cabal against Washington.

His vindication.

But Congress, the army, and his country in general, sustained the commander-in-chief, by whose wisdom and prudence the nation had been saved. Others, as brave as he, may have led triumphant battalions at Behmer's

Heights. But none combined those moral and intellectual qualities, which secured, to so eminent a degree, the affections and confidence of his countrymen. The perfection of character, so far as it was ever seen in revolutionary times, was exhibited by Washington alone.

Battle of Monmouth.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR, FROM THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE TO THE TREASON OF ARNOLD.

WASHINGTON remained during the winter of 1777–'8 encamped at Valley Forge, with 11,000 men, watching the movements of the British at Philadelphia, and reorganizing the army, in which he was greatly assisted by Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer, and an excellent disciplinarian. A. D. 1778.

Congress still continued to be greatly embarrassed by the depreciation of paper-money, and the inability to secure loans. It was obliged to issue new bills of credit, to a great amount, as the only way to pay the half-discontented troops. New issue of bills of credit.

In January, the treaties of friendship and alliance with France were signed, by which both parties agreed to continue the war until the independence of America was recognized by Great Britain. Treaties with France signed.

No military movements of importance occurred until the middle of May. In order to gain intelligence of the movements of the enemy, and also to restrict foraging parties from Philadelphia, Washington sent Lafayette, with a division, to occupy Barren Hill, ten miles in advance of the camp. Clinton, however, sent a force of 5000, under Grant, to cut him off; and the young general was forced to retreat, which retreat he effected in a masterly manner, and thereby gained great reputation. Retreat of Lafayette.

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As the Delaware was liable to be blockaded by a French fleet, Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, received orders from his government to evacuate Philadelphia, no longer to be held in safety. On the 18th of June, he sent his military stores and baggage to New York by water, and crossed the Delaware with his army, 12,000 strong, with a view of marching through New Jersey.

June 18. Philadelphia evacuated.

The British in New Jersey.

Washington immediately set out in pursuit, and soon came near the English forces, intending to bring on a general engagement. Lafayette was ordered, with 2000 men, to press upon Clinton's left wing, and draw him from the heights. As Lee claimed the leadership, on account of his superior rank, he was sent, with two additional brigades, to take command, and attack the enemy, then encamped at Monmouth; Washington, meanwhile, having promised to support him with the main army.

Retreat of Lee.

As Washington advanced on the morning of the 28th of June, he met Lee retreating, and only an indecisive action followed. Washington, greatly irritated, gave Lee a severe reproof, who, instead of bearing it quietly, wrote two disrespectful letters to his superior, which resulted in his arrest, trial, and suspension for twelve months. On the expiration of his sentence, he addressed an insolent letter to Congress, and was dismissed wholly from the service.

His dismissal from the service.

Thus ended his military career, without having realized the great expectations formed of him at the commencement of the war. He died in retirement, in 1782.

After the battle of Monmouth, the British proceeded, without further molestation, to Sandy Hook, whence they were transported to New York. Scarcely had they sailed,

Arrival of a French fleet.

when the Count D'Estaing appeared, with a French fleet of twelve ships of the line and two frigates, with 4000 French troops. A joint attack on New York was contemplated, and Washington crossed the Hudson, and took up his quarters at White Plains; but, as the pilots declined to take the heavier ships over the bar, the attack was relinquished.

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It was then contemplated to reduce Newport, which, for eighteen months, had been held by the British. Accordingly, upon a call from Sullivan, who commanded in that quarter, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, furnished 5000 additional troops, to co-operate with the French, who had already entered the harbour of Newport, and had caused the British to destroy six of their frigates. Soon after, the American army, 10,000 strong, landed on the island, expecting to be joined by the 4000 French troops. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Everything promised success.

Reduction of Newport.

But the French really cared more to gain glory by defeating the English in a naval battle than to assist the Americans, in spite of their great professions and apparent co-operation. So soon as the fleet of Lord Howe appeared off the harbour of Newport, D'Estaing left his allies, to give battle to the English, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Washington and Lafayette, and without so much as disembarking his troops. This was both provoking and unfortunate. Before the naval action could commence, a storm arose and damaged both fleets, and compelled them to retire, the one to New York and the other to Boston. The English fleet, however, suffered less, and soon reappeared at Newport, for the defence of the town, which was soon after reinforced by 4000 troops from New York, under Clinton himself. Sullivan was placed in a critical situation, and had just time to retire. Thus ended all the hopes which had been formed of the reduction of Rhode Island. Sullivan could not control his feelings of disappointment, and uttered loud complaints,

Disaster to the French and English fleets.

Sullivan obliged to retire.

Bk. V. Ch. 4. A. D. 1778.

which were re-echoed throughout New England. It required all the policy of Washington to soothe the mortified D'Estaing; and Congress, to heal the growing breach, passed resolutions approving his conduct, which was perhaps necessary.

Movements of the French and English.

D'Estaing was not refitted until November, and then sailed for the West Indies, now the principal seat of war between France and England. Thither were also sent 5000 British troops from New York; and, three weeks later, 3500 men to attack Georgia. Enough, however, remained in New York to defend it from an attack by the Americans.

Frontier molestations.

While the American forces were concentrated on the coast, the western frontiers were molested by the Indians. Among the settlements most exposed to attack was Wyoming, on the Susquehanna, in the neighborhood of which were unfortunately many hostile to the American cause, and who were then called Tories. These Tories, uniting with the Indians, surprised the garrison, and massacred many of the inhabitants of the town, and laid waste the surrounding country. The savage invaders then retired, hearing of the approach of continental troops. The western sections of Virginia would equally have suffered, had it not been for the vigilance, activity, and bravery of Colonel George Roger Clarke and a body of militia under his command.

Summary of the campaign.

Nothing more of importance marked the campaign, which gave satisfaction to neither of the contending parties. The English were the more successful in the few actions which occurred. The Americans had recovered Philadelphia, and came near expelling the English from Rhode Island. But these advantages were again counterbalanced by the successes of the enemy in Georgia.

Nor was the campaign of 1779 more encouraging or

decisive. Congress was crippled for want of money, which was, with extreme difficulty, obtained, and then only to a limited extent. In consequence of the rapidly increasing depreciation of paper-money, and the impossibility of securing loans, no offensive measures, on a large scale, could be adopted. The only resource which Congress had was to issue new bills of credit, which immediately depreciated to such a degree that twenty dollars were worth only one in specie. The whole American force consisted, in the spring of 1779, of but 17,000 men; 3000 of whom, under Gates, were posted in New England; 7000 at Middlebrook, the head-quarters of Washington during the winter; and 6000 amid the Highlands and on the east of the Hudson, under Putnam and M'Dougall.

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American forces.

General Robert Howe commanded, with 600 regulars and as many more militia, near Savannah, an inadequate force to resist the 3500 men sent from New York to operate against Georgia. He entrenched himself as well as he could, two miles from Savannah, but was there attacked by Campbell, with great loss; and Savannah and all Georgia fell into the possession of the British.

Georgia in possession of the British.

Military operations were now chiefly confined to the South. General Provost, who commanded in Florida, was ordered to unite his forces with those of Campbell, and assume the command. He was also joined by a considerable number of Tories, and was thus prepared to undertake a devastating war, especially as his forces were greatly superior to any sent out against him.

Provost in the South.

At the request of the southern members of Congress, General Lincoln was sent to supersede Howe, and take the chief command of the Southern army, which chiefly consisted of militia. These were no match for the British regulars, and a succession of disasters was the result.

Howe superseded by Lincoln.

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No decisive battles were fought, but the country was ravaged with fire and sword. Property, to a considerable amount, was destroyed, and the inhabitants kept in perpetual fear.

Virginia overrun by the British

While Provost was plundering Georgia and South Carolina, having, however, failed in taking Charleston (May 11th), General Matthews was despatched from New York, with 2500 men, to overrun Virginia. Portsmouth and Norfolk fell into the hands of the enemy, who destroyed 130 merchant vessels and a considerable quantity of tobacco. This marauding expedition, intended not so much for conquest as for plunder, after destroying property to the amount of two millions, returned to New York.

Expedition into Connecticut.

Tyson, with 2500 men, soon after, was sent on a similar expedition into Connecticut, and succeeded in plundering New Haven, and burning Fairfield and Norwalk. He then prepared to attack New London, but was recalled in consequence of the surprise of Stony Point, on the Hudson, by General Wayne.

Defences on the Hudson.

At this place, and also at Verplanck Point, which commanded the great Eastern road to the Middle States, and where the Hudson was passed by a ferry, Washington was raising defences. These were abandoned on the approach of General Clinton, with 6000 men, who stationed in them a considerable garrison, much to the annoyance of the Americans, who were employed in fortifying the Highlands.

July 11. Wayne takes Stony Point.

This post, therefore, Washington was anxious to regain. Wayne was accordingly sent against it, and succeeded in surprising it on the 11th of July, and taking 450 prisoners, with the loss, however, of 100 men. Soon after this brilliant exploit, Major Lee surprised a British garrison at Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, killed 30 and took 150 prisoners. As Stony Point could not be defended without the risk of a general engagement, Washington again abandoned it to the enemy.

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These successes on the Hudson were followed by a considerable disaster in Maine. A British force of 1600 men from Nova Scotia had established themselves on the Penobscot The State of Massachusetts sent out an expedition of 1500 men, in nineteen armed vessels, to dislodge them. This force, commanded by General Lowell, was found unequal to the task, and before he could be reinforced, his ships were attacked by a superior force, under Sir George Collier, and mostly destroyed. The soldiers and seamen escaped to the shore, but endured great hardships before they succeeded in making their way back. This expedition was attended with great expense, as well as disappointment and mortification.

Lowell's expedition defeated.

Sullivan joined by Clinton.

The Indians, especially the Six Nations, continuing their depredations on the frontiers, General Sullivan was sent against them with a strong force. He proceeded up the Susquehanna, and was joined at Tioga Point by General James Clinton, with 1600 men, who, with his own, composed an army of 5000. At Elmira, he encountered the enemy, composed of Indians and Tories, under Brandt, the Butlers, and Johnson, strongly entrenched on a rising ground. Having routed this force, he explored the valley of the Genesee, ravaged the country, and compelled the Indians, for want of food, to emigrate.

Aug. 2. Rout of the Indians and Tories.

Attack on Niagara prevented.

It was the intention of Sullivan to attack Niagara, after dispersing the Indians. But want of provisions, and insufficiency of means, prevented this great object of the expedition. In disgust, he threw up his commission, and entered Congress as a delegate from New Hampshire.

While the Americans fought the Indians on the frontiers, the French and English fleets in the West Indies

Bk. V. Ch. 4. A. D. 1779.

encountered each other in some indecisive engagements. Returning from the West Indies, Count D'Estaing approached the coast of Georgia with twenty-two ships of the line. A frigate was despatched to Charleston with the news, and a plan concocted with Lincoln, who commanded the Southern army, for the recovery of Savannah.

Failure of the plan to recover Savannah.

D'Estaing would not wait for the effect of a regular siege, fearing injury, at that season of the year, to his fleet; so an assault was made, by the French and Americans, which failed, with a loss of 1000 men. On this disaster, the French troops re-embarked, and again sailed for the West Indies, while Lincoln returned to Charleston.

Oct. 9.

Movements of the British.

Clinton, meanwhile, fearing that New York might be attacked, withdrew his troops from Newport and the posts on the Hudson, and strengthened the fortifications of the city. Moreover, resolving to make the South the principal theatre of the war, he embarked for Savannah, with 7000 men, so soon as he heard of D'Estaing's departure for the West Indies.

Dec. 26.

Close of the campaign.

Thus closed the campaign of 1779, without either side obtaining any important advantages, or fighting any decisive battle. There were some brilliant exploits performed, on a small scale, not merely on the land, but on the water. Among these was a naval action, on the coast

Naval action of Jones.

of Scotland, between a flotilla of French and American vessels, commanded by Commodore Paul Jones, and a large British frigate and one smaller ship, convoying a fleet of merchantmen. Jones commanded the Bon Homme Richard, a French vessel of forty-two guns, and engaged

July 23.

the Serapis, of equal or superior force. When his ship was in a sinking state, the intrepid Jones (a Scotchman by birth) lashed her to the English frigate, and carried her by boarding, but not until 300 of his men, out of 375, were either killed or wounded.

Bk. V. Ch. 4. A. D. 1780.

The year 1780 opened with great embarrassments to the Americans. The final issue of the contest was not doubtful, but financial difficulties prevented vigorous measures. At no previous period did Congress find it so difficult to raise money. Their resources seemed now exhausted. No one could advance an adequate loan. The

Financial difficulties and distress of the Americans.

Continental bills had depreciated so much that one hundred dollars were worth only one in specie. The commissioners had neither money nor credit, and starvation stared the soldiers in the face. Washington — such was the distress — was obliged to levy contributions on the surrounding country, — the last stretch of absolute power — the last resource of a desperate army. The contest was apparently no nearer a termination than after the surrender of Burgoyne. The French alliance had held out great expectations, and produced nothing but disappointment. The expeditions against Newport and Savannah had both failed for want of proper co-operation. The

Superiority of the British.

British forces were still vastly superior in numbers, and were well provided with the necessary supplies. England seemed determined, this year, to make one more desperate attempt to coerce the colonies. Accordingly, Parliament granted ministers all they asked — 35,000 additional troops, and one hundred millions of dollars.

During this year (1780), military operations were nearly suspended at the North, but pushed with great vigour at the South, which was doomed to fearful sufferings.

Charleston invested.

The first enterprise of the British was to lay siege to Charleston. On the 14th of April, the city was completely invested. On the 6th of May, Fort Moultrie, which defended the approach by Ashley river, was taken. On the 12th, when all things were ready for an assault,

Surrender of the city.

which must have proved successful, the garrison surren-

Bk. V. Ch. 4. A. D. 1780.

dered, and General Lincoln and a large body of troops became prisoners of war. Thus seven general officers, ten regiments, three battalions, four hundred pieces of artillery, and four frigates, fell into the hands of the enemy, — the greatest disaster which the Americans had thus far met with, but for which no blame was attached to Lincoln, since he was deprived of the co-operation of the militia, which he had expected, and was opposed by a superior force. This misfortune proved how little reliance could be placed by southern cities on the aid of militia from the country in times of imminent danger.

Royal authority re-established.

Clinton, having re-established the royal authority in South Carolina, returned, in June, to New York, leaving Cornwallis, with 4000 men, to extend and complete his conquests. There now remained of the army of the South but a single continental regiment, and this was 400 miles from Charleston

Gates sent to the South.

In view of the distress of the Southern States, Gates was despatched, with a considerable force, for their relief. His army, joined by different bodies of Virginia and South Carolina militia, numbered 5000 men. Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to meet him; and, at Camden, formed a junction with Lord Rawdon, afterwards the celebrated Marquis of Hastings. The united British forces advanced to surprise Gates, while Gates had left Clermont for the purpose of surprising Cornwallis. The two armies met near Saunder's creek, a branch of the Wateree, about

Aug. 13. His defeat at Camden.

115 miles north-west of Charleston. A bloody battle was here fought, and gained by the British. The Americans, indeed, were completely routed, and lost over 1000 men, with all their baggage and artillery. General Gates retired to North Carolina, with a few of his scattered troops, leaving the South completely at the mercy of the British, who acted the part of conquerors, and inflicted

signal and useless cruelties on the people. They hanged many of the militia as traitors, and confiscated the property of those who were friendly to the cause of liberty.

Bk. V. Ch. 4. A. D. 1780.

Nor was the disaster, which sullied the laurels of the victor of Saratoga, the only misfortune of the Americans. The brave Colonel Sumter, who had headed an insurrection north of Camden, and had made successful attacks on some British posts, retreated when he heard of Gates's defeat, but was followed and overtaken by Colonel Tarlton, with a body of horse; his troops were attacked and dispersed, and he himself escaped with difficulty. He soon after collected a new force; but all that the Americans could now do, was to carry on a guerilla warfare. The South was at the mercy of the British. Gates lost all his fame, and was superseded by Greene.

Dispersal of the troops under Sumter.

Gates superseded.

Defeat of Ferguson.

The only success which balanced these evils at the South, was the defeat of Colonel Ferguson, whom Cornwallis had detached to the frontiers of North Carolina, for the purpose of encouraging the loyalists to take up arms. Exasperated by his excesses, a body of militia, chiefly riflemen, attacked his party, at King's Mountain, a post near the boundary between North and South Carolina. Ferguson fell, and 300 men were killed or wounded, while 800 were taken prisoners, together with 1500 stand of arms.

Results of the campaign.

The campaign of 1780 was the most calamitous and unsatisfactory during the whole war. The English were generally victorious, while the poverty of the Americans prevented the enlistment of troops. The three Southern States were incapable of helping themselves, and those at the North were penniless. To add to these calamities, General Arnold proved a traitor, and came near delivering West Point into the hands of the enemy. His extravagance had involved him in debt, and his insolence

Bk. V. Ch. 4. A. D. 1780.

and pride had created numerous enemies. Mortified because his claims against Congress were cut down, and complaining of ingratitude because he was not more amply rewarded for his services, he entered into treasonable correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, through Major André, adjutant-general of the British army. In order to facilitate his designs, he solicited and obtained command of the fortress of West Point — for who dreamed that the hero at Behmer's Heights and Quebec could be guilty of treason, and consign his name, glorious in spite of his faults, to an infamous immortality? His treason was detected, just as his schemes were matured; but the traitor had time to fly. Major André, who had communicated in person with Arnold, was seized on suspicion, as he was making his way alone back to New York, not being able to return the way he came, which was by water. In his stockings were found plans of the fortress and other treasonable papers, in Arnold's own handwriting. Colonel Jamieson, the commanding officer at the lines, to whom André was brought by the three men who had seized him, unsuspicious of Arnold's treachery, sent back to him the letter found on André. He received it while breakfasting with Washington's aids-de-camp, the chief himself being soon expected from Hartford. He immediately rose from the table, called his wife up-stairs, bade a hasty adieu, mounted a horse, rode to the river, embarked in his barge, and safely reached the Vulture, the ship which had transported André from New York. He was safe; but poor André was executed as a spy. Neither his family, nor rank, nor accomplishments, nor virtues, nor the intercession of the British commander-in-chief, could save him from the fate which the stern rules of war demanded. His execution was denounced in England as a murder,

Treason of Arnold.

Aug. 3.

Sept. 22. Capture of Major André.

Sept. 24.

Arnold escapes.

André executed as a spy.

Bk. V. Ch. 4. A. D. 1780.

and tended much to aggravate the feelings which were now generally embittered towards the Americans.

Arnold received for his treachery $50,000, and a commission as brigadier-general in the British army — a small recompense for the ignominy which settled over his name. Henceforth his fine military talents were employed against his countrymen. He was sent to the Chesapeake Bay, and, with 1600 men, commenced the devastation of Virginia.

Arnold's reward.

Signing of the Treaty with England.

CHAPTER V.

THE TWO LAST CAMPAIGNS OF THE WAR.

A. D. 1781.

State of affairs.

THE campaign of 1781 did not open with encouraging prospects to the Americans. Their means of resistance were becoming more feeble; their resources were nearly exhausted; their patience nearly wearied out. The Pennsylvania troops, amounting to 1300, abandoned the camp at Morristown. Both officers and men were getting wearied of a contest in which they were acquiring neither fortune nor fame. On all sides, the British were in the ascendant. They still occupied New York, and had reduced South Carolina to subjection. Their troops ravaged the South without resistance.

Taxation resorted to.

Morris's financial aid.

In this last crisis, Congress and the States made extraordinary exertions. Taxation was resorted to, and, in the exigency of affairs, was acquiesced in. But the most efficient aid was derived through Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, by whose financial genius the treasury was replenished, and the troops kept from disbanding.

Arnold ravages Virginia.

Jan. 4.

But the campaign of 1781 was, nevertheless, virtually the last. It was commenced by the ravages and depredations of Arnold in Virginia. Anxious to signalize himself by a brilliant exploit, he ascended James river, with 900 men, and entered the town of Richmond without resistance, burned many of the buildings, and seized valu-

Bk. V Ch. 5. A. D. 1781.

able stores — those which he could not carry away, he destroyed.

Design to capture Arnold.

Baron Steuben was in Virginia at the time, organizing recruits for Greene's army; with a few hundred of these and a body of militia, who rallied around him — assisted, also, by Nelson, who had collected another corps — he advanced to watch the traitor, hoping eventually to capture him. Washington, also, was very desirous to secure his person, and accordingly sent Lafayette, with 1200 men, to assist Steuben; and, a French fleet, at the same time, co-operating, the plan seemed not unfeasible.

March.

But the English general, apprized of this project, sent Admiral Arbuthnot to attack the French fleet; and Arnold, soon after, being joined by 2000 men, under Philips, who took the command of the united forces, the Americans were thwarted, and Arnold escaped; the British, meanwhile, contenting themselves by levying contributions on all places through which they passed, and, among others, on Mount Vernon, the seat of Washington.

His escape.

Contributions levied.

Hostilities further south.

In another section, further south, hostilities were carried on early in the season. Greene commanded the Americans, and Cornwallis the English. The former did not attempt to engage the latter in a pitched battle, being greatly inferior in strength; but resolved to harass the enemy he despaired to conquer. Accordingly, he sent Colonel Morgan to the western part of South Carolina, to check the devastations of the English and the loyalists. Cornwallis, then advancing against North Carolina, was unwilling to leave Morgan in his rear, and therefore despatched Colonel Tarlton, with a superior force, to drive him away. Morgan retreated before his enemy, until he had selected a strong position, at a place called Cowpens, near Broad river, where he entrenched himself, and prepared to face his pursuers. Tarlton came up to him on

Morgan sent to harass the enemy

Bk. V. Ch. 5. A. D. 1781.

the 17th of January, and, confident of victory, made an impetuous charge. But his men were weary from rapid pursuit, while the Americans were fresh. At the first assault, the Americans fell back, but suddenly facing round, charged, and broke the British line, which was followed by the complete defeat of Tarleton. Closely pursued, he lost 600 men, with all his baggage, while Morgan lost but 80. Tarleton then joined Cornwallis, who marched, the next day, in pursuit of Morgan, after destroying all superfluous stores. But Morgan escaped, and joined Greene (January 31st). Greene, however, was still inferior to the enemy advancing to attack him, and hence he continued to retreat. On the 14th of February, he crossed the Roanoke, and entered Virginia. Soon after, he recrossed into North Carolina, and surprised a body of Tories, who were on the march to join the enemy. These he cut to pieces, as a warning to others, and then took a new position. Still unable to contend with Cornwallis in a pitched battle, and unwilling to risk an attack, he changed his encampment every day, acting as his own quarter-master, and never telling any one what position he should occupy next. Like Cornwallis, he was obliged to live at free quarters.

Defeat of Tarleton.

Greene retreats.

Surprise of a body of tories.

Nothing could be more destructive and harassing than this warfare in the Southern States. One army was in constant pursuit of the other, and both armies could subsist only by levying contributions, as injurious to friends as to enemies. Both armies had to be perpetually on guard against surprises. Advantages were nearly equally balanced.

Character of the warfare.

At last, by the middle of March, Greene's army was so far reinforced, that he, in his turn, assumed the offensive; and Cornwallis, as his troops were better disciplined, did not decline an engagement. Accordingly, an action

Greene assumes the offensive.

Bk. V. Ch. 5. A. D. 1781.

took place near Guilford Court-house (March 15th), and Greene was compelled to retreat. He was not pursued, on account of the severe loss the enemy had sustained, and his want of tents to receive the wounded, and provisions to refresh the soldiers. About 500 men were lost on each side. Though the victory nominally belonged to Cornwallis, his army was so much weakened that he was compelled to fall back to Fayetteville (then Cross creek), and, being disappointed in not finding provisions there, still further towards Wilmington.

Battle at Guilford.

Greene then marched into South Carolina, with a view of driving away Lord Rawdon, who, with 900 men, was posted at Camden; and Cornwallis, finding it impossible to send succour in season, proceeded to Virginia, to join the British forces under Arnold and Philips.

Movements of the armies.

Greene was sufficiently fortunate to take a few of the forts which the British had established, from the sea-coast to the western frontier; but he was defeated (25th of April) in an attack on Rawdon, although the loss on both sides (250 men) was nearly equal. Greene then occupied a strong position, twelve miles distant, and Rawdon, reinforced, sought to engage him in another battle, which Greene declined. On the 10th of May, Rawdon, finding that some forts in his rear were attacked by Lee and Marion, abandoned Camden, and retreated to Monk's Corner. Then, reinforced, he again assumed the offensive; and Greene, in his turn, withdrew (June 18th).

Forts taken by Greene.

Defeat of his attack on Rawdon.

Though defeated twice, the Americans, in this active campaign of seven months, had reaped the fruits of victory. A part of South Carolina was recovered, and the English were confined to a narrow district, between the Santee and the Lower Savannah. Both parties carried on the war with great cruelty — shooting, as deserters, those who had ever acknowledged the protection of the triumphant

Results of the campaign.

Cruelty of the war.

army — stealing each other's slaves — burning houses, and plundering private property. It was a predatory war, calculated to harass and irritate, rather than to conquer. But mutual exhaustion and mutual barbarities led necessarily to this savage mode, which, though not creditable to the commanders, was perhaps scarcely controllable by them. It was not by such a course that America could be subdued, or the English driven away.

Bk. V. Ch. 5. A. D. 1781.

While these events occurred in North and South Carolina, Cornwallis overran Virginia, the defence of which was entrusted to Lafayette. But, with his small force of 3000 men, principally militia, he could do little more than watch the enemy. Unable to force Lafayette to a battle, Cornwallis employed himself in destroying property. Petersburg and Richmond fell into his hands, and were plundered; while Tarleton penetrated to Charlottesville, and seized several members of the House of Delegates.

Cornwallis overruns Virginia.

June 4.

Soon after, Cornwallis received orders to send part of his troops to New York, Clinton having feared an attack from Washington. On the 5th of July, he crossed James river, and was then attacked by Lafayette; but no decisive results followed. At Portsmouth, whither he had retired, the British general recalled the troops who had just embarked for the aid of Clinton, and proceeded to occupy Yorktown and Gloucester — two peninsulas, projecting into York river. Thither he removed with his whole army, amounting to 8000 men, attended by several large ships of war. This post was deemed desirable, being very easily defended, very central, and favourable for ulterior operations. From this place he sent out detachments which committed great depredations. During his invasion to the occupancy of Yorktown, he had destroyed property to the amount of ten millions of dollars.

Lafayette attacks him.

Aug. 1. He occupies Yorktown.

His destruction of property.

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Soon after the arrival of Cornwallis in Virginia, Washington received intelligence that the Count de Grasse, the new French admiral in the West Indies, would soon arrive in Chesapeake Bay. At first, he contemplated an attack on New York, but Rochambeau, the commander of the French forces stationed at New York, was opposed to it, as too great an undertaking for their united forces. The commander-in-chief then resolved to take advantage of the promised aid of De Grasse in Virginia, and strike a blow at Cornwallis. Accordingly, advices were sent to the French at Newport, where they had remained idle for eleven months, to join Washington in the Highlands, — also, to Lafayette, to take up a strong position in Virginia, so as to cut off the retreat of Cornwallis to North Carolina. Every effort, of course, was made to conceal from Clinton the intended measures, and keep up the idea that the attack on New York was still contemplated.

Arrival of the French admiral.

Washington contemplates an attack on Cornwallis.

As the American troops passed through Philadelphia in the middle of August, uncertain as to their destination, they evinced considerable dissatisfaction. But Washington was enabled to pacify them by a partial discharge of their arrears, in consequence of the timely arrival of Laurens from France, with half a million of dollars, besides arms and ammunition. Rochambeau had also advanced $20,000 from the French military chest. Had it not been for this supply, the expedition might have failed; for American credit was then at the lowest point of depression, and the old continental bills were worth next to nothing. One dollar in specie would purchase $1000 in bills — so extreme was the depreciation — so low the credit of the nation.

Discontent of the American troops.

Arrival of money, &c. from France.

As Washington, now furnished with the means of operating with energy, advanced towards Virginia, leaving fourteen regiments, under Heath, to defend the Highlands, Greene, with the Southern forces, kept the British in check in South Carolina. A battle was fought, on the 8th of September, at Eutaw Springs, fifty miles from Charleston, on the Santee, and the victory was claimed by both parties. The Americans, however, were the chief gainers, since the English were now obliged to return to Charleston and the neighbouring islands. The forces of Greene, however, were too much exhausted to continue active operations, and therefore he retired to the hills of the Santee.

Advance of Washington.

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Battle of Eutaw Springs.

Meanwhile, the French fleet made its promised appearance on the American coast, and was joined by the French ships from Newport; so that the combined fleets numbered twenty-four ships of the line — a considerable force in those times. The French and American army, also, effected a junction, at Williamsburg, with Lafayette, and immediately advanced to invest Cornwallis. The investing army amounted to 16,000 men, 7000 of whom were French. The British force, chiefly posted at Yorktown, numbered 8000. Cornwallis was hemmed in on all sides by superior forces. York and James rivers were blockaded by French ships, which De Grasse had despatched from Chesapeake Bay; so that the British could not escape by sea.

The French fleet.

Cornwallis invested.

An attack on the camp of Cornwallis, which was strongly defended, was made on the 18th of October — his redoubts were taken, his guns dismounted, and his ramparts rapidly crumbled down before the fire of the besiegers, who were posted so as to prevent his retreat to North Carolina. A sally was attempted, and failed. Nothing then remained but to cross the river to Gloucester Point, and force a passage through the troops there stationed, and push on to New York, pursued by a victorious and overwhelming enemy, and through a hos-

Attack on his camp.

His position.

tile country. But that desperate scheme was abandoned, in consequence of a storm, which drove the boats down the river.

A. D. 1781. Under these circumstances, Cornwallis was obliged to surrender, and 7000 British troops were made prisoners of war (October 17th). The shipping was allotted to the French. Lincoln, who had given up his sword, eighteen months before, to Cornwallis at Charleston, was appointed to receive the surrender of the British army.

Surrender of Cornwallis.

Its effects.

This great disaster to the British not only settled the issue in the Southern States, but virtually closed the war. It diffused, of course, universal joy throughout the States, and produced a corresponding depression among the English people. So soon as the news arrived, Clinton was superseded by Carleton.

Disposition of the American forces.

After the fall of Cornwallis, Wayne, with 2000 men, was sent to South Carolina, for the assistance of Greene. The French army, under Rochambeau, encamped, for the winter, at Williamsburg. The main body of the continental army returned to their old position near the Highlands. Washington spent much time in Philadelphia, urging speedy preparations tor the next campaign. Lafayette returned to France. Wilmington was evacuated, and North Carolina regained. Charleston alone, in South Carolina, remained in the hands of the British. The war languished—for all could now see that peace would soon return.

1782. Military operations during the campaign of 1782 did not exhibit any brilliant action, although the forces of both parties still kept the field. The year was most marked by negotiations for peace, and the strategy of diplomatists. The war was chiefly confined to the Southern States, and but to small sections of these. The British were chiefly confined to New York, Charleston, and

Savannah, which posts they held, and from which they occasionally issued on marauding expeditions, without the least expectation of conquering the country.

A. D. 1782

Lord North still manifested a disposition to prolong the contest, with the hope of embarrassing the Americans, rather than of finally subduing them; and it was too humiliating for George the Third to acknowledge the great errors he had committed. But an indignant nation, groaning under the weight of taxes, and still more, deprived of a market for their goods, expressed at length the desire for peace in a way not to be misunderstood. The minister, rebuked by the vote of the Commons on the 4th of March, by which it was declared that whoever should advise his majesty to any further prosecution of offensive war against America should be considered a public enemy, soon after resigned. Lord Rockingham, inclined for peace, succeeded him, but shortly after died, and Lord Shelburne became premier.

Public feeling in England.

Negotiations for peace were then opened in earnest. Richard Oswald, a British merchant, who had been sent to Paris to confer with Franklin, returned to London, with the information that nothing less than the acknowledgment of independence, a satisfactory boundary, and a participation in the fisheries, would suit the Americans. These terms, however unpalatable, were accepted as the basis of a treaty. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, were appointed commissioners on the part of the United States; and Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, on the part of Great Britain. They met in Paris, and fought the battle of diplomacy; the result of which was the signing, on the 30th of November, of preliminary articles of peace.

Earnest negotiations for peace.

Articles signed.

By this great treaty American independence was unreservedly acknowledged, together with the right of the

Terms of the treaty.

Americans to fish, to an unlimited extent, on the banks of Newfoundland. Great difficulty was experienced respecting boundaries, which were finally fixed nearly as they have since remained. No restitution was made, as was strongly urged, to the American loyalists whose property had been confiscated.

Cessation of hostilities.

Soon after this treaty was signed, and before the news of it had reached America, Charleston was evacuated (December 14th). On the 19th of April, the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed from the camp at Newburg, the head-quarters of the American army, just eight years after the battle of Lexington. On the 25th of November, the British departed from New York, which they had held so long; and a few days after, Long Island and Staten Island were given up, and the Americans took full possession. On the 4th of December, Washington made his farewell address to his brother-officers, and then, after taking them all affectionately by the hand, departed to Annapolis, to resign his commission into the hands of Congress. On the 23d of December, in presence of a numerous company of spectators, he, with mingled dignity and simplicity, expressed his congratulations on the successful termination of the war, and thus concluded his remarks to Congress: "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer up my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

Washington resigns his commission.

His character.

Thus spake the modern Cincinnatus, the most justly venerated personage connected with American history, or the history of latter times — venerated, not merely because he was great, but because he was good — a man who had the rare magnanimity of resigning, with cheerfulness, great power, at the summit of his fame, and whose character shines brighter and more glorious with the progress of ages, defying the most searching criticism to reveal any defects which can tarnish the uniform beauty of his public and private life. He was equally great, in victory or defeat; ever mild, conciliatory, generous, prudent, wise, dignified, not unmindful of his high station, and acting, at all times, in accordance with his high sense of the responsibilities which that station imposed.

Dissatisfaction of the army.

But, before the retirement of Washington to the tranquil pursuits of a Virginia planter, great embarrassments had occurred as to finances, and the officers as well as the privates of the army were with difficulty appeased. The commander-in-chief, happily, was exposed to no temptation of a pecuniary kind, since he was one of the richest citizens in Virginia or the Union. But the officers expected, as they had been promised, half-pay for life, as well as a compensation for the depreciation of what they had already received. The magnanimity of Washington was rarely copied by his brother-officers, and still less by private soldiers, who manifested the usual infirmity of human nature. Still, it was but natural, that men who made such sacrifices to defend their country should wish those sacrifices to be appreciated, as, on the whole, they doubtless were. In the main, the conduct of the army was worthy of all praise, both for bravery and for endurance — the heroism of action and the heroism of suffering; and we should render injustice to those who bled or died for the future greatness of America, if we do not honour their memory, and perpetuate their fame. Of all the contests of modern times, the American revolution was the most glorious in its principles, its actions, and its results. No great and brilliant victories, indeed,

Character of the army and the war.

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crowned the arms of our countrymen, when they fought in pitched battles, like those of Napoleon and Wellington; for they had not the discipline of European veterans, nor were their commanders extraordinary for military genius. But, when all their circumstances are duly considered, — their inexperience, their poverty, and the difficulties they had to surmount, — their success was wonderful, and has been universally acknowledged and honoured, even by their enemies, and to such a degree, that we are compelled to feel that they were specially aided by a superintending arm. He who cannot see a Providence in that contest, surely, will acknowledge no connection between the destinies of nations and the will of the Sovereign of the universe.

Cost of the war.

But, while we acknowledge the aid of Providence, let it also be remembered that the cause of liberty was achieved only by desperate struggles, and by the complete exhaustion of the country. Considering its resources at the time, and still more the fact that men and money were not extorted by the unrelenting arm of despotism, but were voluntarily granted as a free-will offering, we are astonished at the magnitude of the sacrifices, — that so many were willing to enlist with such inadequate pay, and that they persevered in warfare when its ultimate result was no longer doubtful. No less than 231,791 soldiers were furnished to the continental ranks during the war, of whom more than 57,000 were supplied by Massachusetts. To say nothing of the various calamities of war, not ordinarily mentioned by historians — such as, the suspension of commerce and manufactures, the destruction of private property, and the sufferings of the camp and the hospital — a large national debt was created, since, indeed, easily paid off, but seemingly enormous at the time. Besides this federal debt, each individual

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State had a debt of its own, and all the debts together amounted to seventy millions of dollars.

Moral results.

It is difficult to tell how much Great Britain expended and lost by the war. Nor does an estimate of the sums expended, or the debts incurred, give us an adequate idea of the results of the contest, among either of the belligerent parties. The moral results are ever greater than the physical, great as these may be. Whatever loss was suffered, either in money, men, or fame, Great Britain was the heavier loser. She lost the possession of a continent and of a nation of freemen. She had the mortification of losing the American colonies by negligence, extortion, and pride, which undermined affection, and cut the cords of mutual interest. Nor could she regain them by the exercise of any skill, courage, or strength. It must be allowed that the British fought bravely, and persevered so long as a shadow of hope remained. They were conquered, not by superior strength or skill, but by the impediments which nature presented — by mistakes of their own which no sagacity could have prevented, and by the invincible will of a nation determined to be free, and persuaded that no expenditure of treasure and blood was too great for the attainment of such an invaluable blessing as national independence.

BOOK VI.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, AND THE EARLY PRESIDENTS.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION AND HISTORY OF THE STATES UNTIL THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

Unsettled state of the country.

THE Revolutionary war, glorious as it was in its principles, and grand in its results, still left the finances of the United States embarrassed, and the government unsettled. There were also other evils. The foreign relations were not established upon a satisfactory basis. There were difficulties with the various Indian tribes, many of whom were hostile, and more were discontented. The western territories gave rise to perplexing claims. The great slavery question was undecided. There was no provision for a regular revenue — no mint, no uniform customs. There were troubles rising with various European states about navigation and boundaries. Commerce was disordered. The imports far exceeded the exports in value. Great and unequal fortunes had been made by speculators. A spirit of luxury had been introduced into

maritime towns, unknown to former generations. The fisheries were broken up. The country was drained of specie. Measures were taken in various sections to organize new and independent States. Riots were not uncommon, and rebellion disgraced the most respectable communities. The disbanded troops of the Continental army, scattered through the country, and disinclined for regular pursuits, fomented discontent.

Convention to reorganize the government

This unsettled state of the country led to the necessity of a new organization. Accordingly, delegates from the several States met in the city of Philadelphia, toward the end of May, 1787, to revise the Articles of Confederation. As in the Continental Congress, it was agreed that each State should have one vote, irrespective of the number of delegates it should send, and that seven States should constitute a quorum. The deliberations were held with closed doors and injunctions of secresy.

Of whom composed.

The Convention was composed of the most illustrious citizens of whom the States could boast — men eminent for talents, experience, character, and public services. Among these was Franklin, who, thirty-three years before, had sat in the Albany Convention, when the first attempt had been made at Colonial union. Next in age and experience were Dickinson, of Delaware, Johnson and Sherman, of Connecticut, Rutledge, of South Carolina, Livingston, of New Jersey, Morris, of Pennsylvania, Wythe, of Virginia, and Gerry, of Massachusetts. Added to these were men who had lately arisen, and who were destined to equal fame — Hamilton, Madison, Randolph, Ellsworth, King, Pickering. Over all was Washington, nominated president of the Convention by Morris, of Pennsylvania.

Resolutions offered.

The business of the assembly was opened by Governor Randolph, of Virginia, who offered fifteen resolutions as amendments to the existing federal system,

and which served as an outline for the subsequent constitution. The first difficulty which arose, and this furnished subject of most earnest debate, was in reference to the powers of the central government in connection with the sovereignty of the individual States. The delegates from the large States naturally desired a representation in the future Congress proportioned to their population and strength. Those from the smaller States feared that such a preponderating influence would be fatal to their independence. The election of members of Congress by the people was opposed by some as too democratic. Sherman and Gerry, especially, thought that the less the people had to do directly with government the better. The delegates also differed as to the time which the members of the different branches of Congress should serve, and still more as to the ratio of representation — some maintaining that the property, others that the number of citizens, should be the basis. Here the free States were at issue with those in which slavery existed. Debates were also held respecting the manner in which the executive should be chosen — whether by the people directly, by the several state legislatures, or by the governors of the States; also, as to the powers he should exercise, the duration of his office, and the salary he should be allowed. The judiciary department called forth considerable discussion, as well as the legislative and executive, as to the mode of appointment, powers, emoluments, &c.

Subjects of debate.

Principal topics.

It took considerable time to discuss these questions, besides many others of minor importance; but the great debates were in reference to the ratio of representation, the regulation of commerce, of revenue, and of slavery. Those which most excited the passions of the members related to the subject of slavery, a topic appealing to the interests of the North and South respectively

Long and earnest were the discussions on all these points, and had not the delegates felt their great responsibilities, and the necessity of compromise and conciliation to harmonize jarring interests and prejudices, the constitution would never have been formed or adopted. It was impossible that men from different sections of the country should see in the same light any question which was proposed for discussion, still less such questions as directly affected their peculiar interests and institutions, or were likely to touch the balance of power between the North and South. The great principles of conciliation, which were finally adopted, were, that Congress should have unrestricted power to enact navigation laws — that the smaller States should have an equal representation with the larger in the Senate, and that five slaves should be deemed equal to three freemen in the representation of the country. The first was a concession to the delegates of the commercial and Northern States; the second, to those of the smaller States; the third, to those who represented the slaveholding and Southern portions of the country.

Compromises on the leading subjects.

After a four months' session, when all the provisions of the Constitution had been earnestly discussed, it was finally signed by a large majority of the members. Of all these members, there was probably not one to whom all its articles were satisfactory, and it was finally accepted, not as a perfect one, but as the best of which circumstances would admit. It was clearly and generally seen that discord and anarchy would be the result, if some improvement on the old Confederation were not adopted; and it was deemed better to have an imperfect constitution than none at all — some sort of a central and efficient government, rather than a number of weak ones perpetually in conflict, and ending, finally, in the ascendency of the more powerful, to the prostration of general interests

Adoption of the constitution.

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and the rights of those who were weak and defenceless. There is nothing in the whole history of the country which is more worthy of praise than the conduct of the delegates to this great national convention. There surely never was any assembly collected together who settled, in so short a time, such great and conflicting interests.

Provision for amendments.

Before separating, the delegates made provision for any future amendment of the Constitution, on the proposition of two-thirds of both houses of Congress and with the consent of three-fourths of the States. The new system was to go into operation whenever nine States should confederate together. Happily, all the States which were represented in the Convention agreed to the Constitution (September 17th, 1787), which was then laid before Congress, and by Congress transmitted to the state legislatures.

The following are the articles of that famous document, which it is deemed expedient to print in the body of the history, rather than in an appendix, on account of its great importance: —

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

PREAMBLE.

Objects.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

Legislative powers.

1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SECTION II.

House of Rep.

1. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and

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the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

Qualifications of Rep.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Apportionment of Rep.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three; *Massachusetts* eight; *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations* one; *Connecticut* five; *New York* six; *New Jersey* four; *Pennsylvania* eight; *Delaware* one; *Maryland* six; *Virginia* ten; *North Carolina* five; *South Carolina* five; and *Georgia* three.

Vacancies, how filled.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill up such vacancies.

Speaker, how appointed.

5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

No. of Senators for each state.

1. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Classification of Senators.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Qualifi-cation

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the

age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

Presiding officer of Senate.

4. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

Senate a court for the trial of impeachments.

6. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in case of conviction.

7. Judgment in case of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

Elections of Sen. and Rep.

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

Meeting of congress.

2. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

Organization of congress.

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Rules of proceeding.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Journal of congress.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment.

4. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

Compensation and privileges of members.

1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Plurality of offices prohibited.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

Bills, how originated.

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

How bills become laws.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objection at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Orders, &c. to be acted on as bills.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by

two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

Powers vested in congress.

The congress shall have power —

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excise, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court: To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

10. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

11. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

12. To provide and maintain a navy:

13. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

14. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

15. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress:

16. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over

all places purchased, by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings: — and,

17. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

Provisions in respect to emigration.

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importations, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Habeas corpus.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion and invasion, the public safety may require it.

Attainder.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

Capitation tax.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

Regulations regarding duties.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Moneys, how drawn.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

Titles of nobility prohibited.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.

Powers of states restricted.

1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

Further restrictions.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be abso-

lutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the neat produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

Executive power vested in a president.

1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

How elected.

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator, or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of electors and of House of Rep.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said house shall, in like manner, choose the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the

the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the vice-president.

Time of choosing electors.

4. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Qualifications of the president.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president: neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

Resort in case of his removal, &c.

6. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

His salary.

7. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath required.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

9. "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.

Powers of the president.

1. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur: and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice

and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they may think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

Powers of the president.

3. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

1. He shall, from time to time, give to the congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them; and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

He may convene congress.

SECTION IV.

1. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

How officers may be removed

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Judicial power, how vested.

SECTION II.

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states; and

To what cases it extends.

between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the congress shall make.

Jurisdiction of the supreme court.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

Rules respecting trials.

SECTION III.

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Treason defined.

2. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

How punished.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Validity of public acts, &c. of states.

SECTION II.

1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

Privileges of citizens.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

Delivery of fugitives from justice.

3. No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Rendition of persons escaped from service.

SECTION III.

New states.

1. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the congress.

Public domain.

2. The congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION IV.

Republican government guaranteed.

1. The United States shall guaranty to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

Amendments to the constitution.

1. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article: and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

Validity of prior debts.

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation.

Supremacy of the federal laws.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

Oaths of office.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and

judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution: but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

Ratification.

1. The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President, and Deputy from Virginia.*

New Hampshire.	Thomas Mifflin	*Virginia.*
John Langdon	Robert Morris	John Blair
Nicholas Gilman	George Clymer	James Madison, Jr.
Massachusetts.	Jared Ingersoll	*North Carolina.*
Nathaniel Gorman	James Wilson	William Blount
Rufus King	Governeur Morris	Richard D. Spaight
Connecticut.	*Delaware.*	Hugh Williamson
Wm. Samuel Johnson	George Read	*South Carolina.*
Roger Sherman	Gunning Bedford, Jr.	John Rutledge
New York.	John Dickinson	Charles Cotesworth
Alex. Hamilton	Richard Bassett	Pinckney
New Jersey.	Jacob Broom	Charles Pinckney
William Livingston	*Maryland.*	Pierce Butler
David Bearley	James M'Henry	*Georgia.*
William Paterson	Daniel of St. Thomas	William Few
Jonathan Dayton	Jenifer	Abraham Baldwin
Pennsylvania.	Daniel Carroll	
Benjamin Franklin		

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

[These amendments, proposed by the first Congress, and subsequently adopted by the States, are necessarily inserted here in order that the whole of this important instrument as it now exists may be readily referred to.]

Civil and religious liberty.

Art. 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peace-

ably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Right to bear arms.

Art 2. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Quartering of soldiers.

Art. 3. No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Search warrant.

Art. 4. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

Provisions for the protection of person and property.

Art. 5. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Trial by jury and rights of the accused.

Art. 6. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of council for his defence.

Suits at common law.

Art. 7. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Bail, &c.

Art. 8. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Rights retained

Art. 9. The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Powers reserved

Art. 10. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

Art. 11. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Amendment to art. II. sect. 4, respecting the election of president and vice-president.

Art. 12. § 1. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president; and they shall make distinct lists af all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for president shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

Bk. VI. Ch. 1. A. D. 1788.

Such is the Constitution, which was framed by the wisest and most patriotic legislators that ever guided the destiny of our country. It still remained doubtful how it would be received by the state legislatures and the people of the United States generally. There existed among the people jealousies to which the enlightened members of the convention were personally strangers. A spirit, hostile to taxation and to the bearing of those burdens which are incident to all governments, unhappily prevailed. Some feared that the interests of the poor would be sacrificed to those of the rich, and that there were not sufficient guarantees to ensure personal liberty. There was everywhere, as was to be expected, great opposition to many of the articles, especially to those which relate to slavery, state rights, and the regulation of commerce.

Opposition to the constitution.

Rise of political parties.

In view of these things, the framers of the Constitution, and Congress, and the more enlightened of the community, felt intense solicitude. In that critical period, Alexander Hamilton, assisted by Jay and Madison, put forth those famous papers which are known by the name of "The Federalist," and which are the most luminous expositions of the great principles of the Constitution which have ever appeared. Those who adopted the views of the writers of these papers were called Federalists, and they embraced at that time the most intelligent and influential classes in the nation. Those who opposed them were called Republicans, Democrats, and other names; and from that moment arose those two great rival political parties which divided the nation until these later times.

Constitution adopted by the states.

Delaware was the first State to adopt the Constitution (December 7th), and was followed (December 12th) by Pennsylvania. New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut, speedily followed the example. The Massachusetts convention, by a small majority, ratified the vote of the delegates (February 7th), proposing at the same time several amendments. The conventions of Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York, successively ratified the Constitution; not, however, without opposition, and without proposing several amendments. North Carolina and Rhode Island did not join the confederacy. Eleven states having adopted the constitution preparations were made for the organization of the new federal government. The old continental Congress settled up its accounts, and, after a continuance of thirteen years, quietly and without note ceased to be a public body (March 3d, 1789). It was, in the first instance, a "mere collection of consulting delegates;" but, as public danger threatened, "it boldly seized the reins of power, issued bills of credit, raised armies, declared independence, negotiated foreign treaties, carried the nation through an eight years' war, and finally extorted from the proud and powerful mother-country an acknowledgment of the sovereign authority so daringly assumed and so indomitably maintained."

Bk. VI. Ch. 1 A. D. 1789

The old continental Congress.

On the first Wednesday of January, 1789, electors were chosen to vote for the President and Vice-President of the United States, as well as members of the new Congress. George Washington received the unanimous vote of the electoral college for the highest office in the gift of the nation; and John Adams, recently returned from London, after a residence abroad of nine years, in different courts, as minister from the United States, received the next largest number of votes, and was accordingly elected Vice-President.

Election of president and vice-president.

Congress was to have assembled in Federal Hall, New York, on the site of the present Custom-house, on the 4th of March; but the state of the roads and other difficulties prevented a quorum until the 30th. Frederick A. Muhlen-

Meeting of the new Congress.

berg, of Pennsylvania, was chosen speaker of the House of Representatives, and John Langdon president *pro tempore* of the Senate.

On the 6th of April, the electoral votes were counted, and special messengers sent forthwith to notify Washington and Adams of their election.

The messenger selected to inform Washington was Charles Thomson, late secretary of the Continental Congress, who, on the 16th of April, executed his commission.

Journey of Washington.

The journey of the venerable President from Mount Vernon to the city of New York (then the seat of the federal government,) resembled a triumphal procession, rather than the peaceful journey of a public magistrate. Everywhere on his route, the people flocked to the line of his progress, to see with their own eyes the illustrious man who had so signally served his country, and who was yet willing, at the age of fifty-seven, to forego his private ease and interests, with a single view to the public good.

His inauguration.

On the 30th of April, the oath being administered by Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of New York, in an outer balcony of the Senate-chamber, and in sight of an immense concourse of spectators, George Washington became the first President of the United States.

On retiring to the Senate-chamber, he addressed both houses in an impressive speech, emphatically reminding them, that no truth was more positive than that there exists an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness — between duty and advantage — between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; and that the propitious smiles of Heaven could never be expected on a nation which disregarded the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself had ordained. He

concluded by saying that, in conformity with the principle he had adopted when commander-in-chief, he renounced all pecuniary compensation for his presidential services, further than was equivalent to his additional expenditure in office; which should not, at any time, be greater than was required for the public good.

A. D 1789

Inauguration of Washington.

CHAPTER II.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF WASHINGTON.

On the 30th of April, 1789, commenced the administration of the most remarkable man of these modern times.

A. D. 1789.

The first subject which required his attention and that of Congress was to establish a revenue, and this was chiefly raised by duties on imports. Thus, the Tariff became the first question which called out the talents and the passions of the new legislators — the absorbing subject of legislation in all popular governments — the most difficult and most important, being interlinked with the whole science of political economy — that unsettled science, concerning which there is, and probably ever will be, great discrepancy of opinions.

The revenue: duties on imports.

The first questions were, whether the duties should be imposed on foreign articles according to a specific rate or an ad valorem scale, and also, whether protection to the native manufactures should be chiefly considered; in the course of which, all those principles which still divide politicians and different sections of this great country, were discussed and agitated even as they are in these times.

Debates on the tariff.

On the whole, Congress agreed to protective duties, though not so high as those subsequently imposed. The duties on tonnage, discriminating in favour of American

Protective policy.

Bk. VI. Ch. 2. A. D. 1789.

commerce, were then considered, in order to encourage the growth of maritime power in the United States, and also to favour those foreign powers who were in alliance with the country. In all these debates, Madison, Ames, Sherman, Gerry, and Boudinot, were distinguished.

Collection of duties.

For the collection of duties the whole coast was divided into seventy districts, each district to have officers in proportion to its importance, the most considerable of which were the collectors, to superintend the entrance and clearance of vessels and the receipt of duties; the naval officers, to act as checks to the collectors; and the surveyors, to attend to the duties of inspection.

Reorganization of executive departments.

Having made arrangements for the collection of a revenue, Congress next turned its attention to the reorganization of the executive departments. The Department of Foreign Affairs was first established, which finally settled into that of the Department of State.

The Treasury Department was reorganized on the plan adopted by the Continental Congress of 1781, the head of which was called Secretary of the Treasury, assisted by subordinate officers, such as comptrollers, auditors, and registers, whose duty it was to manage the revenue, support the public credit, and grant warrants for all appropriations made by law. To this department the management and sale of public lands was also entrusted.

The Army and Navy being small were at first managed by the Secretary of War. The Post-Office was not reorganized until more complete information could be collected.

President's power to remove officers.

Earnest debates were then made on the question, whether these heads of departments should be removed or not at the will of the President. Much to the chagrin of a large party, the recognition of the President's power of removal prevailed — for how could he execute the laws, if his subordinates were independent of him?

Bk. VI. Ch. 2. A. D. 1789.

The federal judiciary next occupied the attention of Congress, being then established on its present system. The Supreme Court was to hold one annual session at the seat of government; and, for the trial of cases under its jurisdiction, two sets of tribunals were instituted, called District and Circuit Courts. Every State was made a district, and every district had a judge of its own, who had cognizance of all admiralty cases and lesser crimes against the United States. The Circuit Courts, presided over by one or two of the judges of the Supreme Court, assisted by the district judge, had jurisdiction of all suits of a civil nature, at common law or in equity, between citizens of different States, or to which the United States or an alien was a party. An appeal lay, as to all points of law, in all cases where the matter in dispute amounted to two thousand dollars, from the Circuit Courts to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The judiciary system.

Amendments of the constitution.

Congress then turned its attention to the amendments of the Constitution. All the States had many to suggest, but scarcely any were of vital importance. Seventeen amendments were finally agreed to by two-thirds of the House of Representatives, and the Senate reduced them to twelve; only ten of them received the sanction of the state legislatures at that time, but the remaining two were subsequently adopted.

Salaries.

The question of salaries was then considered, and the President was allowed twenty-five thousand dollars per annum, and a house, this being deemed adequate to his expenses. The salaries of other officers, executive, judicial, and legislative, were somewhat lower than are now given, and even then scarcely adequate to their wants.

The appointment of officers

The duty was confided to the President and Senate to make the appointments to the great offices of state. The first in dignity and importance, that of Chief-Justice

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of the Supreme Court, was given to John Jay, who had been a leading member of Congress, minister to Spain, one of the commissioners for peace, and acting secretary for foreign affairs. Alexander Hamilton was made Secretary of the Treasury; Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; General Knox, Secretary of War; Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General; and Samuel Osgood, Postmaster-General. Generals Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Williams, were respectively made collectors of Boston, New London, and Baltimore, and Colonel Lamb, collector of New York — revolutionary heroes whose virtues had kept them poor.

Commercial treaties were soon after made with foreign powers, and with the Indian tribes, although all along the western frontiers affairs long continued in an unsettled state.

Tour of the President: his reception.

Congress adjourned September 24th, shortly after which the President made a tour through the Eastern States, and was everywhere received with an enthusiasm which has never since been equalled. "We have gone through all the popish grades of worship," wrote Trumbull, "and the President returns all fragrant with the odour of incense." On the day of his return to New York (November 13th), the new convention of North Carolina voted to ratify the federal Constitution.

1790.

Congress reassembled on the 8th of January, 1790, and the President having recommended, among other things, that provision should be made for the payment of the interest of the national debt, this became the great subject of the session. The debates relative to the payment of this debt were very animated; which, however, in spite of the different views advanced, tended to the maintenance of public credit. The foreign debt was nearly twelve millions, and the domestic was a little over

National debt.

Bk. VI. Ch. 2. A. D. 1790.

forty-two millions; in all, exceeding fifty-four millions, not including the state debts, which amounted to about twenty-five millions. An acrimonious debate followed upon the proposition that the federal government should assume the state debts, which had been incurred in behalf of the common cause. It was supported by Lawrence, Ames, Sedgwick, Sherman, Fitzsimmons, Gerry, and others, and opposed by Stone, Livermore, Jackson, and White; but it finally passed by a small majority.

Slavery and the slave-trade: report on the subject.

In the midst of the agitation growing out of the settlement of the public debt, a still more agitating question was introduced, in reference to slavery and the slave-trade, in the form of anti-slavery petitions; which, after passionate discussion, whether they should or should not be received, were referred to a committee, who brought in the following report: —

"That the migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit cannot be prohibited by Congress, prior to the year 1808.

"That Congress has no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States; it remaining with the several States alone to provide any regulations therein which humanity and true policy require.

"That Congress has authority to restrain the citizens of the United States from carrying on the African slave-trade, for the purpose of supplying foreigners with slaves; and of providing for their humane treatment, during their passage, of slaves imported by the said citizens into the said States admitting such importations.

"That Congress, also, has authority to prohibit foreigners from fitting out vessels in any port of the United States for transporting persons from Africa to any foreign port."

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A great debate followed as to the reception of the articles of the report, and the affair was finally compromised by admitting the report on the journal of the House, without any legislation on the subjects to which it referred. This was the commencement of that series of discussions which from time to time have agitated Congress, and which, thus far, have happily not been productive of any calamitous results.

Rhode Island joins the Union.

Early in June, Rhode Island was admitted into the Union, and now, of their own accord, all the States of the original confederacy were reunited.

National debt, and the tariff.

Before the session closed, provision was made for paying off the national debt; and the tariff was modified, the duties being increased on most imported articles.

Naturalization of aliens

An act was also passed providing a uniform rule of naturalization, by which any alien white person, who had resided within the United States for two years, on proof of good character and upon taking an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution, might become a citizen of the United States.

Patents and copyrights

Among the other acts was one which secured to inventors of new machines the right to enjoy for fourteen years the exclusive use of their inventions; and then secured to authors, for the same time, a copyright on books, to be renewed, if the author were living, for an additional term of fourteen years. By a recent act, this term has been extended to twenty-eight years.

Maritime regulations.

Maritime regulations were also enacted, in reference to the wages of seamen, requiring a written contract, which specified the voyage and rate of compensation, and also providing for the enforcement of obedience to orders.

Trade with the Indians.

Congress also made regulations for trade with the Indians, on the present basis, by which no sales of lands by them were valid, unless made at some public treaty.

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The criminal code of laws for the punishment of crimes against the United States was also established, by which death was made the penalty for treason, murder, piracy, and forgery — the latter crime being now punishable by fine and imprisonment. Bribery was also made punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Salary of foreign ministers.

As early as this session, the salary for foreign ministers was fixed, and has continued the same to these times. Nine thousand dollars and an outfit for ministers plenipotentiary, and half that sum for chargés des affaires.

Such were the principal measures of the second session of the first Congress, which adjourned August 12th, to meet in the following December.

Proposition for a national bank.

The first Congress reassembled on the 6th of December, 1790, in Philadelphia, and one of the first subjects which came under its consideration was a national bank, proposed by Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, in order to facilitate the monetary transactions of the government, to provide for a redeemable currency, and to furnish a resource for temporary loans. At that time there were only four banks in the country: one at Philadelphia, established by Robert Morris; one in New York; one in Boston; and one in Baltimore; the circulation of whose bills was confined chiefly to those cities, and did not meet the wants of the country.

Bank of the United States chartered.

The bill for this bank encountered but little opposition in the Senate, and passed the House by a vote of thirty-nine to twenty. It was, however, opposed in the cabinet by Jefferson and Randolph, as unconstitutional; yet, it nevertheless received the signature of the President. Its charter was limited to twenty years, and its capital to ten millions. Subscriptions were paid, three-fourths in stock of the United States, and one-fourth in gold and silver — being thus modelled on the Bank of England, and sub-

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stantially on the principle of the new banking law of New York, by which a deposit of government stocks is required as security for the amount of circulating bills. The bank was forbidden to hold lands or buildings, and all dealing in goods and merchandise was prohibited. Its general business was restricted to dealing in bills of exchange. Its notes were payable on demand in gold or silver, and were made receivable in all payments to the United States.

Admission of Vermont.

The establishment of a bank was the great measure of the session, during which Vermont was admitted into the Union. Shortly after the adjournment of Congress, Washington made a tour of three months through the Southern States. On his progress, he stopped several days on the banks of the Potomac, and made use of the authority vested in him to select a site for the future seat of government. The new city was laid out on a magnificent scale, and many who anticipated its sudden and rapid growth were ruined by the zeal with which they embarked in building and speculation.

Seat of government.

Foreign ministers.

In August, 1791, Great Britain condescended to send a minister to the United States. George Hammond was the first who received this honour. In December, Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was appointed minister to England, and Gouverneur Morris was sent to France.

Prosperity of the country.

Prosperity seemed now to dawn upon the country. The finances were placed upon a satisfactory basis; the credit of the country was restored, and relations of peace were established with various European states. Washington had the confidence of the nation, and the great parties which subsequently divided it had not then attracted much attention, although they were in process of formation.

Indian affairs

The worst feature of the time was the unsettled nature of Indian affairs on the western frontiers. The Six

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Nations were unfriendly, and the Cherokees complained of encroachments, while actual hostilities were carried on, under Generals St. Clair and Butler, among the Indians on the Wabash. Near the head-waters of this river (November 4th), St. Clair was unexpectedly attacked, and his force totally routed. General Butler was killed, and St. Clair narrowly escaped. The loss of men during this enterprise reached 900 — a great calamity, and one of the most signal defeats the Americans had ever sustained with the Indians. It produced the greatest alarm on the north-western frontiers, but the Indians failed to follow up the advantages they had gained.

Defeat of St. Clair.

The 2d Congress.

In the mean time the second Congress assembled at Philadelphia. Among the most distinguished of its new members was Aaron Burr, successor to General Schuyler, as senator from New York; Artemus Ward and George Cabot, of Massachusetts; James Hillhouse, of Connecticut; and Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey.

Federalists and Republicans.

By this time the two great parties of the country were fully organized — the Federalists and the Republicans. The leaders of the former were Adams and Hamilton; those of the latter were Jefferson and Burr. The former had an ascendency both in the Senate and the House, and were the advocates of the financial schemes which were recommended by Hamilton and carried out by the first Congress: they also favoured the idea of a greater centralization of power in the general government than was desired by the other party. The Republicans feared the abuse of power, and sought to narrow its exercise by the federal government, and were disposed to allow absolute authority to the popular judgment. They, moreover, were great defenders of state rights, and feared the absorption of the states in the general government. The latter party inclined to be more democratic in its views — the former

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was not disinclined to ceremonious distinctions and hereditary rank. The party of Adams and Hamilton distrusted the French Revolution, shuddered in view of its excesses, and absolutely abhorred the "Rights of Man" as put forth by Paine. The party of Jefferson sympathized with the French Revolution as tending to promote greater liberty throughout the world, and distrusted those financial measures of the new administration as tending to the ascendency of an aristocracy of wealth. It denounced the funding system, the bank, and the assumption of the state debts.

Ratio of representation.

One of the first measures of the new Congress was to fix the ratio of representation at one member for every thirty-three thousand inhabitants, thus increasing the number of members to one hundred and five.

Increase of the revenue.

A third tariff act was also passed, increasing the duties on imported articles. This was done in order to increase the revenue — an act made necessary by the increasing expenses of government, Indian hostilities, and additions made to the army. The presence of the Indian war also led to the organization of the militia, on the basis on which it has since remained.

Mint established.

Impress of the coins.

By an act during this session the Mint was finally established, and the coins were made which still compose the currency of the country. A debate occurred in reference to the device and impress of the coins. There was no objection to the national emblem of the eagle, with the legend, "The United States of America," on one side; but serious exceptions were taken to having the heads of the presidents represented on the coin, as this appeared like an imitation of monarchical governments. The emblematical figure of Liberty was accordingly substituted, much to the satisfaction of the people, so jealous of all approximation to royalty, and not without the secret

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indifference of great men, who preferred the reality to the blandishments of power.

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These were the principal acts, materially affecting the great interests of the country, passed during this session; but considerable acrimony had been manifested by the two rival parties, which now began to attract attention and divide the nation — an acrimony, which Washington seriously lamented, and did all in his power to prevent. This increased, rather than diminished, after Congress adjourned, and a bitter newspaper contest was carried on by Jefferson and Hamilton, between whom arose a personal as well as political difference.

Party quarrels

Relative state of the parties.

The second session of the second Congress was characterized for warm debates on the redemption of the public debt, on the right of petition, and on the slavery question. Until now, the federal party had the superiority, but the Republicans obtained a victory over the Federalists in relation to Hamilton's scheme of paying off the public debt; and such was the opposition to him, that he was openly accused of failing to account for a million and a half of public money; but this charge was triumphantly refuted, and resulted in raising the illustrious character of the Secretary of the Treasury still higher in public estimation.

Success of the government.

The second Congress terminated without passing such important acts as the first; nor was it to be expected, for government was now fairly organized — all things gave evidence, in spite of party animosities, of a successful experiment.

Washington's first administration.

During the first administration of Washington, a great step had been made in the progress of the nation. Confidence in the credit of the country was restored. Commerce had greatly prospered; manufactures had arisen; the exports nearly equalled the imports; population had

increased; industry had received a favourable impulse; law and order reigned throughout the land, and peace and plenty added stability to those great institutions which the political genius of the age had devised. The Post-Office, the Mint, and the Bank, went into successful operation. Judicial dignity was vindicated. The Army was increased, and appropriations were made for all measures necessary to carry on an efficient government. The United States began to attract the attention of the civilized world, and diplomatic agents were freely sent to and received from the principal nations of Europe.

Second election of Washington and Adams.

In view of this rising prosperity and of the pressure of domestic cares and feeble health, the venerable President desired to retire. But, yielding to the importunities of friends, and consulting the public welfare rather than his own ease and interests, he consented to preside once again over the nation he had saved by his arms and councils. On the 4th of March, 1793, he was a second time inaugurated as President of the United States, after an unanimous election. The choice for Vice-President was not made without violent party outcry; for the Federalists and Republicans were now fairly pitted against each other. The Federalists gained the day, and John Adams again became the Vice-President, in opposition to George Clinton, of New York, the republican candidate, and highest on the list.

War between France and England

Soon after the second inauguration of Washington, news came of the declaration of war by France against England, which excited intense interest throughout the nation, and still more widely separated the great political parties. Five days after, Genet arrived as minister to the United States from Republican France. What course should the government adopt? Should he be received? And, should a proclamation of neutrality be issued?

Arrival of Genet.

Our government adopted, in view of those great commotions in the Old World, the course which has since been pursued, and which has settled into a system — that of neutrality — a friendly and impartial conduct towards all foreign belligerent powers. Such, however, was the popular enthusiasm towards France and hatred towards England, that it would not have been difficult to embroil the nation in war, by making a common cause with the French Republic. But Washington was too wise and prudent to yield to such a course, and he was happily sustained by the great leaders of the nation.

Neutral policy of the government.

The French minister, however, was not so prudent. He came over as an agent to draw the United States into the cause of French liberty, rather than as a diplomatist, to keep a watch over the interests of his country. He was a mere partisan, inflamed with revolutionary ideas, and full of wrong notions respecting his diplomatic duties. Hence he was guilty of various indiscretions and follies, unbecoming his position. He caused privateers to be fitted out, manned mostly by Americans, but under the French flag, to make prizes of English merchantmen. He assumed authority to grant commissions to French consuls in the United States to try and condemn prizes brought by French cruisers into the American ports. He made himself offensive to the government by various acts of folly and presumption. He even was prepared to struggle with the executive in furtherance of his impolitic mission. Supported by noisy enthusiasts and fanatical articles in the newspapers in sympathy with revolutionary France, he attempted to appeal from the President to the people. Under such circumstances, the government demanded his recall, and was sustained by the nation at large, in spite of the fanatical advocates of France, — a measure extremely necessary, not only to support the

Character and conduct of Genet.

His recall demanded.

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dignity of the American government, but to prevent a rupture with Great Britain.

Arrogance of Great Britain.

Great Britain, at that period, was both sensitive and arrogant as to her claims on the ocean, and had her own interpretation as to belligerent rights — claiming the right to seize French property in American vessels, against all the settled laws of nations; and also the still more questionable right of seizing neutral vessels bound to France, when loaded with bread-stuffs. The English government also made itself obnoxious by pressing into its service British-born seamen when found on the ocean even in American ships, which made vessels liable to vexatious detention and subject to constant insult; and, as this pretended right was liable to much abuse, American seamen were frequently absolutely pressed into the English naval service.

Its effect on the public mind.

This arrogant and unjust claim, and which afterwards was no small cause of the late war, led to considerable sympathy with Genet and France, and came near precipitating the United States into a premature contest with the country with which they had but lately made peace. Genet, however, had proved himself so insolent, rash, and headstrong, that but little sympathy was found for him among the more considerate and intelligent of the people.

Meeting of the 3d Congress.

Amid the agitations produced by Genet and the French Revolution and rival parties, the third Congress assembled (December 2d, 1793), and, soon after, Jefferson retired from his post, alleging his disgust of politics and desire for the pleasures of a rural life, with the respect of all parties for his abilities, and with the full confidence of the President in his patriotism and integrity. His place was supplied by Randolph, the Attorney-General, and his again by William Bradford, of Pennsylvania.

Jefferson retires.

The first business of importance after the affair of

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Genet was disposed of, was in reference to the piracies of the Algerines. It was a question, whether peace with them should be purchased by giving a ransom for those whom they held in bondage, or whether a squadron should be fitted out to demand restitution. It was determined to adopt both measures — to purchase a treaty, and also to provide for a naval armament. A bill was passed, which authorized the building of six frigates of forty-four guns each, and two of thirty-six guns each — the first step towards the creation of a national navy. A bill was soon after reported for fortifying the harbours, and works were commenced at Portsmouth, Portland, Gloucester, Salem, Boston, Newport, New London, New York, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, Alexandria, Norfolk, Georgetown, Charleston, Savannah, and St. Mary, being then the principal cities on the coast. Arsenals and armories were added to those at Springfield and Carlisle. These belligerent operations were undertaken to protect commerce against the Barbary pirates, to inspire belligerent nations with respect for our rights as neutrals, and to secure us from insult in our harbours and coasts.

March 4. Creation of a navy. Harbours fortified. Arsenals erected.

British orders in council.

At this time a great excitement existed against Great Britain in consequence of the British orders in council, which authorized the detention and examination of all ships laden with the produce of French colonies. These tended to destroy the rights of neutrals, and war was apprehended. But these orders were soon superseded by new ones, which restricted the capture of French produce in neutral vessels which belonged to France. Still the excitement against England continued, and Washington, wishing to avert the gathering storm, proposed to send a special minister to London, and Hamilton was the person whom he desired to send. But such an outcry was raised against him, that Jay was selected in his stead.

Special minister to London.

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Insurrection in Pennsylvania

Prompt action for its suppression.

Law and order restored.

Soon after the adjournment of Congress, an insurrection occurred in Western Pennsylvania, called the Whiskey Insurrection, which arose from the difficulty of collecting excise-duty from the distillers. The marshal of the district was intercepted in the discharge of his duties by a party of armed men, and he and his officers compelled to flee for their lives. They were afterwards attacked by the mob, and blood was spilled. Various other outrages were perpetrated, and the rioters, headed by some prominent men opposed to the excise-duty, appealed to the militia, actually mustered 7000 men, and stood out in open resistance to the laws. These outrages appeared to be alarming symptoms to the government, who decided on rigid and prompt measures, to prevent the popular contagion from spreading. A proclamation was issued, and a demand made on the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, for a force of 13,000 men — soon raised to 15,000. The insurgent counties had about 16,000 men in the field. The President, wishing to prevent bloodshed, also sent commissioners to settle the difficulties. The counties called a convention, and two hundred delegates assembled, and appointed a committee of fifteen to meet the commissioners. Several conferences were held, not very satisfactory to either party, although the demands of the government were moderate. Consequently, resort was had to more decisive measures. The government troops advanced in earnest upon the rebels. Fear and alarm seized them, in view of the great preparations which were made to subdue them; and they laid down their arms, in unconditional submission to the laws. The prompt measures of the President had a great moral effect, which much strengthened the arms of government, as all unsuccessful rebellions do, and occasioned great rejoicing, especially to the Federalists.

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Scarcely was this rebellion suppressed, before news arrived of the complete victory of General Wayne over those Indians who had defeated St. Clair. A great battle was fought, on the Maumee, which broke for ever the power of the Indians in that quarter.

Secret societies of the Jacobins

Congress reassembled on the 4th of November, and immediately proceeded to the consideration of the President's message, which was mainly occupied by an account of the late insurrection in Pennsylvania, and which traced the disturbances in part to the secret societies of which Genet, the French minister, had been one of the chief promoters — societies inimical to the conservation of true liberty. But these ultra democratic societies received a blow, soon after, more effectual even than the one given by Washington, through the downfall of Robespierre and the Jacobin clubs, with whose sentiments these secret societies sympathized.

Treaty with Great Britain

Before Congress adjourned, information was received of an important treaty which Jay succeeded in making with the government of Great Britain, but which had been made only with great difficulty and by mutual concessions — not in all respects desirable, but the best which could be obtained.

Its stipulations.

By this treaty, signed by Jay November 19th, 1794, the north-eastern boundary was fixed; mutual losses sustained by merchants in consequence of seizure were indemnified; reciprocity in trading with the Indians was guarantied; American vessels were to be received into British ports on an equality with English vessels; contraband articles were specified, and the maritime code respecting the rights of neutrals was modified to the advantage of the United States. This treaty, which removed many of the causes of irritation between the two countries, and which, on the whole, placed the United States on a

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footing of greater equality, encountered much opposition from the republican party, who saw in it injury to France, a base compliance with English arrogance, and ignominious cession of American rights. But what excited the fiercest opposition, especially from the South, was the recognition by Jay of the debts due British merchants by citizens of the United States, previous to the Revolution, which amounted to £600,000, and, by the treaty, were guaranteed by the government, but which the debtors had hoped to escape. This obligation to pay those old debts much inflamed party animosity, and was one of the causes of hostility to England; and, as the South was more indebted than the North, the hatred there was proportionally greater.

Recognition of old debts.

Speech of Fisher Ames.

The treaty was not immediately ratified, on account of its great importance, and Congress had again reassembled before it was finally acted on. No subject had, since the adoption of the Constitution, called out so much feeling, talent, and eloquence. Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, made himself memorable by his wonderful speech on the occasion — one of the most able ever made in Congress. Vice-President Adams, who heard the speech, thus described it, in a letter to his wife: "Judge Iredell and I happened to sit together. Our feelings beat in unison. 'My God! how great he is,' says Iredell. 'Noble!' said I. 'Bless my stars!' continued he, 'I never heard any thing so great since I was born.' 'Divine!' said I; and thus we went on with our interjections, not to say tears, to the end — not a dry eye in the House. The situation of the man excited compassion. The ladies wished his great soul had a better body."

1796. Treaty ratified.

In spite of the opposition, and much to the chagrin of the Republicans, the treaty was ratified (April 30th, 1796) the most important which the nation had yet made, since

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it favoured peace with England, and conciliatory measures. Jefferson, who had retired to Monticello, to write letters to all parts of the country and organize a more effective opposition, as well as to seek repose in farming, was independent and bitter, and thus wrote — "In place of that noble love of liberty which carried us through the war, an Anglican, monarchical, aristocratic party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance, as they have already done the forms of the British government. Against us are the executive, the judiciary, two of the branches of the legislature, all the officers of the government, all who want to be officers, all timid men, who prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty, British merchants, and Americans trading on British capital, speculators and holders in the banks and public funds — a contrivance invented for the purpose of corruption and for assimilating us in all things, to the rotten as well as sound part of the British model. It would give you a fever, were I to name to you the apostates who have gone over to these heresies — men who were Samsons in the field and Solomons in the council, but who have their heads shorn by the harlot of England."

Jefferson's views of the Federalists

Such was the bitter and strong language with which Jefferson and the heads of the republican or democratic party, in those days, attacked the Federalists and their principles. Such was the party spirit succeeding the revolutionary strife. No matter for the virtues or the greatness of the men belonging to the federal party — it was said of them, as Jefferson said of Ames, when he electrified the House and urged peace and moderation, "Curse on his virtues! they have ruined his country."

Bitterness of party spirit.

Yet, amid these conflicting strifes of politicians, Washington was neither duped nor perplexed. He alone stood

above all parties and all sects. He alone had an eye to the highest good of the country, and inflexibly pursued his course, calmly, wisely, although occasionally yielding to bursts of indignation and passion. Washington sought liberty, but also sought peace and justice, and steered a middle course between parties, not because it was a middle course, *in mediis tutissimus ibis*, but because it was a true and wise course. Still, he felt deeply the evil of that partisan warfare, which has not yet passed away, and never will pass away, in a free country, so long as men have power and men are degenerate. Said Washington, "I had no conception, till within the last year or two, that parties would or could go the length I have been witness to; nor did I believe that it was in the bounds of probability, hardly within those of possibility, that, while I was using my utmost exertions to establish a national character of our own, as far as our obligations and justice would permit, with every nation of the earth, and wished, by steering a steady course, to preserve this country from the horrors of a desolating war, I should be accused of being the enemy of our country, and subject to the influence of another; and to prove it, that every act of my administration would be tortured, and the grossest and most insidious misrepresentations of them made, by giving one side only of a subject, and that, too, in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even a common pick-pocket."

Policy of Washington.

Party misrepresentations.

Such the animosities of party — such, in Washington's own language, the misrepresentations to which it would lead. Still, wisdom had not left the land, and, in spite of all opposition, a treaty with Great Britain was made, and peace and profitable intercourse guarantied for the next ten years.

Intercourse with Great Britain secured.

Other treaties, also, were ratified with different nations and with the Indians. Eleven hundred Indian warriors, of twelve distinct tribes, met General Wayne in council, at Fort Grenville, and settled the boundaries of their respective territories. A tract of 25,000 square miles, in the eastern and southern part of Ohio, was ceded to the United States; for which, and for various posts or trading-houses, $20,000 in presents, and $9500 annually, were given to the Indians. A treaty was made with Algiers, but only by payment to that piratical state of nearly $800,000. By a treaty which Mr. Pinckney made with Spain, the Florida boundary, long in dispute, was settled, and the navigation of the Mississippi made free to both parties, through its entire length. The Indian boundary was also determined, on the basis of Wayne's treaty, which secured to the Indians full one-half of the territory between the Atlantic and Mississippi, and beyond which citizens of the United States were prohibited to hunt, or fish, or settle, without permission — nay, even to trade, without a license. This Indian peace led to the sale and settlement of public lands north of the Ohio. By the terms of the act constituting the territory south of the Ohio, the inhabitants claimed the right to be admitted into the Union whenever their number reached 60,000. A constant tide of immigration having set into that territory, a convention was held, and a state constitution adopted, and Tennessee was added to the United States (January 11th, 1796).

Indian treaty.

Treaties with Algiers and Spain.

Tennessee admitted into the Union.

The French government had requested the recall of Morris, after the difficulties with Genet, which request was acceded to, and James Monroe, a warm advocate of France, was sent to fill the vacancy, arriving soon after the fall of Robespierre. He found American affairs in confusion, and zeal for America much abated, since the

Monroe sent to France.

American government had not rendered any assistance, as was hoped, to the French revolutionists. But he endeavoured to soothe French prejudices; and in the attempt he made promises which his government could not fulfil, in justice to England or in accordance with its uniform policy; on account of which, and partly to give satisfaction to Washington, he was recalled, and Charles C. Pinckney appointed in his place (September, 1796).

Farewell Address of Washington.

Meanwhile the time for an election of a President drew near, and Washington resolved not again to be a candidate. Accordingly, he issued (September 19th) his famous Farewell Address to the American people, in which he especially enjoined them to maintain the integrity of the Union and of the Federal Constitution, and to keep free from sectional jealousies and animosities, as well as passionate attachment to and inveterate antipathy against particular foreign nations.

Election of President Adams.

This address, appearing so late, did not give much time for electioneering. Still, parties were very busy. The undoubted leader of the Federalists was Hamilton; but, as Adams was older, had performed great Revolutionary services, was already Vice-President, was a man of acknowledged ability and patriotism, and the great representative of New England, his claims were highest, and he became the chief candidate of his party. His great opponent was Jefferson, over whom he gained his election by a majority of one — so greatly had the democratic party increased.

The last session of the fourth Congress commenced, as usual, early in December, 1796; but nothing of consequence was enacted — all parties being full of the approaching inauguration of the new President.

His inauguration.

It took place on the 4th of March, 1797, in presence of both houses of Congress, judges and other dignitaries,

as well as of Washington himself. He delivered an elaborate and effective speech, alluding eloquently to the exalted character and deeds of the ex-President, and professing his determination, with the aid of Heaven, to defend and support the Constitution.

Washington retires.

All parties felt deeply the retirement of Washington, and rendered him every mark of gratitude and respect. In a few days after the inauguration of his successor, he retired to Mount Vernon, to spend the evening of his glorious life in peaceful and quiet pleasures, in the dignity of a gentleman farmer, with books, and friends, and nature — cheered by the voice of conscience and of the world, and constantly refreshed by splendid recollections — by the consciousness of having rendered the greatest blessing to his country which God, in his providence, had ever given it into the power of man to bestow. It was during his military career that the battles of Independence were fought. It was during his administration as President of the United States that the Constitution was established, and those great acts passed by Congress which gave direction to the future progress of the country. It was Washington who delivered the nation from a foreign yoke. It was Washington who directed the helm of the ship of state in the most eventful periods of the civil and constitutional history of the country. Surely, to him the world has hitherto furnished no parallel. Let us, let future generations, venerate his name — for by his spirit, his wisdom, his courage, and his strength of character, he, more than any other mortal, laid the foundation of American greatness.

His claim to our veneration

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION OF ADAMS.

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PRESIDENT ADAMS, on his accession to power, made no important changes in the cabinet, and retained the ministers who had officiated under Washington. Thomas Jefferson, as Vice-President, presided over the Senate, in which the federal party still predominated.

State of the relations with France.

One of the first things which demanded the attention of the executive was the treatment which the French Directory had shown towards the foreign ministers. The French, in the fury of revolutionary excess and triumphant power, were disappointed and indignant that America had rendered no important service to the cause of their revolution, and apparently even favoured the English, as they chose to infer from the treaty made by Jay. Nor did the French government like the recall of Monroe, who then sympathized with revolutionary France more than Pinckney, whom Washington had appointed in his place. Accordingly, the Directory refused to receive Pinckney, or any other ministers, until the grievances of which the French complained were satisfactorily redressed. The hostility of the Directory was still further increased when the news arrived of the election of Adams to the presidency, instead of Jefferson, the French favourite. Pinckney was treated with studied insolence and neglect, without any recognition of his

official position. Nor was this all. A decree was passed against American commerce, by which American vessels and cargoes were liable to capture for any cause recognized as lawful by the British treaty. This was little short of a declaration of war, which was not agreeable to any party in America — for Napoleon was in the height of his victories, and all the nations of Europe were in terror and alarm.

Special mission to France.

Under these circumstances, the President resolved to send a special mission to France — for it was the object of the French government to compel the United States to renounce the British treaty, to renew all ancient differences with Great Britain, and, in short, to make use of the United States as an instrument against England, whose naval and commercial greatness had ever been the object of French jealousy. The whole secret of the favour extended to this country by France, during the revolutionary struggle, was to injure England: and France has been friendly or hostile in proportion as America has been hostile or friendly to Great Britain. It is a mistake to suppose that French alliance was rendered from knowledge of or respect for this country. France looked upon us as a weak, divided, money-making nation, careless of national honour, and not disposed to resent insult, as proved by the contemptuous treatment of Washington and this country by Genet, when he was minister — a treatment not sufficiently punished, and even sustained by violent partisans opposed to a strong executive.

Cause of alarm

Nor was the solicitude which the federal party felt respecting French ascendency without foundation. Napoleon was advancing from conquering to conquer, and his country seemed to be rapidly realizing the dream of Louis XIV. respecting universal empire. The Bank of England had stopped specie payment, threatening destruc-

tive to British financial power. There had been a great naval mutiny at the time, and English statesmen were perplexed with difficulties. It was even seriously feared that war might be declared by France, and this country as well as England be threatened with invasion.

Envoys to Paris.

Great pains were taken by the President in the appointment of envoys to France, and, after great deliberation, John Marshall, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, were added to the mission. They departed separately to France, in July and August, there to unite with Pinckney in a new attempt to terminate all differences. Having joined each other in October, at Paris, they sent notice of their arrival to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Talleyrand, who informed them that as soon as the report on American affairs was finished, he would let them know what was to be done. After an interval of ten days, they were informed that the Directory were exasperated against the United States for some parts of the President's speech at the opening of Congress, and that no audience would be granted until the conclusion of a private unofficial negotiation. The person sent to negotiate was Hottinguer, the banker, who informed the envoys that a loan to the Republic, and a private douceur of $240,000 for the members of the Directory, would be insisted on. A long unofficial intercourse ensued, which ended, notwithstanding all the arts of French diplomacy, in the refusal of the envoys to grant a loan or a douceur. The agents of Talleyrand threatened war and other calamities, but the envoys were firm, indignant, and patriotic. The French evidently hoped to terrify the envoys into a course not merely undignified and mean, but opposed to the whole policy and Constitution of this country. Nothing was settled. No official intercourse took place, and Pinckney and Marshall returned

The demands of the French Directory.

Rejected by the envoys.

home, leaving Gerry to manage negotiations with Talleyrand. Infamous proposals were made to him, and advantage taken of his weak points; but Gerry maintained the national honour, and finally, after unsuccessful negotiation, returned to America. Nothing showed the grasping, unprincipled, rapacious, contemptible meanness of the French Directory more than the overtures unofficially made to the American envoys, which virtually amounted to secret bribery to the French executive, and a repudiation of the treaty with Great Britain and of that neutral policy which the American government had then and has since constantly maintained.

Preparations for war.

The American government, long before the return of the envoys, prepared for war; and Congress authorized the President to instruct the commander of the national ships of war to seize any armed vessel which committed depredations on American commerce — for the merchant-vessels of the Americans were still seized by the French, in defiance of all neutral rights, and property amounting to more than a million of dollars had been unjustly seized. Moreover, an act was passed (June 12th, 1798) suspending all commercial intercourse with France. On the 25th of June, the President authorized merchant-vessels to defend themselves by force against search or seizure, and large appropriations were made for the navy.

Washington accepts the command in chief.

Anticipating a war with France, Congress, before adjourning, appointed Washington lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of all the forces raised or to be raisod in the United States, and the hero accepted the appointment, although reluctant, in his old age, to leave his peaceful pursuits at Mount Vernon. In view of the conduct of the French Directory — "its insidious hostilities," said he, "to our government," "disregard of treaties," "war upon defenceless commerce," "treatment of minis-

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ters," and "demands amounting to tribute." In the appointment of generals and other high officers, Adams acted without much advice, and a coldness between him and his cabinet resulted. He was jealous of Hamilton, and would have deprived him of a high military appointment, as first major-general, had not Washington insisted upon it as the only condition upon which he himself would serve. Adams's great defect was unwillingness to ask or receive advice, trusting to his own judgment alone, which was often warped by his strong passions and prejudices. He thus did great injury to his party, and was by no means its oracle, as Jefferson was of the Republicans.

French advance to reconciliation

Upon the return of Gerry to the United States, the French government, really not desiring war, but only a bribe, made advances to reconciliation, took off the embargo imposed on American shipping, and released those who were imprisoned; which, however, was of no great consequence, since but few American vessels were then in French ports. Nor was Congress, more than the executive, disposed to submit to the arrogant demands of France; and, expecting war, unhesitatingly prepared for it — added considerably to the navy, made large naval appropriations, and passed an act of non-intercourse.

Minister to the French Republic.

War was averted by the overtures of Talleyrand and the consequent appointment of a minister to the French Republic. Adams, at first, nominated M'Murray, resident minister at the Hague, on the suggestion of Talleyrand, but without consulting his cabinet, which widened the breach between him and the Federalists. This appointment was unpopular, and a great clamour was raised; but the President refused to withdraw the nomination, and M'Murray was rejected by the Senate. Adams then, without withdrawing his appointment, nominated, conjointly with him, Chief-Justice Ellsworth and Patrick

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Henry; and the nomination, thus modified, was confirmed. Henry declined to serve, on account of age and infirmities, and General Davis, of North Carolina, was appointed in his place.

Instructions to the envoys.

The envoys were instructed to demand their passports and return to America, if negotiations for the settlement of difficulties were not commenced within twenty days after their arrival at Paris. They were required to insist upon indemnification for spoliations and the repeal of the French decree for confiscating neutral vessels having English merchandise on board.

Dissension in the cabinet.

A portion of Adams's cabinet were disinclined to a renewal of diplomatic relations with France; and the great leaders of the federal party were disposed to coincide in this opinion, from doubts which they entertained of the sincerity of the French government, and from a want of confidence in Talleyrand. But Adams, bent on preserving peace by any means, did not consult his cabinet, and hastened the departure of the envoys, even after news had arrived of a change in the French Directory; which slight on the cabinet consummated the breach in the federal party, subsequently broke it up, and threw power into the hands of the Republicans, in the ensuing elections.

Resolution of the President.

But, however annoying and disagreeable his course was to leaders of the party which had supported him, Adams was determined to preserve peace, and also to act independently of party dictation. He was President, and was resolved to exercise his prerogative — a resolution far from agreeable to strong party-men, especially of his own cabinet, who, particularly Pickering and Wolcott, resolved to get rid of him at the close of his term of office, and substitute a more reliable party-man — a man whom they could control — the great policy of all political partizans since that time, as shown in their disinclination to

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elevate to office the strongest and best men of the country. No man can ever hope to be elevated to the presidency by a party-vote, when he himself is stronger than his party, or is any thing else than the mere organ and tool of a party, ready to adopt the most extreme party measures.

Restoration of peace.

News being received (May, 1800), from the envoys to France, of the probability of a favourable termination of difficulties, an act was passed discharging the officers and men of the additional regiments, with three months' pay. The envoys had been well received, and negotiations were carried on with a mutual desire to settle all differences in an honourable manner, and peace was soon fully restored.

Events of Adams's administration.

This protracted negotiation with France, and those measures of national defence which grew out of it, were the great events of Adams's administration, although acts of considerable importance were passed by Congress, and other events of interest, of a personal rather than of great national import, took place.

Death of Washington.

The year 1799 was memorable for the death of Washington (December 14th), which was a great loss to the federal party. All parties, however, sincerely mourned his death, and united to confer upon his memory every testimonial of respect. The funeral oration was pronounced by Henry Lee, and all that Congress or the nation could do to commemorate his great services and exalted character was done. The approaching anniversary of his birth (February 22d) was set apart for eulogies, orations, and other suitable manifestations of public grief throughout the Union; and, so far as a nation can mourn for any one man, it mourned for him.

In the course of the summer, the seat of government was removed to that new federal city, on the Potomac,

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which is called by his name, although the public buildings were scarcely completed, and the city was ill furnished with accommodations.

Adams and his party.

The most marked peculiarity of the administration of Adams was the virulence of party-feeling, which divided, not merely the leading statesmen of the country, but even the cabinet of the President, and which induced him to act more independently of it than was in accordance with popular views, and finally led to the dismissal of Pickering and M'Henry and the resignation of Wolcott, as well as to the total disorganization of the Federalists and the ascendency of the Republicans. The hostility against the President, even from his own party, was probably caused by his jealousy of Hamilton, his egotism and vanity, his eagerness to assume responsibility, and his independent course, especially in reference to France, which was viewed as decidedly anti-republican.

Election of Jefferson.

In the presidential election of 1801 the republican party gained the ascendency, which it has since, under different names, retained. The Federalists, as a party, were completely defeated, partly by their own dissensions, and partly from the growth of more democratic ideas, or ideas supposed to be so. Adams and Pinckney were the candidates of the Federalists, and Jefferson and Aaron Burr the candidates of the Republicans, for President and Vice-President. The two latter were elected; but, as they both had an equal number of votes, the election passed into the House of Representatives, by whom Jefferson was chosen.

Capture of Derne.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, the most famous of the early Presidents, next to Washington, commenced his administration at a fortunate time. The country was at peace; the storm which threatened war had blown over; the treasury was well filled; commerce was flourishing; and the country had commenced a career of unbounded prosperity, its population already numbering over five millions. The federal party was decidedly overthrown, and democracy had commenced its reign.

Change of public officers.

One of the first acts of the new President was to change the great officers of state, and appoint those who were strong party-men — a course perhaps necessary, but different from that pursued by his predecessors. James Madison became Secretary of State; Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury; Robert Smith, Secretary of the Navy; and Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General. A change, still more uncommon, was also made in inferior offices throughout the country.

Repeal of certain laws.

When Congress assembled in December, it acted in the spirit of the President, and repealed many of the laws enacted by the Federalists — for the administration had a large majority in both houses. The judiciary act was repealed, and also that imposing direct taxes, which were ever obnoxious to the people, especially the excise

A. D. 1801 to 1805.

on distilled spirits. Jefferson regarded the public debt as a great evil, and recommended its speedy payment, as well as the curtailment of offices and salaries.

The first session of Congress was not marked by any other measure of great importance, except authorizing the President to fit out a naval force against Tripoli, with which state the United States were forced to declare war.

War with Tripoli.

The command of a squadron was given to Morris, and five frigates and one schooner were added to the ships already in the Mediterranean. The squadron, however, accomplished nothing of consequence, except the blockade of Tripoli. The ships, in the course of the summer of 1803, were relieved by others under the command of Edward Preble, who hoisted his flag on board the Constitution.

New expedition against Tripoli.

One of the frigates sent to relieve the old squadron, the Philadelphia, commanded by Captain Bainbridge, on her passage out, captured a Morocco cruiser of twenty-two guns, and retook an American brig, which caused the emperor of Morocco to disavow any order to commit hostilities. But a great misfortune befell Bainbridge on his way to Tripoli to join Preble. His ship struck on a sunken rock, and, while in a defenceless state, was attacked by a flotilla of Tripolitan gun-boats, and taken. The crew, with their commander, were carried to Tripoli and held as valuable prisoners, for whom a great ransom was demanded.

Loss of the frigate Philadelphia.

Decatur retakes and burns the frigate.

Soon after, a bold exploit was performed by Lieutenant Decatur, then commanding the Enterprise. This brig had captured a small vessel, bound to Constantinople, with a present of female slaves to the sultan. She was taken into service, called the Intrepid, and, being manned by volunteers from the Enterprise, stood into the harbour of Tripoli, where the Philadelphia was refitting for sea. At midnight, she approached the Philadelphia, and,

A. D. 1804.

being supposed to be a trading vessel, having lost her anchors, was permitted to approach so near that the American assailants, who had been heretofore concealed, were enabled to board the frigate sword in hand: they drove the barbarians overboard, set fire to the ship, and, whilst she was burning to the water's edge, sailed unharmed out of the harbour, under a heavy fire from all the batteries. This gallant action of young Decatur contributed much to raise the character of the American navy.

Feb. 26.

The blockade of the harbour of Tripoli was continued during the spring and summer, and, in the latter part of the season, was bombarded, but without much effect.

Derne taken by Eaton.

In the following spring, an attack was made by land also, under Eaton, consul at Tunis, to co-operate with the naval forces. Eaton, with 400 men, adventurers from various countries, Tripolitan exiles, and Arab cavalry, marched through the desert from Egypt, countenanced by Ali Pasha; and, assisted by the Argus, the Hornet, and the Nautilus, American ships of war, he succeeded in taking Derne, the Tripolitan port and settlement nearest Egypt (April 27th, 1805), which brought the bashaw to terms, and led to a negotiation and peace with Tripoli, much to the dissatisfaction of Eaton, who expected to reap some great advantage.

Peace secured.

1803.

The purchase of Louisiana.

But an event of more importance than a war with this piratical state occurred soon after it commenced. This was the purchase of Louisiana from France. Ex-Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Monroe were sent to Paris, as special ministers, to negotiate that bargain. Napoleon wanted money more than an unprofitable settlement on the banks of the Mississippi. After the usual haggling between the French and American diplomatists, the French agreed to a cession of the whole territory for the comparatively unimportant sum of fifteen millions of dollars—deducting

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little less than four millions of dollars as an indemnification to American merchants for the spoliations which had been made. This arrangement was justly received with great exultation by the President and his cabinet, and was ratified (October 20th, 1803) by the United States Senate. Some doubts and difficulties still remained respecting boundaries, the French claiming more territory than Spain was willing to concede; but these were allayed by the moderation and pacific policy of the President.

After the peaceful acquisition of an immense territory for a comparatively trifling sum, no great political event of general interest occurred during the first administration of Jefferson. Party politics, however, ran high, and the federal leaders made a great outcry.

Duel between Burr and Hamilton.

Unfortunately, this intense party animosity, never since equalled, led to the duel between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton, into which the latter was forced by his unprincipled opponent. Burr was eager for the blood of Hamilton; and nothing short of his death could possibly appease him, in order that he might remove the great obstacle to his ascendency, or gratify the malice of disappointed ambition. This melancholy and disgraceful duel was fought on the 11th of July, where Hoboken now is, opposite New York, on the Jersey shore. "The parties," says a recent historian of the United States, "having exchanged salutations, the seconds measured the distance of ten paces, loaded the pistols, made the other preliminary arrangements, and placed the combatants. At the appointed signal, Burr took deliberate aim, and fired. The ball entered Hamilton's side, and, as he fell, his pistol too was unconsciously discharged. Burr approached him, apparently somewhat moved; but, on the suggestion of his second, the surgeon and the barge-men already approaching, he turned and hastened away, Van Ness, his

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second, coolly covering him from their sight by opening an umbrella. The surgeon found Hamilton half sitting on the ground and supported in the arms of his second. The pallor of death was on his face. 'Doctor,' he said, 'this is a mortal wound,' and, as if overcome by the effort of speaking, he swooned quite away. As he was carried across the river, the fresh breeze revived him. His own house being in the country, he was conveyed at once to the house of a friend, where he lingered for twenty-four hours in great agony, but preserving his composure and self-command to the last."

Death of Hamilton.

Thus died Hamilton, the leader of the federal party, and one of the greatest men that this country has yet produced — the friend of Washington, the chief framer of the American Constitution, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and in the midst of usefulness and honour. New York never witnessed a more mournful spectacle than at his funeral, from Trinity Church, in which Gouverneur Morris pronounced his eulogy, before all that were learned and distinguished in the city.

His eulogy.

The public indignation against Burr was tremendous. He was regarded as a wilful murderer, and was forced to flee. He embarked quietly for Georgia, lost all political influence, and gained an infamous reputation, which will ever cling to his name, even as the stigma of treason will for ever be attached to the memory of Arnold — two men who equally aimed at power even at the sacrifice of fame, friends, and country.

Execration of Burr.

1805

The peaceful acquisition of Louisiana, the curtailment of the public expenses, the prosperity of the country, and the great talents and patriotism of Jefferson, secured his re-election to the presidency and the greater predominance of his party.

Re-election of Jefferson.

Meanwhile, Burr, disappointed in all his hopes of

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power, and blasted in reputation, abandoned himself to desperate and dangerous schemes. In April, 1805, with several nominal objects in view, he departed for the West, but with the probable intention of raising an expedition for the conquest of Mexico, or of separating the South-western States from the Union and erecting out of them a monarchy, of which New Orleans was to be the capital.

Burr's conspiracy

He however failed to gain over to his views any men of political influence, although he succeeded in entrapping Blennerhasset, an Irish gentleman of property, settled on an island in the Ohio, opposite Marietta. Rumour accused him of something equally disgraceful in his intrigues with the wife of this enthusiastic gentleman — for Burr was vain of his power over women, who were too frequently victims of his arts. Burr had made great calculations on receiving the co-operation of General Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the army and governor of Louisiana, as well as of General Eaton, with Truxton, Preble, and Decatur, naval commanders. But these men were true to themselves and their country; and Wilkinson especially, detecting the dangerous schemes of Burr, did all in his power to defeat them, acquainting the President with Burr's intentions, arresting his coadjutors, and putting New Orleans in a state of defence (1806). Even Burr himself was arrested in Kentucky, through the agency of Daviess, the district-attorney, and his trial commenced at Frankfort; but, the principal witness relied upon by the government failing to appear, Burr had a triumphant release. Meanwhile the boats which Blennerhasset had prepared for the descent of the river were seized. Still, Burr persevered in attempting to win over the Western country, including the troops stationed at military posts on the Mississippi. He remained some time near Natchez, fearing to descend the river to New

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Orleans, on account of the measures of Wilkinson and the proclamation of the President, which called upon all persons in authority to exert themselves to suppress an enterprise which had for its object the invasion of the Spanish territories. The governor of the Mississippi Territory actually called out 400 militia for the purpose of arresting Burr, and he was obliged to surrender. There was not, however, evidence sufficient to convict him, and he remained at the house of one of his sureties; but, hearing that Wilkinson had sent some officers from New Orleans to arrest him, and fearing to fall into his hands, he fled. He was, however, captured and sent under guard to Washington, the seat of government of Mississippi Territory. The exaggerated accounts of Burr's force having become subjects of ridicule, and the alarm excited at New Orleans having subsided, there was a reaction of public opinion, and Burr found defenders in Congress. Nevertheless, he was tried for high treason at Richmond, before Chief Justice Marshall, and was acquitted. The Federalists were inclined to make light of the whole affair; but the Democrats viewed it more seriously, especially the President, who watched the trial with great interest and ardently desired his conviction. Soon after the trial, Burr embarked for Europe, and lived a while at Paris in straitened circumstances and an object of suspicion to government. He returned to America just before the war with England, and resumed the practice of the law. But his political prospects were completely blasted, and his character was sullied by private vices. He lived to the age of eighty — deserted, lonely, and embarrassed.

Arrest of Burr.

His trial and acquittal.

1807

Meanwhile matters of greater national interest took place. Napoleon, at this time, was in the height of his victories and at war with England. In consequence, the Americans enjoyed the carrying trade of the world. Great

1805.

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fortunes were made by American merchants. Being at peace with both France and England, American vessels traded with these two great belligerent powers of Europe as well as with their colonies. These mercantile advantages were regarded with jealousy by British merchants; and British privateers-men and many naval officers complained that there were no longer any prizes to take. The British Courts of Admiralty lent an ear to these complaints, and passed decrees which declared that vessels engaged in carrying West India produce from the United States to Europe were legal prizes. The seizure and condemnation of several American vessels with valuable cargoes followed, which, of course, occasioned loud complaints in the United States. Public meetings were held to consider the state of affairs.

English decrees against rights of neutrals

These were not the only grounds of offence. England claimed the right to search American vessels for deserters from its own service; in consequence of which, great annoyances were inflicted on merchant vessels, and American sailors often forced into the British naval service. Congress retaliated by prohibiting the importation of many of the most important articles of British manufacture.

Claim of right of search for British seamen.

But graver causes of offence soon after occurred. Great Britain, with a view to cripple Napoleon, as well as to please her merchants, passed orders in Council (May, 1806) which declared several European ports, under control of the French, to be in a state of blockade; thus authorizing the capture of American vessels bound to them, and violating the law of nations.

British orders in council.

Napoleon, also, wishing to retaliate on the English, rather than to injure American commerce, devised a system by which he hoped to exclude English manufactures from the Continent, and thus cripple Great Britain in the most vital point, especially since by the battle of Trafalgar

Berlin decrees.

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England was the undisputed mistress of the ocean. He accordingly issued his famous Berlin decrees (November, 1806), by which Great Britain was not only declared to be in a state of blockade and all intercourse suspended, but which forbade the introduction of any English goods into the Continent of Europe.

The English retaliated by declaring the whole coast of Europe to be in a state of blockade, and prohibited neutrals altogether from trade with the Continent. Napoleon then issued his Milan decree, which confiscated not only the vessels of neutrals which should touch at an English port, but such as should submit to be searched.

Milan decree.

Under these decrees, the capture of nearly all American property on the high seas was rendered almost certain, and thus a condition of things most disastrous to American commerce was effected through the efforts of these two belligerent powers to embarrass each other in their strife for mastery.

Critical state of American commerce.

These were great evils; and, during their continuance, American commerce between France and England as well as the rest of Europe was virtually suspended: for American vessels might be seized by either French or English, and rates of insurance rose to a ruinous height.

The greatest alarm now prevailed in the United States. The Federalists clamoured for war, and large appropriations for military defences. The Democrats thought that there were not sufficient causes of war, and, in accordance with the suggestion of Jefferson, only asked for an increase of gun-boats, of no use, except in rivers. The American ships, however, were so much exposed to capture that Congress, in 1807, decreed an embargo, or a prohibition to American ships to leave their ports.

The embargo.

This efficient measure, although all parties had urged the government to adopt a vigorous course in order

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to avenge the honour and protect the property of the country, soon excited a general opposition, especially in the New England States; and, not being able to enforce the restrictions imposed by the embargo without military coercion, government prudently yielded and had recourse to another expedient, — that of non-intercourse.

Capture of the Chesapeake.

The general irritation was also increased by the unfortunate affair of the Chesapeake. This national vessel was attacked by a British ship of superior force, the Leopard, and compelled to surrender, after several men had been killed and wounded. The outrage was inflicted on the ground that the American vessel sheltered deserters from the British navy, and four of the crew were carried off on that plea, three of whom were Americans. The British government, however, disavowed the act of the naval officer, although it offered no adequate reparation; and, notwithstanding the disavowal, it contributed to swell the feeling of indignation against England throughout the land. This spirit of hostility was further increased by the refusal of England to revoke her obnoxious decrees, so unjust, and so injurious to American interests. The decrees of Napoleon also were equally injurious; in consequence of which Congress at last was compelled, in March, 1809, after all negotiations had failed, wholly to interdict trade and intercourse with both France and England.

1808.

Jefferson's policy.

Such were the events of greatest public interest during the administration of Jefferson, characterized on the whole by great wisdom and forbearance. Though hostile to Great Britain, he was averse to plunging the nation into war, which, however, could not be averted, under his successor, without a loss of national honour.

It was Mr. Jefferson's policy to diminish the public debt, to restrict the army and navy, to repeal all direct

taxes, to reduce the tariff, to maintain friendly relations with the Indians, whose rights were respected, to add new territories to the country, to extend the liberty of the press, and to favour unbounded religious toleration. This policy, with some exceptions, has since continued to guide the course of the American government, and must continue to do so, in accordance with the popular wishes. Since the term of the first democratic President, the general principles of his party have been in the ascendant. Political contests, however, though sometimes exhibiting much warmth, have not been attended with that extreme degree of animosity which characterized the early contests between the two old parties. American citizens have come to believe, that a political antagonist is not necessarily an enemy to his country, and that no party whatever has the smallest chance of success, which does not in the main support the honest principles of republicanism and the honour and interest of the whole country.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST TERM OF MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

THOMAS JEFFERSON retired from the presidency at a very critical period. "His policy of peace,—of commercial restrictions, moral philosophy, and dry docks,"—was pursued until the nation was on the verge of internal and external war. The overbearing and unjust measures of France and England respecting neutrals could no longer be patiently endured. England still looked with jealousy on the rising greatness of the American republic, and endeavoured to check it by low acts of diplomacy, by invading international rights, by encouraging hostilities among the Indians, by retaining possession of military posts north-west of the Ohio, and, above all, by seizing American vessels and impressing American sailors into her service. Still, Mr. Jefferson pursued a pacific and conciliatory policy, and was ably supported by his Secretary of State, James Madison, who conducted the most delicate negotiations with masterly ability.

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When Mr. Jefferson retired, the eyes of the nation were fixed on Mr. Madison, as the only man who could bring existing difficulties to a successful termination; and he was accordingly chosen President of the United States. He was inaugurated in March, 1809; and George Clinton, of New York, was chosen Vice-President. Robert Smith, of Maryland, was appointed Secretary of State;

Madison chosen President. His cabinet.

Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, was continued in the office of Secretary of the Treasury; William Eustis, of Massachusetts, was appointed Secretary of War; and Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina, was called to the Navy Department.

Interdiction of commercial intercourse.

But the difficulties with foreign powers, which had originated during Washington's administration and increased during that of Jefferson, were no nearer a termination; indeed, they were more embarrassing and further from adjustment. Great Britain still continued to usurp the same power on the water that Napoleon did on the land; and the two great belligerents seemed to vie with each other in their disregard for the rights of neutrals. As a last resource, Congress prohibited all commercial intercourse with both Great Britain and France; still wishing, however, to preserve peace, the President was at the same time authorized to renew commercial intercourse so soon as these governments should repeal their obnoxious decrees and orders.

War declared against Great Britain.

In 1811, France reluctantly revoked the Berlin and Milan decrees; but the orders in Council were still continued by the British government, contrary to all justice and the mutual interests of the two nations. At this period, England had impressed from the crews of American merchant vessels, peacefully navigating the ocean, no less than six thousand seamen who claimed to be citizens of the United States, beside seizing and confiscating an immense amount of property. In view of these wrongs, Congress could hesitate no longer, and accordingly declared war against Great Britain (June 18th, 1812).

Opposition to the war.

The declaration of war was received by different parties with different feelings. The old Federalists strongly opposed the war, and palliated the unjust course which England had pursued on the ground of necessity. They

maintained that the obnoxious orders were continued out of fear of Napoleon rather than disregard to the Americans, and that, as England was struggling for existence, it was ungenerous to take advantage of her critical situation. Moreover, they declared the nation unprepared for war, and predicted calamities which would more than balance the advantages to be gained. Nor did they believe that there was a sufficient cause of hostilities, or that the national honour was seriously compromised. Among the most violent opposers of the war were the clergy, the lawyers, and especially the merchants, of New England, who viewed with regret the withdrawal of their commerce from the ocean.

Popularity of the war.

But, with a great majority of the nation, the war was popular. The preservation of national honour was regarded of more value than that of any material interests. Nor had hostility to England sufficiently abated since the Revolution, to allow the people to do justice to the course the English government felt constrained to pursue, while opposing a barrier to the career of Napoleon.

Condition of the United States.

There can be no doubt that the nation was not well prepared for a contest with England. Mr. Madison had indulged the hope that all difficulties would be settled, and Congress itself was averse to making those large appropriations necessary to conduct a war with success. The navy was insignificant. The army was small and not well organized. The treasury was empty, and money could only be raised by loans. Our geographical position was unfavourable. On the one side was Canada, well furnished with troops and all the munitions of war. On the north-west and south-west were lawless savages, unfriendly to the American cause, and embittered by English arts. On the south was Florida, occupied by Spanish troops. The old revolutionary generals were dead or

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superannuated. The cabinet-ministers were unacquainted with military affairs. The community and Congress were divided as to the necessity of the war itself.

American generals.

Such was the condition of the country when the war was declared. Henry Dearborn, who had been Secretary of War during Jefferson's administration, was appointed senior Major-General; under him were Major-Generals James Wilkinson, of Maryland, Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, William Hull, governor of Michigan Territory, and Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina.

Hull on the frontier.

In anticipation of hostilities, a large force was placed under the command of General Hull, in order that he might cut off all communication between the Northwestern Indians and the British posts in the Canadas. By some remissness in the War Department, the first intelligence of the declaration of war was received in Canada by the British themselves, before it was known on the frontier-posts. Consequently, Mackinaw, on the island of Michilimackinac, at the junction of Lakes Huron and Michigan, on the 17th of July, 1812, was surprised by the enemy and taken without resistance. This important post, the depôt of the fur-trade and the key of the Northwest, was thus unfortunately lost at the very outset.

Loss of Michilimackinac.

Hull's invasion of Canada: his disasters and surrender

Hull meanwhile set out, with a force of volunteers and militia, from Detroit, his seat of government, to invade Canada, and issued pompous proclamations. But he met with nothing but a series of disasters, being opposed by General Brock, an able and experienced commander. His stores, despatches, and baggage were captured in a boat. A detachment of his forces was cut to pieces by Tecumseh, the Indian warrior. His army was discouraged by finding the savages more hostile than was expected. His flanks were in danger of an attack by the British, and his rear was not open to supplies. Under

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these circumstances, he commenced a retreat (August 7th), ignominiously recrossed into Michigan, and (August 15th) surrendered, with his whole army, at Detroit, to General Brock, without striking a blow, or performing one gallant action, or even holding a council of war.

Trial of Hull.

Thus was the war opened by the most disgraceful surrender of an American army to an inferior force, without exhibiting either courage or skill. The army, however, as well as the country, was indignant in view of this useless surrender, and Hull was tried by a court-martial for cowardice, convicted, and sentenced to be shot; but, being recommended to mercy, he was pardoned by the President, although dismissed from the service.

Meditated attack of Halifax.

Before the surrender of Hull, a project had been laid before the War Department for the capture of Halifax, the principal naval depôt of the enemy; but the project was not then deemed feasible by Mr. Eustis, and it was accordingly abandoned, to be subsequently resumed.

Forces for the invasion of Canada.

The invasion of Canada, at this period, still occupied the attention of the American commander-in-chief, for which purpose 18,000 men were collected in various places on the frontier. These were distributed in three divisions: the first, under General Harrison, near the head of Lake Erie; a second, under General Van Rensselaer, at Lewistown, on Niagara river; and a third, under General Dearborn, in the vicinity of Plattsburg.

Failure of Rensselaer.

The division under Van Rensselaer, composed equally of regulars and militia, crossed the river, to attack the British on Queenstown Heights. The enterprise was gallantly conducted by the general, but was not properly sustained by the army, only a part of whom were willing to embark. Consequently, the assault was unsuccessful, although General Brock was killed. Of 1100 men who crossed the river, nearly all were killed, wounded, or

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taken prisoners. The battle was lost for want of discipline. The troops would not obey the orders of the general — and no courage can atone for disobedience.

General Dearborn.

The unlucky and not very creditable campaign of 1812 was closed by a feeble attempt of General Dearborn to invade Canada. He commanded full 6000 men, and was well provided with money and the munitions of war; but after a miserable skirmish he relinquished the enterprise and retired to winter-quarters. All that can be said in his justification is, that his militia refused to cross the line, regarding themselves as called out to resist invasion, not to carry on offensive operations in the enemy's country.

The first year of the war would have ended in a total eclipse of glory and honour, had it not been for some brilliant naval encounters. The infant navy accomplished wonders, and partially redeemed the misfortunes of the army.

Capture of the Guerriere and Frolic.

On the 19th of August, three days after the surrender of Hull at Detroit, the frigate Constitution, commanded by Captain Hull, captured the British frigate Guerriere, with the loss of only seven killed and seven wounded — one of the most brilliant naval exploits on record. On the 17th of October, the English brig Frolic surrendered to the American sloop of war Wasp, commanded by Captain Jones. The loss of the Frolic was thirty killed and fifty wounded; that of the Wasp was five killed and five wounded. But both these vessels were subsequently recaptured by a British seventy-four.

Capture of the Macedonian and Java.

These successes were followed by others scarcely less brilliant. On the 25th of October, Captain Decatur, of the frigate United States, captured the Macedonian, a frigate of the largest class, with the loss only of seven killed and five wounded, while the Macedonian lost thirty-six killed and sixty-eight wounded. On the 29th of December,

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the Constitution, then commanded by Commodore Bainbridge, achieved a second victory, off San Salvador, by capturing the British frigate Java, in a short but severe action. Besides her crew of four hundred men, the Java had on board one hundred men designed for the British service in the East Indies. Her commander, Captain Lambert, was mortally wounded, and sixty of her men were killed and one hundred and twenty wounded. The Constitution had nine killed and twenty-five wounded. The prize, however, was a complete wreck, and could not be brought into port.

Capture of English vessels.

These unexpected successes on the ocean raised the spirits of the Americans, so much mortified by the disasters and disgrace which had accompanied the operations of the army. Before the meeting of Congress, in November, nearly two hundred and fifty English vessels were captured, upwards of fifty of which were armed, carrying more than six hundred guns.

Enthusiasm of the people.

Throughout the country, confidence was inspired, and a general enthusiasm prevailed. Numerous volunteer corps were formed, and tendered their services to the government. This patriotic spirit manifested itself especially in the alacrity displayed by the people in Western Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee. Even females, of every condition and age, voluntarily engaged in the work of preparing clothing and knapsacks for their relations and friends.

Message to Congress.

The President, in his message to Congress, which had reassembled (November 2d) for a short session, did not attempt to conceal the misfortunes of the army on the Canadian frontier, and which, he did not hesitate to say, had partly resulted from the want of proper spirit and patriotism in the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who were opposed to the war.

Congress ordered the construction of four ships of the line, six frigates, and six sloops of war, and passed an act for a loan of sixteen millions of dollars, and also for the issue of five millions of treasury notes. This sum, including the loan of eleven millions, authorized on the 14th of March, and five millions of treasury notes, on the 30th of June, made the appropriations for the prosecution of the war amount altogether to thirty-seven millions of dollars in one year.

Supplies voted by Congress.

About this time, several men, since distinguished in the congressional annals of the country, entered the national legislature. Among these was Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House, Daniel Webster, who represented a district in New Hampshire, Jeremiah Mason, Charles J. Ingersoll, John Forsyth, Richard Stockton, John W. Eppes, Timothy Pickering, and Timothy Pitkin. Rufus King was then the leader of the minority, or the anti-war party, in the Senate.

Distinguished members of Congress.

The presidential contest was animated in the Eastern States; but only a slight opposition was made to Mr. Madison in the South and West, and he was re-elected by a large majority. Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, was elected Vice-President, over George Clinton. During the winter, some changes took place in the cabinet. William Jones, of Pennsylvania, was appointed Secretary of the Navy, in the place of Hamilton; and General Armstrong, late minister to France, Secretary of War, instead of Dr. Eustis.

Presidential election.

1813. Soon after Madison was inaugurated a second time, Russia, which had suffered from the interruption of American commerce, offered her mediation between the belligerent parties. The President accepted the offer, and appointed John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, and James A. Bayard, envoys extraordinary and ministers

Russia offers her mediation.

plenipotentiary, to conclude a treaty of peace, under the auspices of the Russian Emperor Alexander; but Great Britain, unwilling to abandon her pretensions, declined the proffered mediation. The United States had no other course than to prosecute the war, which will be considered in the next chapter.

Battle of Lake Erie.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND TERM OF MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Opening of the campaign of 1813.

THE campaign of 1813 opened with considerable military preparations on the part of the Americans. Brigadier-General William Henry Harrison, of the Ohio militia, who had long been the popular governor of the North-western Territories, was placed at the head of a large body of volunteers and militia, from Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. A more gallant army never marched with higher hopes than the 10,000 men under Harrison and Wilkinson, to recover what had been lost by Hull, and even to conquer Canada. General Harrison commanded the right wing, and General Winchester, the second in command, the left. The latter general, while Harrison was lying at Sandusky, detached Colonels Lewis and Allen from the left wing, and sent them to protect the village of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, from the Indians and Canadians. They fell in with a party of the enemy, and obtained complete success. The advantage which was thus gained inspired the troops under Winchester to join Lewis and share his triumphs, and the general yielded to their desires. He joined Lewis on the 13th of January, with the intention of preserving the position which had been gained on the Raisin. So soon as Harrison heard of the success at Frenchtown, he also set forward to effect a general junction of the army,

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but, it being so early in the season, he was prevented by the difficulties of the march from accomplishing his object. Before he could join Winchester, the latter was attacked (January 22d) by a large force of British and Indians, and completely routed. General Winchester himself and Colonel Lewis were taken prisoners. Nor was this the greatest calamity. Major Madison, who, with 500 men, had succeeded in retaining his position, was induced, through the influence of Winchester, to surrender to Colonel Proctor, who had promised to treat him and his troops with the honourable consideration due to captives. But the savages under Proctor, exasperated at the loss of their warriors, demanded vengeance, and he basely surrendered 500 prisoners, comprising men from the best families of Kentucky, into their hands. The next day, the whole of them were ruthlessly murdered — one of the greatest outrages in the annals of modern warfare; and Proctor, who permitted the slaughter, instead of being cashiered and disgraced, was made brigadier-general.

Defeat of Winchester.

Murder of Kentucky soldiers.

General Harrison, after this disaster, retreated to his post on the Miami, and proceeded to fortify Fort Meigs, all further advance upon the enemy's territory being necessarily abandoned. Here he successfully withstood two sieges, from a vastly superior force under Proctor and Tecumseh, and the enemy was compelled to retire. On the 5th of May, General Clay, with 1200 Kentucky militia, arrived in the vicinity of Fort Meigs, and was ordered to attack the British redoubts, on one side of the river, in concert with a sortie from the fort, headed by Colonel Miller. The attack was successful; but, instead of returning to the fort, as he was ordered, General Clay pursued the retreating Indians, until he himself, in return, was surrounded and completely defeated. Only a small part of his force reached the fort in safety. Thus

Harrison's successes.

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ensued another reverse in consequence of disobedience of orders, and the North-west was still left open to British thraldom and depredation.

The campaign would have terminated before Harrison could have matured his preparations to recover what Hull had lost, had not the destruction of the British fleet on Lake Erie, by Commodore Perry, opened the way to the capture of Proctor on the Thames, and the complete relief of the entire West from the enemy.

This event, one of the most signal and fortunate during the war, took place on the tenth of September. The American squadron consisted of nine vessels, carrying fifty-four guns; the British, of six vessels and sixty-three guns. The battle began at eleven o'clock in the morning, and, at first, was unfavourable to the Americans, the flag-ship of Perry, the Lawrence, being disabled by the fire of two ships of equal size with which she contended, and from which she could not escape on account of the lightness of the wind. The gallant commodore, instead of surrendering, left his ship, in an open boat, amid a heavy and destructive fire, and passed unhurt to the Niagara. The wind then rising, Perry succeeded in bringing the whole squadron into action; and, in three hours, his victory was complete. The loss of the Americans was twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded, while the British loss was much greater. The prisoners amounted to 600, exceeding the whole number of Americans engaged in the action.

Perry's victory on Lake Erie.

This great victory of Perry over Barclay extinguished the power of the British on the Lakes, and opened a passage to the territory which had been surrendered by Hull. General Harrison, assisted by the governors of Kentucky and Ohio, succeeded in collecting an army of 7000 men, on the southern shore of Lake Erie, and which,

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embarking on Perry's fleet, reached Malden the 27th of September. This great force filled General Proctor with consternation, and he took to flight, after destroying every thing which came in his way. General Harrison pursued and overtook the retreating enemy, the 5th of October, on the river Thames, about eighty miles from Detroit. Here Proctor, with Tecumseh, posted himself, and prepared for the attack, when flight was no longer possible. Both armies engaged with determined courage, and the Americans gained the day. Tecumseh, the most celebrated Indian warrior that ever raised his arm against the white men, was killed, and, on his death, the Indians fled; and the English, with the exception of Proctor, who, with 200 dragoons, succeeded in escaping, laid down their arms. Had the forces been more equal, the victory would have been more glorious. Its result, however, was great, for the north-western country was regained, and the way prepared for a more effectual invasion of Canada.

Harrison's victories.

Upon this decisive battle, General Harrison embarked for Buffalo, after discharging a great part of the volunteers who had so honourably served, and leaving Colonel Cass, with a detachment, at Detroit. Soon after, while reposing on his laurels at home, in Ohio, he resigned his commission, in consequence of a disagreement with the executive, which, against his expectation, was received

Harrison resigns his commission.

The victory of Perry on the water and of Harrison on the land gave occasion for great public rejoicings, in all the chief cities of the land. Harrison was the first to turn the tide of adverse events, for which he obtained the nation's gratitude, and finally the highest honour in its power to bestow. He, however, was fortunate, rather than great — for his successful campaign will bear no comparison, in military genius, with that which achieved the conquest of Mexico under Scott and Taylor.

His military reputation.

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While Harrison was recovering the ground lost by Hull, a series of disasters occurred on the Atlantic seaboard. England, engaged in her gigantic struggle with Napoleon, had no leisure to bestow much attention upon the contest in America, comparatively of trifling importance; nor could she spare either troops or naval armaments. British naval forces, especially, did not appear on the American coast in any formidable numbers, until after the war had been declared for more than a year. But early in 1813, Admiral Warren, with two ships of the line, four frigates, and several smaller vessels, took possession of Hampton roads. Soon after, in March, Delaware Bay was occupied by a considerable force; and, indeed, the whole coast was pretty effectually blockaded by British fleets, consisting of six seventy-four-gun ships, thirteen frigates, and eighteen sloops of war. The Americans had no armaments capable of withstanding this great naval force, although several gallant actions had been performed by single ships. The American privateers had seized hundreds of British merchant vessels. The Peacock had surrendered to the Hornet, commanded by Captain Lawrence, while the President, under Rodgers, the Congress, under Smith, and the Essex, under Porter, had carried terror into every sea.

British fleets.

American navy.

The arrival of British fleets on the American waters was attended with most disgraceful depredations. The English acted altogether like unlicensed buccaneers, wherever they found themselves unchecked by opposing forces. They burned hamlets, villages, and towns, along the coast. They destroyed mills, bridges, foundries, stables, and cottages. They seized pleasure boats, oyster smacks, and market shallops. All these ravages, whose only effect was to irritate, were encouraged by Admiral Cockburn, afterwards a favourite of the prince regent.

Depredations of the British.

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But the British soon attempted something more serious than the destruction of barns and fishing boats. On the 22d of June, Admirals Warren and Cockburn, with the seamen and marines of their fleets, joined by two or three thousand infantry, under Sir Sidney Beckworth, made an attack on Craney Island, near Norfolk, but were severely and effectually repulsed. This repulse was revenged by an attack on Hampton, a small fishing town in Hampton roads, which was more successful, and gave occasion to wanton barbarities that would have disgraced savages. Silver was plundered from communion tables. Women were outraged by indignities which are worse than death. The churches were desecrated. The sick were murdered in bed. Stores and shops were plundered. Slaves were stolen, and either sold in the West India markets, or incorporated with the troops. These outrages, however, produced such general disgust, that the opposition to the war was abated, and Congress was urged to more decisive measures. Direct taxes were imposed, and heavy duties laid on refined sugar, sales at auction, retailers' licenses, stamps, carriages, and sundry other articles. But we return to military operations in Canada.

Attack of Craney Island.

General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, had designed to attack Canada at Kingston, on Lake Ontario, where the English naval and land forces were concentrated. Commodore Chauncey commanded the lake, and had succeeded in confining the British naval forces in the harbour of Kingston. General Pike was the officer selected to make the attack. On the 25th of April, his forces, amounting to 1600 men, were transported by Chauncey's fleet towards Kingston, and landed about three miles from York, or Toronto, as it is since called, the provincial capital. The Americans successfully accomplished the disembarkation, and succeeded in capturing the place; although, by

General Pike attacks Kingston.

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the explosion of a powder-magazine, General Pike was unfortunately killed. After stripping York of the booty, General Dearborn re-embarked, and attacked and carried Fort George. This exploit consumed a month, and was an insignificant object compared with an attack on Kingston, which, with the great forces of the Americans at the time, might have been captured.

American reverses.

The attack on York left Sacket's Harbour in a comparatively defenceless state, and, in the absence of the troops, it was attacked by a British force of about 1000 men, while Fort George was carried by the Americans. The British, however, were repulsed, and the place remained in the hands of the Americans. But this repulse was the last American success in 1813 on Lake Ontario or the St. Lawrence. Indecisive and unfortunate results still seemed to attend the American arms in that quarter. The war was carried on at enormous expense, and more money was expended for ship-building than would have been required to transport large armies to Halifax. The American troops remained inactive most of the time in camp, decimated by disease and unwholesome food; and prices for provisions were so high, that, at one time, flour cost $100 a barrel. The commander-in-chief, General Dearborn, was incapacitated, by age and infirmities, for his duties; but he resigned at last, and was succeeded by General Wilkinson.

Success of the English.

But he did not prove a more efficient commander, and a succession of reverses sullied the glory of the American arms. At Forty Mile Creek, on the 3d of June, the Americans were beaten in an action, and Generals Chandler and Winder were taken prisoners. Three weeks later, Colonel Boerstler, with 600 men, was attacked by a body of English and Indians, and compelled to surrender at discretion. Nor was any offensive operation made

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after Boerstler's capture, while the enemy was as active as our forces were sluggish.

On the 20th of August, General Wilkinson arrived at Sackett's Harbour, with instructions to capture Kingston. His forces were deemed ample, having the control, in various stations, of 11,000 men. On the 5th of September, the Secretary of War himself arrived at the head-quarters of Wilkinson, to concert measures for the conquest of Canada. But his plan of attacking Kingston was now abandoned, and it was resolved to proceed to Montreal. Two columns were accordingly concentrated at Grenadier Island and Plattsburg, respectively commanded by Generals Wilkinson and Hampton, for the invasion of Canada. The former lingered at Sackett's Harbour until the latter end of October, and thus gave the enemy time to fortify their posts on the river; and a fortnight more was consumed before his forces were fairly embarked, in 300 boats, upon the St. Lawrence. The descent was calamitous, in consequence of shoals, rapids, fogs, storms, bad pilots, and the enemy's guns. Moreover, from jealousy between Wilkinson and Hampton, there was no co-operation; and when Wilkinson, after many perils, arrived at St. Regis, where Hampton had been ordered to meet him, he received a communication from Hampton stating that, in consequence of the sickly state of his troops and the want of provisions, he had fallen back to Plattsburg. This conduct of Hampton was fatal to success, and the whole expedition was necessarily abandoned.

Armstrong at head-quarters

Descent of the St. Lawrence.

Thus terminated the campaign of 1813, in the North, disastrously and ignominiously, for want of concert and ability among the great leaders of the enterprise.

In the South, however, the successes of General Jackson somewhat atoned for misfortunes at the North. The campaign was carried on mainly by volunteers and militia

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from Georgia, Tennessee and the Territory of Mississippi, against the Indian foes, instigated and armed by the English and Spaniards. Of these, the Creeks, Choctaws, and Seminoles, were the most noted and uncompromising warriors. The chief agent of England, in inflaming Indian animosities, was Tecumseh, who performed a journey from North to South, in order to enlist the various tribes in one desperate league against those who occupied their ancient hunting grounds, and to secure the long lost rights of Indian freedom.

On the 13th of August, 1813, at Fort Mimms, on the Alabama river, not far from Mobile, occurred one of those horrible massacres which are consequent upon the atrocities of Indian warfare. The garrison in this place, commanded by Major Beasley, from an overweening self-confidence, was surprised by a body of 800 savages, who had been furnished with arms by the British, and 160 people were barbarously murdered, with every indignity and cruelty that Indian ingenuity could suggest. The news of this massacre spread consternation throughout that part of the country, and the great body of the settlers, being without any means of defence, fled to Mobile, which had been seized by General Wilkinson in the spring.

Massacre at Fort Mimms.

The massacre at Fort Mimms called for prompt and vigorous measures, and Georgia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, acted with great decision. A force of 3500 men was placed at the disposal of Andrew Jackson, who detached, on the 3d of November, General Coffee, with a brigade of 900 men, and a squadron of cavalry and mounted riflemen, under Colonels Allcorn and Cannon, to the Tallushatchee towns, where they routed the Creeks with such slaughter, that scarcely any escaped. This blow was followed by a succession of conflicts with other Indian bands, in a campaign of six months, which

Defeat of the Creeks.

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so prostrated their power, that they at last took refuge in entrenchments, and were finally overthrown, in March, 1814, by the storming of their fortress, by General Jackson himself, at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers.

Ruin of the Creeks.

After completing the destruction of the Creeks, General Jackson returned to Tennessee in triumph, and was made a brigadier-general, and major-general by brevet, in the regular army.

General Pinckney.

General Jackson was greatly aided in the subjection of the Creeks by General Pinckney, of South Carolina, one of the most eminent statesmen and accomplished gentlemen of the country. He served as a captain in the Revolutionary war, was selected by Washington to succeed John Adams as minister to London, in 1794, negotiated a treaty with Spain, in 1795, afterwards was a prominent member of Congress, governor of South Carolina, and major-general of the regular army. He first met Jackson in the wilds of Alabama, at an old French fort, to dictate terms to a conquered people.

Treaty with the Indians.

By the treaty which Jackson imposed, the Creeks yielded up a large part of their country to the United States, and agreed to hold no intercourse with either British or Spanish garrisons. The tribe was ruined — a fact which we should deplore, had any tribe of North American Indians, thus far, since their early contact with Europeans, shown themselves capable of civilization. That they are a doomed race, learning few of the arts and all the vices of the white man, preferring their forests to all other pleasures, and hating all improvements, is one of the most mysterious as well as one of the best attested facts of all history.

The tide of naval triumphs, thus far nearly uninterrupted, was arrested by the loss of the frigate Chesapeake,

(June 1st, 1813,) in Boston harbour. The Chesapeake was commanded by Captain Lawrence, a gallant and heroic commander, and had been challenged by Captain Brooke, of the Shannon, one of the most efficiently armed ships in the British navy. The Chesapeake was chiefly manned by new recruits, whose officers were disabled by sickness. Lawrence, unfortunately, without considering the disadvantages under which he laboured, accepted the challenge, and put to sea, much against the inclination of his men. The two ships were soon in conflict, and a desperate fight commenced, in which, owing in part to some mishap, the Chesapeake was early disabled, boarded by the British, and taken, when nearly all the officers were either killed or wounded. The gallant Lawrence, though wounded, fought with desperation, and his memorable words, "Don't give up the ship," have become the motto in the American navy. He was killed soon after, and his ship was obliged to strike to the victorious enemy, whose loss also was very considerable. The victory caused much exultation among the British, as they had heretofore in this contest been remarkably unfortunate in naval combats. Another triumph soon followed, to solace them still further. The American sloop Argus, on the 14th of August, surrendered, after a severe conflict and the loss of Captain Allen, to the Pelican, a vessel of superior force. But this loss was compensated, soon after, on the first of September, by the capture of the British brig Boxer by the schooner Enterprise; and also, the capture of the schooner Highflyer by the President. Several valuable prizes were also taken, about this time, by American privateers, which, like the national ships, maintained the honour of the American marine, notwithstanding the large naval force then employed by England.

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Loss of the Chesapeake.

Death of Lawrence.

Capture of the Boxer.

The year 1813 closed without any other signal and important actions, either on the land or water. At this period, opposition to the war, in New England, was more fierce than at any preceding time; and, in Congress, Mr. Webster uttered the sentiments of his party with tremendous power, opposed, however, by the scarcely less splendid and more popular eloquence of Calhoun, — both of whom made themselves conspicuous in the debates connected with the war, and began to occupy a commanding position in the national councils, which position neither was destined afterwards to lose.

Opposition to the war.

Preparations for another campaign.

The second session of the war-Congress began December 5th, 1813, with disappointed expectations. Harrison's successes and Jackson's victories over the Indians did not compensate for the failure of the expedition against Canada. Great Britain had rejected the proffered mediation of Russia, and was making preparations for more extended hostilities, while a third of the country was still averse to the war. Under these circumstances, President Madison recommended a most stringent embargo and non-intercourse law, which was passed by Congress. It was, however, repealed a few months afterwards (April, 1814). A loan of twenty-five millions of dollars was authorized, and laws were passed for the augmentation of the army and navy.

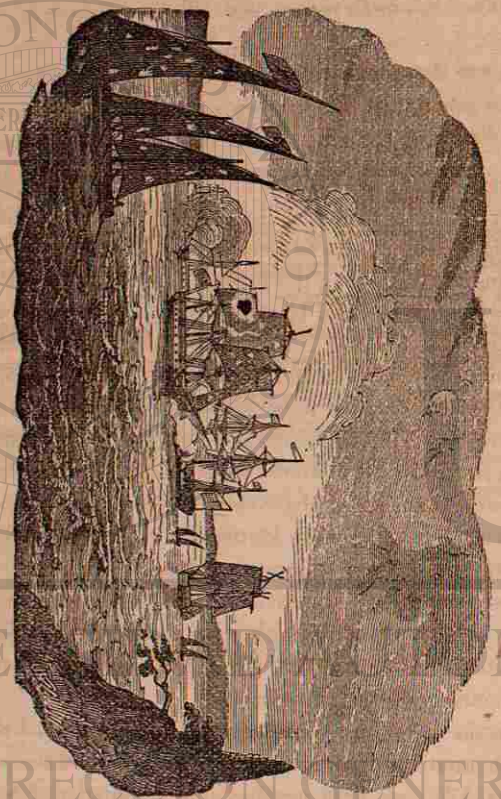
We should not, perhaps, close this chapter without adverting to the profound sensation occasioned both in Europe and America, by the very decided success which crowned the arms of the United States in her naval combats with Great Britain. The latter nation seemed to have entirely lost sight of that special aptitude for all exploits, whether peaceful or warlike, connected with life upon the ocean, which distinguished the Americans, alike in their colonial condition and in the war which secured

their independence. The intervening time from the Revolution to the war of 1812, had been marked almost continuously by a series of naval triumphs on the part of Great Britain, which nearly annihilated the squadrons of the other European powers, and left her mistress of the seas.

Navy of the United States.

It was therefore with a mingled feeling of surprise and mortification, that Englishmen contemplated the recent humiliation of their flag, in repeated combats with American ships of war. For the first time in her naval history, Great Britain enjoined it upon her officers to be extremely cautious in giving battle to American frigates, and always to avail themselves of superior force in so doing, whenever it was attainable.

The Americans exulted in the same proportion. The people resolved upon having a navy, and measures were devised to place upon the ocean a respectable force, efficient alike in striking at the enemy in the open sea, and in guarding our bays and harbours against his predatory incursions.



Battle of Lake Champlain.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

THE campaign of 1814 commenced with an unsuccessful expedition against Michilimackinac, a post of considerable importance, so far as securing an influence over the Indians and controlling the fur-trade are concerned. But before the troops could be embarked at Detroit, the battles of Chippewa and Niagara redeemed, in a measure, the military reputation of the country. The first step to be taken, with a view to the conquest of Canada, was to recover Fort Niagara and capture Fort Erie. The American troops, less than 4000, on the Canada frontier, were under the command of Major-General Brown, sent thither by General Wilkinson at Plattsburg, assisted by Brigadier-Generals Scott, Gaines, and Ripley. The spring passed away before he was in a situation to attempt any thing against the British posts, then protected by Lieutenant-General Drummond, whose forces were augmented by a number of veteran regiments.

Plan of the campaign.

On the 3d of July, General Brown invested Fort Erie, which capitulated, without striking a blow, and the prisoners, 170 men, were marched into the interior of New York. General Brown then resolved to attack Major-General Riall, who, with a division of British regulars, was entrenched at Chippewa. Here a general engagement was fought, with great coolness and bravery on both

Surrender of Fort Erie.

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sides; but victory declared for the Americans, marshalled by Brown and Scott. In this battle, General Scott, then a young man of thirty, greatly distinguished himself, as well as Majors Jesup, Leavensworth, and M'Neill. The loss of the British was 505, in killed and wounded; that of the Americans, 338. After this pitched battle, the English fell back to Queenstown, and then to Ten Mile Creek.

Battle of Chippewa.

The battle of Chippewa, although not decisive in its results, was a brilliant victory, when it is remembered that the Americans contended with a superior force of regulars, accustomed to the wars of Europe. Moreover, it was the commencement of a series of successes, after the long prostration of the American arms.

Unfortunately, Commodore Chauncey was ill, and the fleet on Lake Ontario was unable to co-operate with the army, in prosecuting the successes which had been gained; and General Brown, unprepared to pursue the enemy, fell back to the junction of the Chippewa and Niagara.

Battle of Bridgewater.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-General Drummond joined General Riall, with a large reinforcement, assumed the command, and led his forces against the Americans. The two armies met at Bridgewater, near Niagara Falls, and the most desperate and bloody conflict of the whole war here ensued (July 25th). The battle was indecisive, and victory was claimed by both parties, although the palm is justly due to the Americans, since they contended against a superior force, and this force composed of veterans, and finally held the ground. In this battle, Generals Brown and Scott were wounded, and the command devolved on General Ripley. The British Generals Drummond and Riall were also wounded. The loss on both sides was nearly equal, a little short of 900 men being either killed or wounded, among both the

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Americans and English. In this battle, General Scott again signalized himself for impetuous bravery as well as cool intrepidity, and gave the promise of ultimately reaching the height of his profession — which promise he has gloriously fulfilled by his Mexican campaign. General Ripley, Colonels Jesup, Miller, and Leavensworth also won an honourable fame in that bloody battle-field.

Siege of Fort Erie.

On the 3d of August, General Drummond followed the American invaders to Fort Erie, then defended by General Gaines, to which he laid siege, with 4000 troops. On the 12th, he attempted to carry the fort by assault, but was repelled, with great loss. His troops, it must be confessed, fought with desperate valour, stung with rage at the disgrace of being beaten by raw American recruits. But they were met with even greater valour. The Americans retained their ground, and even made a sortie, on the 17th of September, under General Porter, which nearly destroyed the whole British force. In this sortie, he was ably supported by General Ripley, General Miller, Colonel Gibson, and Colonel Aspinwall, the latter of whom was seriously wounded. General Gaines, for his gallantry, was brevetted.

Sortie from the fort.

Tardy march of General Izard

General Izard, who now commanded at Plattsburg instead of General Wilkinson, with 7000 men, had been ordered by the Secretary of War to move, with 3500 men, from Sackett's Harbour, for the assistance of General Brown. Had he arrived in season, the whole British force might have been captured, and then nothing would have prevented the advance of the Americans upon Montreal. But he did not arrive until late in the season, partly from the difficulties of the march, and partly from disinclination to add to the laurels of General Brown, whom he looked upon with an eye of jealousy. He

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certainly did not expedite his march, but took the longest route, although General Brown had written to him imploring speedy aid. It was not until the 12th of October, that he reached Fort Erie; and, being the senior general, he assumed the command. He was now at the head of 6000 excellent troops, and in good condition to face the enemy. Leaving a sufficient garrison at Fort Erie, he advanced towards Chippewa, to operate offensively against General Drummond; but the English commander declined a battle. The Americans were then forced to abandon Fort Erie, and to retire into winter-quarters, on account of the approaching cold.

Americans retire into winter-quarters

Thus terminated the third invasion of Canada, not ingloriously, as in the two preceding campaigns, since the British force was double that of the Americans.

Before the army retired to Buffalo and Batavia for winter-quarters, a battle had been fought at Plattsburg, which resulted in the success of the American arms.

British advance upon Plattsburg.

General Izard, on his retirement from Plattsburg to assist General Brown, left nominally 3000 men, under the command of General Macomb, but only 1500 fit for service. Sir George Prevost, commander-in-chief of the British forces in Canada, soon after made arrangements to attack Plattsburg with an army of 14,000 men. In this emergency, General Macomb called upon the governors of New York and Vermont for assistance, and, in obedience to their orders, 3500 militia repaired to Plattsburg. The splendid American autumn had now commenced. The troops, though only half in number to their adversary, were in good spirits, and vigorously exerted their energies in constructing defences.

It was resolved by Sir George Prevost to attack Plattsburg both by land and water. For this purpose, in addition to his great army, he had a powerful co-operating

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naval force, under Commodore Downie. The Americans also had a considerable, though inferior squadron, for the defence of Plattsburg, under Commodore M'Donough.

On the 11th of September, the battle commenced, and the issue of it was decided on the lake. The British commodore, too confident of victory, attacked the American fleet in the harbour of Plattsburg, while the defences were assailed on the land by the troops of Prevost. M'Donough calmly awaited the attack, having chosen a favourable position, and, by admirable management, nearly annihilated the attacking squadron. General Macomb defended his position with equal skill, and successfully beat off the forces intended to crush him. Sir George Prevost, after a few disastrous skirmishes, withdrew his forces into Canada, in great haste and disorder. His disasters were unaccountable, and almost incredible — thus adding another confirmation to the great fact in the history of nations, that the battle is not always to the strong, or the race to the swift: to teach to the weak the great moral lesson of the folly of despair, and to the mighty, the folly of presumptuous self-confidence. Macomb, after his splendid victory, was brevetted, and made commander-in-chief of the American army, and, in that station, he died, at Washington, universally respected and lamented.

Battle of Plattsburg.

Consequences of the victory.

By this victory on Lake Champlain, the most decisive of the war, New England and New York were delivered from an enemy of vastly superior force; and courage and energy, unequalled since the beginning of the contest, were imparted to the American troops. Had the war continued much longer, Canada would probably have fallen, and been joined to the American confederacy.

While fortune smiled on the American arms on the Canadian frontier, considerable reverses were sustained by the navy. In the early part of the year, the frigate

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Essex, under Commodore Porter, was captured, in the harbour of Valparaiso, by two British vessels; a loss which was soon after redeemed in the capture of the Epervier by the Peacock, in the Gulf of Mexico and through that of the Reindeer and Avar by the Wasp, each of her own size. On the 21st of September, the Wasp also captured the Atalanta, making her thirteenth prize; but she herself never returned into port. Nearly contemporaneous was the capture of the President by a British squadron; a misfortune soon forgotten in the brilliant action achieved by Captain Stewart of the Constitution, in which he captured the frigate Cyane and sloop of war Levant. On the 23d of March, 1815, the Hornet captured the Penguin — the last naval action of consequence in the war.

Naval victories.

More important affairs now demand our attention. While our troops were marshalled at Plattsburg, the English succeeded in making a descent upon the capital of the nation, and in inflicting disgraceful outrages.

British enter the Chesapeake.

In the month of August, a powerful squadron, under Sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board a large body of troops, commanded by General Ross, entered the Chesapeake Bay, and proceeded up the Patuxent to Marlborough, where they landed without opposition. Through the negligence of the Secretary of War, suitable preparations had not been made to resist the enemy; and the indecision and want of energy of General Winder, who commanded the American troops, hastily collected together, enabled them to achieve an easy victory over him at Bladensburg. The British commander then proceeded to Washington, and destroyed the dock-yards and shipping, and the public edifices of the government, including the capitol, with the valuable library of Congress and the President's house. "The President himself narrowly

Washington seized.

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escaped capture. Having completed the work of devastation, like so many Vandals, the British soldiers retired to their ships, and descended the river to the Chesapeake."

General Armstrong, Secretary of War, was so severely censured for the disastrous capture of Washington, that he was compelled to resign. Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, took charge of his department, and continued to hold it till the 2d of March, 1816, when Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, was appointed Secretary of War. Ill health compelled Mr. Campbell, about this time, to resign the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and he was succeeded by Mr. Dallas, of Pennsylvania.

Resignation of Armstrong

On the 6th of September, the English fleet, with more than 5000 soldiers, sailed up the Chesapeake, with a view of capturing Baltimore. They landed on the 12th, at North Point, and General Ross and Admiral Cochrane, in the van, proceeded, without resistance, about four miles, when they were attacked by General Stricker, and compelled to retire, with the loss of the British commander. The country was now fairly aroused, and the English squadron, fearing its own safety, descended the bay, and sailed for Pensacola, where large reinforcements, under General Packenham, a relative and a favourite lieutenant of Wellington, shortly after arrived; the capture of New Orleans by these forces being now projected.

British design on Baltimore.

The scene of war now changed to the southern sections of the country, and was destined to be ended by the splendid successes of General Andrew Jackson.

After concluding a treaty with the Creeks residing in Alabama and Georgia, this able general transferred his head-quarters to Mobile. Here he learned that three ships of war had arrived at Pensacola, then a possession of the Spanish nation, and had landed 300 soldiers and a large quantity of military stores. Having in vain remon-

Jackson storms Pensacola.

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strated with the governor of Pensacola for harbouring and assisting our enemies, he determined to seek redress without waiting for authority from Washington. Reinforced with 2000 Tennessee militia and some Choctaw Indians, he advanced toward Pensacola, and, reaching the city on the 6th of November, he stormed it on the following day. On the 9th, having accomplished his purpose, he returned to Mobile.

New Orleans threatened.

It had long been feared that New Orleans would be the next object of attack by the British; the city was accordingly put in the best possible state of defence, and the militia organized. General Jackson, apprehensive of danger, arrived from Mobile, on the 2d of December. He superintended, with great zeal, all the various defences, called on the legislature for assistance, and secured considerable military supplies.

On the 9th of December, the enemy, with sixty sail, was seen off the coast of Mississippi. On the 22d, a division of the British, under General Keane, came suddenly on the American guard, and took them prisoners. On the 23d, the enemy was in turn attacked by General Jackson, with considerable loss, and nothing but a fog, suddenly arising, prevented their complete discomfiture.

Fortification of New Orleans.

Meanwhile, General Jackson continued to fortify his position, between the Swamp and the Mississippi, and here erected a breastwork of earth and cotton bags, a little outside of the city. After several ineffectual attempts to drive the Americans into the city, Sir Edward Packenham, on the 8th of January, 1815, brought his whole force, 15,000 strong, to attack the Americans, entrenched behind their breastwork, one mile in length, with a ditch in front. Jackson's efficient force was about 3000 men. The English advanced in solid column, on the even plain, assailed by the American batteries, until within musket-

1815.

The attack: victory of the Americans.

shot, when a dreadful fire was opened upon them, so deadly and effective, that the enemy's columns were literally swept away. No troops could stand a fire which destroyed hundreds at every discharge. The British were broken, dispersed, and disheartened. The commander-in-chief was killed in an ineffectual attempt to animate them by his own example. They however rallied, under Generals Gibbs and Keane, and again were driven back, with immense slaughter. So dreadful a carnage has scarcely ever been recorded. So great a disproportion between the victors and the conquered is not furnished in the whole annals of war. Nearly 3000 of the enemy were slain, or wounded, or taken prisoners, while the American loss was only seven killed and six wounded.

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Great loss of the British.

Consequences of the victory.

General Lambert, who succeeded Sir Edward Packenham in command, and who was the only general officer left upon the field, immediately made preparations to re-embark his troops; and, relinquishing the hopeless enterprise, the British, in the night of the 18th, with great secrecy, regained their ships.

The news of this great victory was hailed with triumphant joy throughout the United States, and every honour was lavished on the illustrious commander. This battle closed the war.

1814.

Treaty of Ghent.

Meanwhile, before it was fought, a treaty of peace had been concluded at Ghent (December 24th, 1814). The treaty was signed on the part of the United States by J. Q. Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russel, and Albert Gallatin. It stipulated for the mutual restoration of places taken in the war, the relinquishment of captures by sea, the cessation of Indian hostilities, the exchange of prisoners, and the adjustment of boundaries. But the subjects of impressment and the rights of neutrals, which had provoked the war, were left

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unnoticed. The orders in council, however, had been revoked, and impressment was no longer practised.

Reflections on the war.

Thus closed the war with Great Britain, which had lasted two years and eight months, in which our armies at first were signally defeated, owing to long habits of peace and want of abler generals. The misfortunes on the land, however, were compensated by victories on the water, which showed the superiority of the American navy over the English, whenever it contended with equal force; and, before the war had closed, our armies gained victories proportionate to former defeats, as the exigencies of the times and military practice developed the talents of the younger generals and accustomed the people to the use of arms. The war was attended with great expenses, but the moral effect was beneficial, since the Americans gained much experience as well as the respect of European nations. This war also showed the utter impossibility of gaining any material advantage over the Americans on their own soil, however great the forces of the enemy, while it taught the nation the necessity of being always prepared for war, by increasing the defences of the seaboard, maintaining a respectable military and naval force, and, above all, cherishing a decent respect for the military profession — for, a nation, in which the military spirit is extinct, is certainly doomed to great misfortunes.

Sudden fall of prices.

One of the effects of the war was to cripple for a while the commerce of the country, and to cause all British manufactured goods to rise to an enormous price. On the return of peace, the market was glutted with English merchandise; prices fell, and extensive bankrupteies ensued. At no time, in the history of the country, were greater reverses of fortune experienced.

During the war, extensive manufactories were established, and such was their success, that an immense capital was soon invested in them. With peace, these establishments, in some instances, were broken down, but still, on the whole, continued to thrive, until the United States have become nearly independent of all other nations.

Bk. VI. Ch. 7. A. D. 1815 to 1817.

Before the adjournment of the thirteenth Congress, an act was passed, authorizing the President to despatch a squadron to the Mediterranean, to chastise the Algerines. This force was put under the command of Commodore Decatur, who soon captured and destroyed all the principal vessels of the enemy, and dictated to them the terms of peace.

Algerines chastised.

After many ineffectual attempts to secure a national bank, a bill was reported by Mr. Calhoun, on the 8th of June, 1815, which passed both houses of Congress, and was approved by the President. By this bill a bank was chartered, with a capital of thirty-five millions, and was located at Philadelphia.

National bank

During the session of the fourteenth Congress, a new tariff of duties on importations, designed to protect moderately American manufactures, was adopted, with the concurrence of several members of the democratic party.

Tariff of 1815.

The last session of Congress held during the administration of Mr. Madison commenced on the 2d of December, 1816, and closed on the 3d of March, 1817. One of the most important acts of this session was that which provided for the payment of the national debt, which then exceeded one hundred and twenty millions. The navigation laws were revised, and an act passed regulating the territories, and authorizing them to be represented in Congress by one delegate from each.

Acts of the 14th Congress

On the 11th of December, 1816, Indiana was admitted into the Union, which had been partially settled by the

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French a century before, and which then composed a part of the Northwestern territory.

A. D. 1817.

Commencement of prosperity.

At the close of Madison's administration great efforts were made in the cause of education, which had languished for several years, and a spirit of religious inquiry, unknown for half a century, once more aroused the country. The arts of life, too, received a great impulse, and the nation, now amounting to nine millions five hundred thousand people, made new strides in civilization and power. The tide of emigration set strongly towards the West, and the great valley of the Mississippi and its branches were rapidly filled with enterprising inhabitants from the Old World and the Atlantic States. With the establishment of peace was also a breaking up of the old political parties. The Federalists ceased to be a political organization with the dissolution of the Hartford Convention, and new interests demanded new advocates. The ancient animosities in a measure disappeared with the retirement of Madison from the office which for eight years he had held with so much honour. It was his fortune to conduct affairs at a critical period, and when he retired to private life which he knew so well how to enjoy, he bequeathed to his countrymen an unusual degree of tranquillity, prosperity, and happiness. In the midst of literary and agricultural occupations he spent his declining days, honoured by the respect of the nation, and cheered by the society of cultivated friends. With his retirement from office, March 3d, 1817, and the accession of James Monroe, a new era commenced in American affairs.

Reflections on Madison's administration.

BOOK VII.

THE LATTER PRESIDENTS.

CHAPTER I.

ADMINISTRATION OF MONROE.

Bk. VII. Ch. 1.

A. D. 1817.

The election of James Monroe, of Virginia, to the office of chief magistrate took place at a period of tranquillity unexampled since the second election of Washington. He was a statesman of great moderation, and aimed to heal the divisions which had distracted the country. In the formation of his cabinet he made choice of John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State; Mr. Crawford was continued in the Treasury Department; Governor Shelby was made Secretary of War; Mr. Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy; and Mr. Rush was appointed Attorney-General. Mr. Rush was soon after sent to England, and Mr. Wirt took his place.

Monroe's cabinet.

After arranging affairs at Washington, the President made a tour of inspection through the Middle, Eastern, and Western States, and was everywhere received with demonstrations of respect.

The fifteenth Congress assembled on the 1st of December, 1817, and Henry Clay was unanimously chosen

Bk. VI. Ch. 7.

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Speaker of the House. Daniel D. Tompkins, as Vice-President of the United States, presided over the Senate.

A. D. 1817.

On the 11th of December, Mississippi, having adopted a State Constitution, was admitted into the confederacy—a State which was first visited by Ferdinand de Soto, in 1539. The first settlement was at Natchez, where a fort was erected by the French. The French retained their title until 1763, when they ceded the territory to the English. The Spaniards, however, claimed the territory, after the treaty of 1783, and occupied Natchez until 1798.

Mississippi admitted into the Union.

Early in the year 1817, a band of smugglers and privateers had taken possession of Galveston, in Texas, under authority, it was pretended, of the Spanish colonies, and with the view of a hostile enterprise against Florida. But the United States government deemed itself authorized to disperse the band.

Tariff modified

The subject of internal improvements early occupied the attention of Congress, and an additional protective duty was imposed on various articles with great unanimity.

Changes in the cabinet.

During the session of Congress further changes were made in the cabinet. Governor Shelby declined his appointment as Secretary of War, and John C. Calhoun was appointed. Mr. Crowninshield resigned the situation of Secretary of the Navy, and Smith Thompson, of New York, was appointed in his stead.

War with the Seminoles.

Repeated outrages having been committed on the Southern frontiers, during the summer of 1817, by the Creek and Seminole Indians, who had taken refuge in Florida after their defeat by General Jackson, he was again sent against them. He accordingly pursued the Indians into the Spanish territory, and, by vigorous and severe measures, restored tranquillity. One of his acts produced considerable excitement at that time. Two Englishmen were found in Florida, exciting the Indians

to insurrection, one of whom was sentenced to be shot and the other to be hung. General Jackson's severity was much censured by those who supposed he had transcended his powers; but Congress sanctioned his proceedings.

A. D. 1818.

Florida ceded.

The Seminole war and the seizure of Spanish posts did not prevent an amicable treaty with Spain. On the 22d of February, 1818, Florida was ceded to the United States, on a consideration of five millions allowed for spoliations. In the same year, December 3d, Illinois was admitted into the Union, which had been first settled by the French, in consequence of the discoveries of La Salle.

1819

Admission of Alabama.

On the 14th of December, 1819, Alabama was admitted into the Union — a territory which had long been the hunting ground of the Indians, and over which Georgia laid claim after the Revolutionary war.

The Missouri question.

The most important question which was discussed by Congress, during the administration of President Monroe, was that which related to the admission of Missouri into the Union. It was maintained by a large class, chiefly northern men, that no additional State tolerating the existence of slavery ought to be received into the confederation, thus reviving the agitation of the slavery question. The war, which has not yet ended, was then fairly opened. The congressional debates were exceedingly warm. The champions of the South were William Pinckney, James Barbour, Henry Clay, and John Randolph; those of the North were Rufus King, John Sergeant, John W. Taylor, and Samuel A. Foote. "The waves of anarchy began to surge violently over the ramparts of the Constitution, and Cassandras were not wanting to predict the fall of Troy." Neither party gained the day. Mr. Clay proposed a compromise, and hushed the strife. His amendments were adopted, and the President approved the bill.

Bk. VII. Ch. 1. A. D. 1820.

Missouri was subsequently admitted (August 10th, 1821), with the clause that slavery should be for ever prohibited in that part of the territory, except the State then formed, lying north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude — a line which formed the southern boundary of the State. Maine became an independent State the previous year (March 3d, 1820).

The administration of Monroe had been one of unexampled peace and tranquillity, few acts of importance having been passed by Congress, and few events of political interest having occurred. No serious opposition was made to his re-election, and he was inaugurated a second time, March 5th, 1821.

1821.

New members of Congress.

The seventeenth Congress assembled on the 3d of December, 1821, and three new Senators, of subsequent fame, took their seats — Martin Van Buren, Samuel S. Southard, of New Jersey, and Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri. Among the other prominent members who were re-elected were Messrs. J. W. Taylor, Sergeant, Mallery, M'Lane, Barbour, Randolph, Cambreleng, Walworth, M'Duffie, and Poinsett.

New political parties formed.

Divisions now began to be more apparent in the republican ranks, and six candidates appeared for the next presidential contest — John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, William Lowndes, and John C. Calhoun. The great questions of a protective tariff and a general system of internal improvements now became the leading subjects of discussion. The old federal party was broken up, and John Q. Adams and Henry Clay, both republicans, stood forth the champions of that party which finally settled into what is now called the Whig. Their chief opponents were the friends of General Jackson and Calhoun.

1822.

In March, 1822, the President recommended the public

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recognition of the independence of the revolted States of South America, against the protest of the Spanish minister, and Congress, by an almost unanimous vote, appropriated one hundred thousand dollars to defray the expenses of a mission to those newly declared republics.

Few acts of general interest were passed by either the seventeenth or the eighteenth Congress, all being absorbed in the election of a new President. But some eminent men were elected to the national legislature, among whom were Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, Forsyth, of Georgia, Rives, of Virginia, and Livingston, of Louisiana.

Adams chosen President.

Neither of the presidential candidates succeeded in obtaining a majority of the electoral votes, and it was therefore left to the House of Representatives to make a selection from the three highest on the list, and the influence of Henry Clay being thrown in favour of J. Q. Adams, he was accordingly chosen President. Mr. Calhoun had already received a majority of the electoral votes for Vice-President.

Arrival of Lafayette.

Before the administration of Monroe came to an end, the country was visited by an illustrious guest — the Marquis de la Fayette, whose services in the Revolutionary war had secured him the gratitude of the nation. His visit occupied about a year, during which he visited each of the twenty-four States, and was everywhere hailed with enthusiasm. Congress treated him with marked attention, and bestowed a grant of a township and two hundred thousand dollars as a remuneration for his past services. No foreigner ever visited our shores who was received with such universal respect.

Mr. Monroe left the helm of state when the country was making rapid strides to greatness and wealth. A

large accession of territory had been made during his administration, and the national debt had been greatly reduced. Meanwhile schools and colleges had been endowed in every quarter, and philanthropic societies had everywhere been established, to ameliorate the condition of the miserable, or to send the gospel to the heathen. Many of the States made large appropriations for public instruction, and a new class of authors arose — those who devoted their talents to the improvement of school-books. Newspapers, devoted to the advancement of the various objects of religion and philanthrophy, as well as politics and literature, increased wonderfully during this administration. The North American Review was commenced in 1815; Silliman's Journal in 1817; The Christian Spectator in 1819, afterwards merged into the Biblical Repository. Sabbath-school Unions were formed in 1817, in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore. In 1817, Mr. Gallaudet introduced a system of instruction for the blind at Hartford, and, in seven years after, there were six insane retreats established in various parts of the country. About this period the American Education Society, the American Peace Society, the Tract Society, Sabbath-school Society, and the Missionary Society, were either incorporated or received a great impulse. Steam-navigation also fairly commenced during this period, ploughing the mighty waters of the Mississippi as well as inland lakes and ocean bays. In 1819, Captain Shreve made a trip in twenty-five days from New Orleans to Louisville, and in 1820 the first steamer ascended the Arkansas. Lake Erie was first navigated by steam in 1818. Railroads were not constructed until 1827, and the application of electro-magnetism to the communication of intelligence was made at a still later date.

Progress in arts, wealth, education, and literature.

Steam-navigation.

One of the most exciting and interesting subjects which

came under general discussion at this time was the Unitarian question. The war was commenced in Boston in 1815, and Drs. Channing and Ware led the van, opposed by Drs. Woods and Stuart as the principal leaders among the adherents of the ancient faith. In 1822 the Christian Register opened its batteries, which were answered by the Spectator and the Spirit of the Pilgrims. Since 1824 the controversy has declined in character and interest.

Thus, reviving commerce, arts, science, literature, and great popular movements in education, philanthropy, and religion, closed the peaceful administration of James Monroe — a man whose mind was "unwearied in the pursuit of truth; patient of inquiry; courteous, even in the collision of sentiment; sound in its ultimate judgments, and firm in its final conclusions."

CHAPTER II.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND ANDREW JACKSON.

Bk. VII. Ch. 2. A. D. 1825.

On the 4th of March, 1825, John Quincy Adams was inaugurated President of the United States, and took the chair vacated twenty-eight years before by his venerated father. He selected Henry Clay for Secretary of State, Richard Rush for the Treasury, James Barbour for the War Department, Samuel L. Southard for the Navy, and William Wirt for Attorney-General.

New cabinet.

As we now descend to our own contemporaries a mere chronicle of their deeds will be registered, without entering into the merits of those subjects which they discussed. Party spirit, that necessary evil to free governments, will not enable the clearest minds to see party questions in the light they will appear to future generations.

Commercial speculation.

The year 1825 was marked by a spirit of commercial gambling, produced by the unexampled prosperity of the last few years. Everything rose in value — all kinds of stocks and every variety of merchandise — followed, of course, by a revulsion, both in England and America, which made bankrupts of thousands, and reduced everything to less than its previous value.

1826.

The year 1826 was signalized by the deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, the venerable ex-Presidents, on the fiftieth anniversary of the National Independence

Bk. VII. Ch. 2. A. D. 1826 to 1829.

Funeral orations were delivered in every part of the Union. That delivered by Mr. Webster is perhaps one of the most eloquent efforts of this greatest of living men of genius.

Mr. Adams was doomed to experience a fierce and unprecedented opposition in Congress, which deprived him of the opportunity of carrying into execution many important measures, and hence congressional history during this administration is unusually barren. The most important measures related to the tariff. A bill passed the House on the 22d of April, 1828, and the Senate on the 13th of May, which gave but little satisfaction to the country at large. By this bill protection was given to various branches of manufactures, which has since been withdrawn.

Tariff of 1828.

Although Mr. Adams, by force of great opposition, was prevented from carrying his plans into operation, still he could, at the close of his administration, in 1829, look back upon his labours with satisfaction. The national debt was still further reduced, and large appropriations were made for objects of lasting public benefit. Five millions were granted to the surviving officers of the Revolution, and one and a half million were appropriated in extinguishing Indian titles.

On the 4th of March, 1829, General Andrew Jackson, by a large electoral vote, succeeded J. Q. Adams in the presidency, and chose for his cabinet, Martin Van Buren for the State, Samuel D. Ingham for the Treasury, John H. Eaton for the War, and John Branch for the Navy Department. John M. Berrien was made Attorney-General, and William T. Barry Postmaster-General.

Jackson's cabinet.

With General Jackson commenced the system of extensive removals from office — a system which has since been

Change of policy

Bk. VII. Ch. 2 A. D. 1829 to 1832.

generally adopted, and which was designed to reward political partizans. This course of the President was violently denounced by his opponents, and as strongly justified by his friends. It is not for the author of this history to pronounce upon the wisdom or folly of the policy — it certainly had the merit of being something new in the history of civilized nations: one of those evidences of progress, similar in its spirit to that which appoints judges for a limited time, and selects the young, in preference to the old and experienced, for important and responsible posts.

President's message.

In the message of the President to the twenty-first Congress, he recommended a modification of the tariff, the removal of the Indians to the west of the Mississippi, and a consideration of the renewal of the United States Bank — all of which subjects led to violent and angry debates, and finally to the passage of acts in accordance with the wishes of the executive.

New cabinet.

General Jackson did not long remain at peace with his cabinet, which resigned in the spring of 1831, in consequence of domestic intrigues. The new cabinet was composed of Edward Livingston as Secretary of State, Louis M'Lane, Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy, Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, and Roger B. Taney, Attorney-General.

Bank veto.

In 1831, a bill was brought forward for granting a charter to the United States Bank, the old charter being about to expire. The discussion of the bill was angry and animated. It passed only by a small majority, and was vetoed by the President. No one has exercised the power of veto more than General Jackson. During his administration he vetoed no less than ten bills. The other Presidents combined have vetoed but eight.

Indian hostilities.

The year 1832 was marked by hostile incursions of the Winnebagoes, Sacs, and Foxes — Indians inhabiting the

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Upper Mississippi — under the celebrated Black Hawk, against whom Generals Atkinson and Scott were sent, who in a short time completely dispersed them, and restored tranquillity on the frontiers.

South Carolina threatens to secede from the Union.

But a greater subject of interest marked this year, which was the disposition of South Carolina to secede from the Union. The discontent was caused by the protective duties, which the South Carolinians declared were hostile to their interests and unconstitutional in themselves. It is ever to be regretted that the celebrated John C. Calhoun favoured the agitation. Governor Hamilton even recommended to the legislature the organization of the militia and the collection of munitions of war, with a view of secession. But the President immediately took the most vigorous measures, and issued an ordinance in which he declared his resolution to enforce the laws. The course which the President adopted gave general satisfaction, except to South Carolina, whose government perceived the folly of open contention with the whole power of the land, and gradually withdrew its opposition.

1833. New tariff.

The bill for a new tariff, which had been introduced in 1832, passed the 3d of March, 1833, and gave satisfaction to no partizans of any school. It was simply a compromise between the North and the South, effected by that great pacificator and patriotic statesman, Henry Clay, whom the whole nation has loved, but never united to honour.

General Jackson was re-elected in the autumn of 1832, and on the 4th of March, 1833, entered upon his second term, while Martin Van Buren was elected Vice-President.

One of the first measures of importance which the President took after his second inauguration was the removal

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of government deposits from the United States Bank, against which he had waged war. This measure raised one of the most violent clamours ever known in the United States, chiefly among commercial men, who predicted national bankruptcy; and much embarrassment really resulted. The House of Representatives sustained the President; the Senate condemned the measure as unconstitutional; but the President, with his usual firmness, maintained his position, and continued the warfare. In his annual message he denounced the bank as the scourge of the people, and accused it of corruption and bribery, and of extending its accommodations for political purposes.

Removal of government deposits.

Rebellion of Texas against Mexico.

In 1835, the people of Texas rebelled against the government of Mexico, which had abolished slavery throughout its territory. But the people of Texas, chiefly emigrants from the southern and south-western States, wishing to restore slavery and annex their province to the United States, declared war against the Mexican Republic. Thousands of volunteers rushed to the standard of the revolted province, and among them doubtless many citizens of the United States. General Houston commanded the Texan troops, and by his admirable military talents, aided by means from the United States, a government was organized, slavery established, and the way prepared for its ultimate admission into the Union. John Quincy Adams was then a member of the House of Representatives, and denounced the whole insurrection as a project designed to perpetuate and extend slavery. He had already commenced the agitation of the slavery question in Congress by the prosentation of petitions. With the view of allaying the irritation existing in all sections of the Union, Congress passed resolutions declaring that it had no constitutional authority to interfere with the

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institution of slavery in any of the States, and that it ought not to interfere with slavery in the District oi Columbia.

This was the period when the discussion of this subject was most agitating and general throughout the northern States, at which time a great deal of ill-feeling existed between the North and South.

Removal of Seminoles.

In 1835, preparations were made for the removal of the Seminole Indians from East Florida, which led to a brief contest with that unfortunate tribe. In 1834, a treaty was concluded with them, in which they agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi. During the three following years a part emigrated, but a large number refused to go. They wandered about the country, committing depredations, and hiding themselves in swamps and thickets, from which they issued to commit new acts of violence. Their leading spirit was Osceola. A detachment was sent against them, under General Clinch, who however met with considerable loss. Nor was any thing satisfactorily effected against them until after the retirement of General Jackson, in 1837, who, after a successful and vigorous administration, resigned his powers, which some maintained he had exceeded, into the hands of Martin Van Buren. No President, if we may except Jefferson, has had such bitter political enemies as Jackson. None have had the misfortune to stem greater party animosities than he; and it has been the fortune of none to have them so speedily and generally allayed. Andrew Jackson will pass down to posterity as one of the most remarkable men of his age, successful in war, and patriotic as the chief magistrate of a great nation.

Before the administration of General Jackson closed, Arkansas and Michigan were admitted into the American confederacy (June 15th, 1836).

The north-western States, during this administration,

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rapidly increased in population and resources, and a spirit of commercial speculation arose, unprecedented in the history of the country. This reached its climax in 1836, a year memorable for the absurd extension of credit to all speculators. Speculation was extended to every variety of business, but to nothing so remarkably as to western and eastern lands, which reached a fictitious price. New cities were laid out in the wilderness, and high prices demanded for building-lots, which still remain unsettled. The delusion and mania extended to all parts of the community, and affected the strongest minds. All articles rose in value, and scarcely a man was engaged in business who did not dream of realizing an enormous fortune. But an end soon came to their dreams, and the revulsions of fortune, in the year 1837, taught the country the inevitable disaster which must sooner or later attend all commercial gambling. Moreover, a great fire in New York destroyed, in 1835, some twenty millions of property — a loss which was subsequently felt by all classes in the community. Many insurance companies failed, and involved in their failure the ruin of many widows and orphans who had invested in these corporations what little property they possessed. These commercial evils were destined to break up for a time, the ascendency of the democratic party.

Land Speculation.

Commercial embarrassments.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Bk. VII. Ch. 3. A. D. 1837.

MARTIN VAN BUREN was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1837, and continued the policy of his "illustrious predecessor," and made but few changes in the cabinet or occupants of official stations.

Commercial revulsions.

The great commercial revulsion of 1837 marked the first year of his administration — caused, not only by excessive speculation, but also by extravagant importations of European goods. To pay for these, there was abundance of paper-money, but very little gold. Moreover, the specie of the country was gradually collected in the public offices, in consequence of the circular of 1836, which required payment for public lands to be made in gold or silver. Large quantities also had been sent to France and England for useless luxuries. In consequence, the banks were compelled to suspend specie payments in all of the principal cities of the country, and general disaster and bankruptcy followed. All confidence was destroyed. Business was suspended. The sinews of enterprise were severed. Innumerable failures resulted. Property of all kinds declined in value, and those who had the year before fancied themselves rich found themselves penniless. Most persons who owed money to any extent, no matter what their nominal assets, were ruined, for they were unable to sell what they possessed. The year before all

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were anxious to buy. This year all were anxious to sell, but purchasers could not be found, except at ruinous prices. "It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good." Those who had kept aloof from speculation, and had money at command, made large fortunes; but the great mass of people were depressed. Trade and manufactures stood still. Poor people could not find employment. Consternation seized upon every class in society.

Change in the habits of the people

In this general calamity a change to some extent was gradually wrought in the habits of the nation. The people who had been speculating and trading became farmers. The land still remained, capable of unfolding illimitable wealth. The agricultural population received a great accession of respectability and means. Farms rapidly improved. Importance was attached to the cultivation of the soil, which had been unknown since the Revolutionary war — for this kind of employment seemed at least more free from reverses of fortune. It was observed that the farmers suffered less than any other class in the community. Those who were free from debt felt themselves to be rich, and were truly independent; for the land yielded its increase, in spite of commercial revulsions. There can be no doubt that the embarrassments and misfortunes which afflicted the commercial and manufacturing classes resulted, in the end, in developing truer sources of wealth, inasmuch as habits of industry and economy were again formed by a large body of men who had relied on their wits for support, and who had indulged in the delusion that the exchange of property, and great issues of paper-money to facilitate that exchange, would add to material wealth. There are no real sources of wealth, in any nation, except in habits of industry, directed to manufactures, agriculture, and a limited commerce. After all, land is the foundation of wealth, not gold and silver, since

True source of national wealth.

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land alone will feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Gold is only a medium of exchange, and declines in value in proportion to the ease with which it is obtained, while labour, directed to the improvement of the soil, to the culture of fruits and herbs and vegetables, increases the capacity of a country to support a rising population, and gives a healthy leisure to those who are doomed to toil.

The Sub-Treasury scheme.

An extra session of Congress was assembled on the 4th of September, 1837, in order to deliberate on the financial distresses of the country. The President recommended a scheme, called the Sub-Treasury, instead of a national bank, the charter of which had expired, and the directors of which were now winding up its concerns. This celebrated scheme proposed to place the public revenues in the custody of commissioners, instead of banks, subject to the control of the Secretary of the Treasury. A bill, accordingly, was introduced into the Senate, to meet the recommendations of the President, which passed that body, 26 to 20, but was lost in the House, 120 to 107.

Party recriminations.

The enemies of the administration attributed the existing evils to the refusal of Congress to recharter the United States Bank, and the consequent distribution of the public moneys into local banks, which, unchecked and uncontrolled by a great central institution, were induced to discount bills too freely upon the deposits which were transferred to them, and thus to encourage a spirit of speculation. The friends of the administration maintained, that the embarrassments were caused by the contraction of a large foreign debt, by a spirit of extravagance, by over-trading, by vast internal improvements, and the great fire in New York, December, 1835. The other party did not deny these facts, but still maintained that this over-trading and speculation were caused by the

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improper facilities which the banks afforded in consequence of the destruction of the controlling central money power.

1837. Reassembling of Congress.

Congress convened again, on the first Monday in December, 1837, and the President again recommended the Sub-Treasury scheme, and the issue of treasury-notes to meet the wants of government. This favourite measure of the President again passed the Senate, and was again defeated in the House.

1838. Canadian troubles

The year 1838 was marked by serious disturbances in Canada, between the inhabitants and the colonial government. A large party had arisen favourable to independence, which was favoured by many Americans on the Canadian frontier, both from sympathy and with the hope of its ultimate annexation to the United States. A party of reckless adventurers took possession of Navy Island, in the Niagara river, and hired a steamboat, called the Caroline, to facilitate their unlawful designs, notwithstanding the proclamations of the President and the governor of New York, enjoining a strict neutrality. But the Caroline was not suffered by the Canadians to be used by these American sympathizers; and an armed party of 150 men proceeded, in the night of the 20th of December, from the Canada side, and burned the vessel, after dispersing the crew.

Specie payments.

On the 13th of August, 1838, the banks resumed specie payments, to the great satisfaction of the mercantile community; but, unfortunately, in the following year, 9th of October, the Philadelphia banks, and consequently those south and west, again suspended their payments in specie.

Theological discussions

This year was rendered memorable in the theological annals of the country by the divisions of the Presbyterian church into two rival bodies, called the Old and the New

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School. The difficulties commenced by an attack on an eminent clergyman in Philadelphia, Rev. Albert Barnes, for heresy. He was accused of preaching certain doctrines, which were fashionable at New Haven, pertaining to free-will and original sin, and which, by many, were thought to have too close a resemblance to ancient Pelagianism. The controversy, which led to the establishment of a theological school at East Windsor, in 1834, in opposition to that of New Haven, also led, in 1835, to the trial of Mr. Barnes, on charges preferred by Rev. Dr. Jenkins, in the Philadelphia Presbytery, and he was acquitted. Dr. Jenkins appealed to the Synod, which reversed the judgment of the Presbytery, and suspended Mr. Barnes from the ministry. Mr. Barnes then appealed to the General Assembly, which sustained him, and restored him to his ministerial standing. Upon this, the Old School party rallied, and, in the General Assembly which met in Philadelphia in 1837, having a small majority, cut off certain synods, in which the new doctrines prevailed, from their body. This led to a separate organization of the New School party, which, as well as the Old School, claimed to be *the* Presbyterian church, and consequently laid claim to the property of the church. The courts of law, however, gave such decisions that the property remained with the Old School party.

The Old and New Schools.

Other theological controversies.

During this controversy the religious world was divided by various other dissensions, arising out of new measures as well as new views, and connected with discussions on various moral questions, especially those pertaining to slavery and temperance. The Episcopal church, both in England and America, was distracted by the famous Oxford tracts and the movement which Dr. Pusey and his followers encouraged, in reference to external forms and ceremonies and symbols, as well as points of faith. This

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Popular reforms.

period was the era of benevolent societies and organizations to propagate every form of doctrines and every mode of moral reformation. It was the golden age of agents and lecturers, and platform speeches and moral machinery to remodel society. Peace and tract, and anti-slavery and temperance, and moral reform, and missionary societies, sent out their various lecturers into every city and hamlet of the land, and the people were called upon to decide the great principles of ethics as well as to contribute money to that great system of public enlightenment which was destined to produce such magnificent results. Indeed, this was the era of agitation throughout the civilized world. Great Chartist meetings were held in England. O'Connell was addressing discontented Irish communities. The Jesuits were suppressed in Spain; and debates on the corn-laws were beginning to agitate the British nation. All these political and moral commotions were considered as the necessary ebullitions of an age of progress and freedom.

Political agitations.

Meanwhile the general discontent of the American people, and the great commercial sufferings which had been experienced, led to a revulsion in politics, and destroyed faith in the existing political rulers. Great political agitations ensued, and every thing else was neglected in the heat of the new presidential election.

Convention at Harrisburg.

A convention assembled at Harrisburg, two days after the opening of the twenty-sixth Congress, December 2d, 1839, which nominated General Harrison, for President, and John Tyler, for Vice-President. "The election campaign of 1840 was distinguished for its popular enthusiasm, mass meetings, long processions, and song-singing." A change of rulers, it was asserted, would restore prosperity. Hope stimulated energy, and Harrison received the suffrages of the people.

Bk. VII. Ch. 3. A. D. 1840.

Congress, during the long session of 1840, did almost nothing but direct the election campaign. However, two acts of some importance were passed — one which provided for the taking of the sixth census of the United States, and the other, which adopted Mr. Van Buren's scheme of collecting and disbursing the public revenue. The Sub-Treasury scheme at last became a law, on which the President had staked his political fortune — a stake he was destined to lose. In his last message, December 7th, 1840, he congratulated the country on the restoration of public prosperity — an assertion which needed qualification. Nothing of consequence was transacted during the second session of the twenty-sixth Congress; and, at its close, Mr. Van Buren retired to Kinderhook, and has since led a life of dignified leisure.

Retirement of Van Buren.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL HARRISON.

Bk. VII. Ch. 4. A. D. 1841.

No President, since Washington, has entered upon the duties of his office with more popular enthusiasm than William Henry Harrison. From no administration were greater expectations formed: since an entire change of policy was expected, in order to relieve the public embarrassments, restore credit, and foster the various interests of the country.

The new cabinet.

Daniel Webster, the most commanding and comprehensive intellect which our nation has produced, was his Secretary of State; and this great statesman was supported by Thomas Ewing, as Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, as Secretary of War; George E. Badger, as Secretary of the Navy; John J. Crittenden, as Attorney-General, and Francis Granger, as Postmaster-General. These distinguished gentlemen formed one of the ablest cabinets known since the times of the early Presidents — selected for their ability and experience, and representing all sections of the land.

Death of Harrison.

But before the assembling of Congress — before any measure of importance could be adopted, and within one month from his inauguration, General Harrison died, — worn out with the excitements pertaining to his new position, and oppressed by the load of responsibilities. He

Bk. VII. Ch. 4. A. D. 1841.

had for years led a quiet life, in agricultural pursuits, at his farm on the North Bend, near Cincinnati, and was not fitted to encounter the long speeches and long dinners to which he was compelled to submit, or the importunities of office-hunters, or the intrigues of politicians. He was killed with kindness and labours, even as Voltaire, after a long residence at Ferney, was smothered with the roses which the Parisians collected for his honour.

The Vice-President, John Tyler, became, of course, the occupant of the "White House," retaining the cabinet of his predecessor, and pursuing for a while the measures of the party which had elevated him into power.

Repeal of the Sub-Treasury.

On the 31st of May, 1841, a special session of Congress was convened, in pursuance of a call made by Harrison, with a view of relieving the financial troubles of the country. On the 6th of August, Congress repealed the Sub-Treasury law of Van Buren, and also established a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States, which latter created a sort of commercial jubilee for all bankrupts and debtors, and by which their debts were cancelled and their claims relinquished. Such was the universal commercial distress and the extent of failures, that this extraordinary measure proved advantageous, although designed as a mere remedy for existing evils, rather than as a settled policy to be uniformly pursued.

Bankrupt law.

Veto of the bank bills.

The attention of Congress, however, was mainly directed to the establishment of a national bank, as the most efficient means of restoring the credit of the country. But, to the general disappointment of his party and the dismay of all financial men, the President vetoed the bill. Another, similar in character, was passed, and was again vetoed; upon which the cabinet resigned, with the exception of Mr. Webster, who was induced to remain, from

Bk. VII. Ch. 4.

patriotic considerations, and attend to the rising difficulties with England.

A. D. 1841.

The United States were now on the eve of a war with the first power of the world — the country was deeply embarrassed, and its credit in Europe destroyed. Many of the States were compelled to suspend the payment of the interest of their debts, and were stigmatized abroad as repudiating States. Pennsylvania, which had greatly suffered by the failure of the new bank, under Mr. Biddle, which bore the name of the United States Bank, and thus deceived foreigners, and which also suffered from injudicious public expenditures, became a by-word in Europe. Its stock fell below fifty cents on the dollar, and great numbers who held the stock were ruined; and it is a glorious proof of the immense resources of the State that it should so soon retrieve its fortunes and its good name.

Repudiation.

New cabinet.

On the resignation of the old cabinet, Walter Forward became Secretary of the Treasury, John C. Spencer, Secretary of War, Abel P. Upshur, Secretary of the Navy, Hugh S. Legare, Attorney-General, and Charles A. Wickliffe, Postmaster-General.

The twenty-seventh Congress commenced its session on the 6th of December, 1841, and passed an act apportioning the representatives according to the new census, which had just been completed, by which the United States contained over seventeen millions of people — being a gain of thirty-three and a half per centum, or about one-third, over the preceding ten years. It must be borne in mind that this gain was made during all the financial troubles of the country. This Congress also passed a new tariff law, and provided for the publication of Lieutenant Wilkes's account of the Exploring Expedition, which had returned, after a three years' cruise, with 500 sketches

1842.

The tariff bill.

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of natural scenery, 200 portraits, and 2000 specimens of birds, beside a great quantity of shells, fishes, animals, insects, &c., — which collection furnishes an excellent foundation for a national museum.

A. D. 1842.

The great event of 1842 was an important treaty with England, negotiated with Lord Ashburton by Mr. Webster (August 20th), which settled the question of the North-eastern Boundary, and which prevented hostilities with that nation, which, of all powers, should be the last for the United States to encounter in war. Amid the wrecks of liberty in Europe and the triumphs of absolutism on the Continent, it behooves our government to extend a sympathizing arm to England — the only country in Europe where liberty is enjoyed, and our sister by the ties of blood, as well as our best friend from kindred language, literature, and religion. Mr. Webster was much aided in effecting this memorable treaty by the judicious and magnanimous course pursued by General Scott, amid the excited people of Maine, and who, but for his conciliatory course, might have been involved in hostilities before the treaty could be made. The general who conquers on the field of battle is great; but greater is that general who foregoes the acquisition of military laurels in the disinterested desire for national peace.

Treaty with England.

Mr. Webster, soon after he had effected this great treaty and saved the nation from war, retired from the post he had so gloriously filled, and Mr. Upshur received in his stead the portfolio of the State Department. But Mr. Upshur retained the seal of office only a short time, being accidentally killed, with Mr. Gilmer, Secretary of War, by the bursting of a large gun on the steam-frigate Princeton. John C. Calhoun then became Secretary of State, and a complete change of measures from those with which the administration started, ensued. He signed

Retirement of Mr. Webster.

Bk. VII. Ch. 4. A. D. 1843 to 1845.

a treaty of annexation between the United States and Texas, which treaty the Senate did not confirm. It confirmed, however, an important treaty which he made with China.

The last session of the twenty-seventh Congress repealed the bankrupt law, which had been perverted and abused, and by which creditors had been despoiled of their property.

The troubles in Rhode Island.

The administration of Mr. Tyler was marked by domestic troubles in Rhode Island, from the efforts of a large party to secure a new and more democratic constitution. A convention was accordingly called to draft a new constitution, in which universal suffrage should be instituted. It is singular that the colony of Roger Williams should not have kept pace with the surrounding states in popular privileges. The convention assembled in the autumn of 1841, and adopted a constitution, and submitted it to the people for ratification. The proceedings, however, were deemed illegal, inasmuch as the legislature alone could authorize the governor to call such a convention, and the majority of the people refused to vote. The constitution, which had been adopted by 14,000 voters, was declared treasonable by the governor, in a proclamation. The result was an appeal to arms by the friends of radical reform. Thomas H. Dorr, elected governor by the votes of this party, attempted to seize the arsenal, and to defend his position. He gathered together about 1000 men, who however dispersed on the appearance of a body of 7000 men. The leader of the party fled, and $1000 were offered for his apprehension. After various adventures he surrendered himself to government, was tried for treason, found guilty, and sentenced to the penitentiary; but, on taking, afterwards, the oath of allegiance, he was released (July 1845).

Imprisonment of Dorr.

Bk. VII. Ch. 4. A. D. 1843 to 1845.

Disturbances, nearly contemporaneous, took place in Albany and Rensselaer counties, in the State of New York, from the unwillingness of the tenantry to pay their rents to the patroon at Albany. It was regarded by these tenants, who occupied lands which had been anciently granted to the Van Rensselaer family, and for which they paid a small annual sum, that these rents, however small, were a relic of feudal institutions. In the attempt to collect them serious opposition was made, and the disturbances extended to the Livingston manor, in Columbia county. So violent has been the resistance to the law, that the tenantry have virtually carried their point, on account of the sympathy of the more democratic portion of the community.

Riots of the Anti-renters.

By far the most important event of this administration, if viewed in its ultimate results, was the admission of Texas into the Union (February 23d, 1845). The Texans had secured their independence chiefly through the military successes of General Houston, who defeated the Mexicans at the battle of San Jacinto, and took Santa Anna himself, the president of Mexico, a prisoner. After independence from Mexico was secured, Texas made repeated overtures to be received into the Union, which were objected to by General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, on the ground of the peaceful relations with Mexico. But a stronger opposition existed in the minds of the northern members of Congress, on account of the extension of slave territory and the practical endorsement of slavery by the United States. But the recommendation of President Tyler had the fortune to be approved by a majority of Congress, including nearly all the southern members, and Texas, with a territory from which four new slave States might be formed, was admitted into the Union. The Mexican war was the result of this act.

Admission of Texas.

Bk. VII. Ch. 4. A. D. 1844.

In May, 1844, two important conventions were held in Baltimore, to nominate candidates for the presidency. Henry Clay was nominated by the Whigs, and James K Polk by the democratic party.

Presidential election.

No man, in the political annals of this nation, has excited such general admiration as Clay, or has been favoured with more enthusiastic friends; but he had his enemies also, and was committed to measures which were not universally popular. Hence, the illustrious pacificator lost his election. James K. Polk, who had been Speaker of the House of Representatives, became President of the United States, 4th of March, 1845.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT POLK.

Bk. VII. Ch. 5. A. D. 1845.

James K. Polk was inducted into his high office on the 4th of March, 1845; and his party, which has had the ascendency, with few brief intervals, since the retirement of the elder Adams, had full scope to prosecute its measures.

The cabinet.

He selected for his cabinet, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, as Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

Nothing important of a national character, except a threatened invasion of Texas by Mexico, transpired previous to the meeting, in December, of the twenty-ninth Congress.

Independence of Texas.

By the battle of San Jacinto, Texas had won her independence, and her separate nationality was acknowledged by the United States, as well as by other governments. In the exercise of the right which this independence secured, she sought a union with the United States. This right was undoubted, whatever may have been the course of her citizens to secure independence, or whatever may have been their motives in seceding from a State which did *not* recognise the institution of slavery.

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Bk. VII. Ch. 5. A. D. 1845

When Texas signified its willingness to become a member of the American confederacy, after its annexation had been voted by the twenty-eighth Congress, Mexico recalled her minister, and made preparations to appeal to arms. Anticipating these troubles, the United States government sent a military force into Texas, and also a squadron into the Gulf of Mexico.

In the mean time negotiations were opened, both to avert hostilities and to settle the boundary between Texas and Mexico. With respect to Texas, the question was the Rio Grande, as the proper boundary. With Mexico, the whole of Texas itself was at issue. Mexico, intent upon recovering her province, or quarrelling with the United States, refused to treat, unless our ships were withdrawn from her coasts and our troops from her soil.

Refusal of Mexico to negotiate.

Such was the state of things, a quasi war, when Congress assembled. One of its first measures was the consummation of the annexation of Texas, which was declared to be one of the United States of America, on equal footing with the rest. But the subject which most deeply engaged Congress was in reference to the tariff. The tariff-law of 1842 was repealed, and a lower scale of duties substituted, much to the detriment of manufacturers, especially of iron.

Meeting of Congress.

1846.

The attention of Congress however was soon recalled to the difficulties with Mexico. General Taylor, who commanded the American troops at Corpus Christi, had been ordered by the Secretary of War to the Rio Grande, the disputed boundary; and, in April, 1846, the little army under his command was encamped upon its banks. The design of this movement was to induce Mexico to negotiate, or to precipitate hostilities. But the people of Mexico could only be pacified by an appeal to arms, and they were only to be awakened to a sense of their

Troops ordered to the Rio Grande.

inferiority, or of their duties, by the sad experience of defeat and dismemberment.

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General Taylor, in the latter part of April, occupied a menacing position opposite Matamoras, after having built a fort at Point Isabel, which was made his main depôt. A body of Mexicans, meanwhile, was encamped on the west bank of the river, to watch the movements of General Taylor. These were under the command of General Arista, and were among the best troops in the Mexican service.

A. D. 1846.

Hostilities threatened.

On the 24th of April, Captain Thornton, with sixty-three dragoons, was sent up the river to reconnoitre; but he fell into an ambuscade, and was compelled to surrender to a superior force, after sixteen had been killed or wounded.

Capture of Thornton's party.

The capture of this party left no doubt of the hostile intentions of Mexico, and General Taylor immediately made a requisition for 5000 troops; however, before these could arrive, the campaign was fairly opened by the brilliant action of Palo Alto.

In the latter part of April, the Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande, with a view to occupy the ground between Point Isabel and the station which General Taylor occupied, and thus to cut off his communication. But General Taylor, on the first of May, left a detachment of his troops with Major Brown to defend the river-fort, which afterwards bore his name, and marched with his main body toward Point Isabel, in order to secure free access to his depôt. He, however, encountered no Mexican enemies. On the 7th of May, having secured his object, he commenced his return to Fort Brown.

Mexicans cross the Rio Grande.

This return to the river the Mexican general determined to prevent, and hence concentrated his troops, nearly 6000 in number, at Palo Alto, directly across the

Battle of Palo Alto.

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road over which Taylor was to march. Here occurred, on the 8th of May, the first battle of consequence in the war, in which the Americans overcame a body of well-posted troops, nearly double their own number, and with the loss of only 55 killed and wounded, while the enemy had 200 killed and 400 wounded.

Battle of Resaca.

The next day another still more bloody fight occurred at a ravine, called Resaca, in which the Mexicans were totally routed, with great loss, and the capture of General La Vega, together with General Arista's papers and military stores. In this action, where 39 Americans were killed and 83 wounded, the light artillery did great service under Lieutenant Ridgely. The dragoons, under Captain May, also distinguished themselves.

Retreat of the Mexicans.

These brilliant victories resulted in the retreat of the Mexicans across the Rio Grande, and in the occupation of Matamoras by General Taylor. It was now resolved upon, both by the government at Washington and General Taylor, to follow up these successes by an invasion of the enemy's territory, and by the attack on Monterey, the capital of New Leon, and the first position of strength on the highway to Mexico, as well as the key to all the northern provinces.

The conquest of Mexico contemplated.

Congress, meanwhile, had declared war with Mexico, and voted to raise ten millions of dollars and 50,000 men. Great vigour was shown by the government in transporting troops to the Rio Grande, the base of military operations, although the means of forwarding them after their disembarkation were not sufficiently considered. By the middle of August, General Taylor found himself at the head of a considerable force, composed chiefly of volunteers, all burning with eagerness to enter "the Halls of the Montezumas."

With all invading armies the means of subsistence

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becomes the controlling question. Without sufficient attention to the commissariat, Napoleon's generals suffered great disasters in Spain, and he himself was cut off in Russia — this was *his* blunder. General Taylor discovered that only about 6000 men could be subsisted in the country around Monterey; nor had he the means of transporting a larger force.

Advance of the Americans.

Accordingly, with about 6000 men, he commenced his march to Monterey, on the 20th of August, leaving 2000 behind, under General Patterson, to garrison Camargo, his main depôt on the Rio Grande. On the 19th of September, he arrived within three miles of Monterey, defended by fortifications of immense strength, and additionally protected by forts erected outside of the city, on the two imposing heights of Independence and Federation. The possession of these works, called the Bishop's Palace and Fort Soldado, made certain the reduction of the city.

Battle of Monterey.

On the 20th, General Worth, with a division of the army, was put in movement, to storm these heights, while the remainder of the army was displayed on the eastern or opposite side of the city, to distract the enemy's attention.

The gallant stormers of Fort Soldado, under Colonel P. E. Smith and Captain C. F. Smith, effected their object, and possessed the heights of Federation; while Generals Twiggs and Butler attacked the city itself, and forced an entrance, though with great loss of life — 394 being killed and wounded. This severe conflict withdrew attention from General Worth, who followed up his success, on the 22d, by storming the Bishop's Palace, which had been considered impregnable.

The Mexicans now withdrew from their outer defences, and occupied the cathedral and the main plaza, while the Americans made preparations to attack them, and gradu-

Siege of Monterey.

ally advanced, amid dreadful encounters, till within one square of the principal plaza, where the enemy was concentrated. General Taylor then withdrew his troops to the edge of the city, to concert with General Worth for a renewed attack on the following day.

Capitulation of Monterey.

On the morning of the 24th, General Ampudia, who commanded the Mexicans, submitted a proposition to capitulate, which was agreed upon, and the city, with its military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans — the garrison, which had been 10,000, being permitted to march out with the honours of war, retaining their arms and six pieces of cannon. An armistice of eight weeks was also agreed upon.

Monterey now became the head-quarters of General Taylor, while Saltillo and Panas were respectively occupied by Generals Worth and Wool, with large detachments of the army.

Santa Anna recalled.

A change of administration now occurred in Mexico, and Santa Anna, the ablest of all the Mexican generals, was recalled from Cuba and placed at the head of affairs. By indefatigable exertions, he raised an army of 20,000 men, concentrated them at San Louis Potosi, and strongly fortified his position.

Taylor's position.

General Taylor, who had left Monterey, in the early part of December, for the interior, soon perceived that a larger force would be necessary, to attack San Louis Potosi, than what could be easily pushed forward. He accordingly came to the opinion that the advance should be abandoned, a defensive line occupied, and the decisive blow struck against the capital from the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz.

It so happened that the government was of the same opinion, through the suggestions of General Scott, who convinced Secretary Marcy, in an able communication,

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that a vigorous march from Vera Cruz upon the city of Mexico would alone compel the Mexicans to sue for peace. As early, however, as the 22d of October, an expedition against Vera Cruz was resolved upon, though without any ulterior purpose than the reduction of the city. To the genius of General Scott the country is indebted for the magnificent plan of strategy by which Mexico was subdued. He proposed first to capture Vera Cruz, and then to advance on the capital in two columns: one, of 10,000, from Monterey, and the other, of 20,000, from Vera Cruz By this it was shown that, if Santa Anna remained at San Louis Potosi to oppose General Taylor, General Scott could then advance unresisted to the capital; or, if he detached to oppose Scott, then Taylor could advance upon San Louis Potosi.

Plan of the invasion.

The plan, however, was only partially adopted. It was settled that Scott should attack Vera Cruz, and then advance upon Mexico, while Taylor should maintain the defensive.

Scott takes the chief command.

General Taylor's effective force now amounted to 16,000 men, 4000 less than was supposed, from which General Scott, now sent to take the chief command, detached 9000, in order to invest Vera Cruz, and advised Taylor to retire to Monterey.

Had Taylor, with his reduced force, retired to Monterey, it would have been considered by the enemy as a defeat; but he resolved to hold on to the position which he then occupied, in advance of Saltillo.

If he had then commanded the army, before so large a body was detached, with sufficient means of transportation, the great battle of the war would have been fought under the walls of San Louis Potosi, and Mexico entered from that side. But with 7 or 8000 men he could not act on the offensive.

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Taylor did the best his means and circumstances permitted. He maintained a bold position, at the edge of the desert in advance of Saltillo, and thus invited an attack from the Mexican general, whose army, the best that Mexico ever saw, was defeated, demoralized, and reduced to half its numbers, and a way opened for Scott to advance upon the capital. Had it not been for the battle of Buena Vista, General Scott could not have taken Mexico, with the forces under his command, without great embarrassments.

Movements of Scott.

While Taylor was thus maintaining his defensive attitude, and Scott organizing his expedition to attack Vera Cruz, Santa Anna came in possession of General Scott's despatches, and immediately resolved upon his measures, which, it must be conceded, were bold and grand — they were, to attack Taylor with his whole force, and then turn and crush Scott on his march to Mexico.

Santa Anna advances upon Taylor.

But it was the misfortune of Santa Anna to be beaten where he expected an easy victory. Buena Vista was won by skill and fortune. General Taylor occupied, for several weeks, a bold attitude at Agua Nueva, where he refreshed his troops, under 5000 in number, and imparted to them additional discipline. Upon this position Santa Anna advanced, with 20,000 men, on the 21st of February, 1847. Taylor hastily abandoned his camp, in order to lure the Mexicans to an unprepared attack, and by troops exhausted by fifty miles of continuous marching, and still suffering from hunger and thirst. Santa Anna, believing that the Americans were flying in dismay, eagerly pursued, until he was drawn into a mountain gorge, where alone a victory could be gained by the Americans, and where alone their commander was determined to fight.

This position had been chosen by General Wool, and

Battle of Buena Vista.

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adopted by General Taylor. On the morning of the 22d of February, the birth-day of Washington, the battle commenced, and was fought with desperate valour during that day, and also during the next, before fortune declared in favour of the Americans. Great assistance was rendered, during this encounter, by the flying artillery, under Captain Bragg. Both officers and men greatly distinguished themselves, but none so much as the intrepid commander, without whose ability the Americans would probably have been overpowered by superior numbers. The Mexican loss was over 2000 in killed and wounded, beside 3000 deserters. The American loss was 267 killed and 456 wounded.

Battle of Buen Vista.

Santa Anna still had 15,000 men left, after this decisive battle, but he was without money and without depôts, and, in addition, a revolution was springing up in the capital of Mexico; he was, therefore, compelled to retreat towards San Louis Potosi, while General Taylor advanced to Agua Nueva.

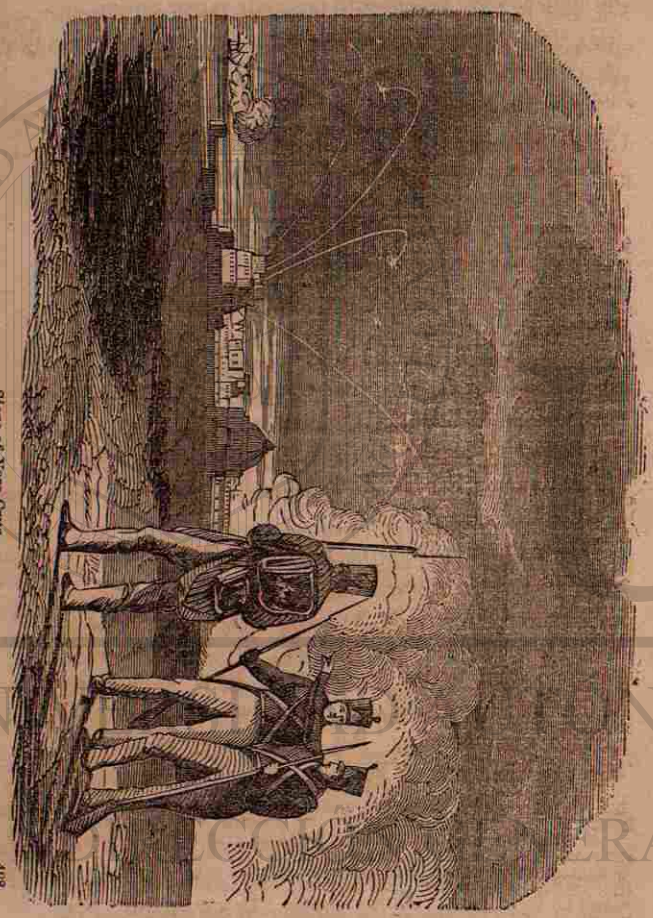
Retreat of Santa Anna.

While these splendid successes had been gained by General Taylor, General Scott was organizing his own expedition, and, early in March, landed in the vicinity of Vera Cruz, and invested that city. General Scott, in his communication to the Secretary of War, deemed that 20,000 men were necessary to capture Vera Cruz and advance upon Mexico. But he had only 12,000 men when, on the 28th of February, at Lobos, he organized his forces — with these he advanced to Vera Cruz.

Scott organizes his troops.

It was the subject of deliberation with the illustrious commander-in-chief, whether he would take the city by siege or by assault. Either course was practicable. The former would require science; the latter, desperate courage. By the former course fewer lives would be lost; by the latter, greater eclat would be gained. To his

Movements before Vera Cruz.



Siege of Vera Cruz.

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honour, the considerations of humanity weighed more than those of glory — for, in war, the more lives that are lost, and the more desperate an action, the more impressive is the victory in the eyes of the great mass of the people.

Siege of Vera Cruz.

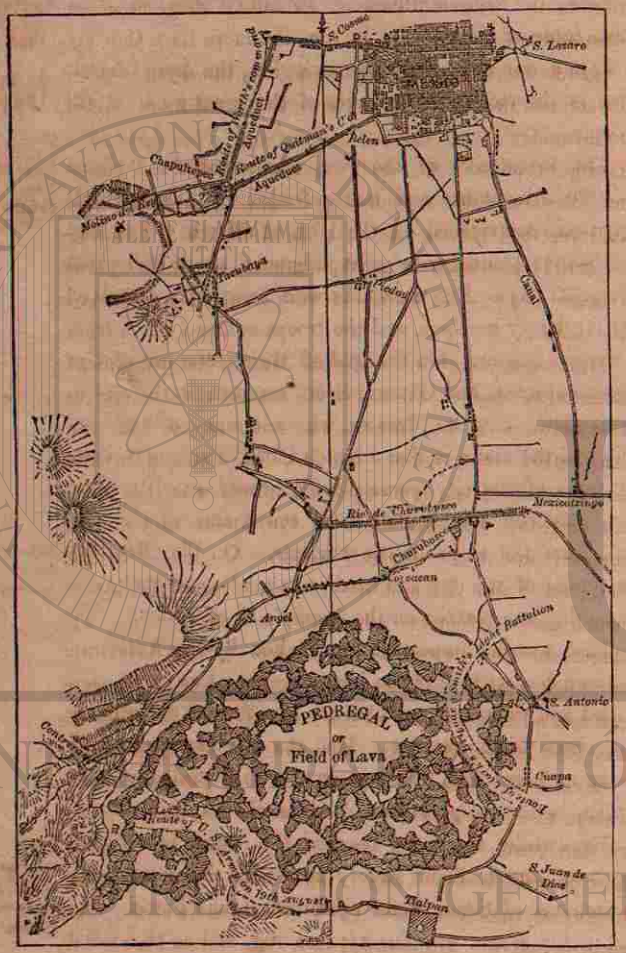
The investment of the city, which contained about 15,000 inhabitants and was defended by a respectable garrison, commenced on the 10th of March. The batteries were planted with great judgment, about 900 yards from the city. But the works were frequently destroyed by the heavy northers, and the troops suffered much from excessive labour. On the 22d of March, the investment was completed, and General Scott summoned the city to surrender. General Morales, who commanded both the city and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, a strong fortress in front of the city, peremptorily refused, and the bombardment commenced, both from the American batteries and from the ships in the harbour. On the 29th, the surrender of the city and castle was made, and the American flag was planted on the enemy's works.

Surrender of the city.

Thus was this important place taken by the American commander, with only the inconsiderable loss of 65 men killed and wounded, and a secure base formed for military operations in the interior. Had the city been taken by assault, more than 2000 persons would probably have fallen, beside the great loss of life in the city itself.

Scott resolves to advance on Mexico.

Meanwhile, the news reached the camp of General Scott of the brilliant victory at Buena Vista and the retirement of Santa Anna upon San Louis Potosi. As the sickly season was fast approaching, and as he wished to anticipate the enemy, in gaining healthy positions on the first mountain barriers, General Scott resolved to commence the march to the city of Mexico. As soon as means of transportation could be collected, they were put



PLAN OF THE BATTLES OF MEXICO.
On the 19th and 20th of May, and the 8th, 12th, and 13th September, 1847.

in motion. General Twiggs, with his division, was sent on in advance.

A. D. 1847.

He had not expected opposition. On the 12th of April, he found himself before the enemy, consisting of 13,000 men, under Santa Anna himself, strongly posted at Cerro Gordo, a conical hill, which towered above the heights and forests of the surrounding country. General Scott had received intelligence of the proximity of the enemy on the 11th, and the next day started in person to join General Twiggs. General Worth's division marched on the 13th.

Commencement of the march.

Battle of Cerro Gordo.

The enemy was well supplied with water and other necessaries, and hoped to present an obstacle to the further advance of the Americans, until the yellow fever had wasted their ranks. But General Scott, perceiving the necessity of an immediate advance, resolved to storm the heights. On the 18th of April, the attack commenced, and was completely successful. The Mexicans fled, and Santa Anna himself, with great difficulty, effected his escape on the wheel-mule of his carriage. The American forces were 9000, and their loss in killed and wounded, was 431. The enemy was completely dispersed, and lost all his artillery. The loss, in killed and wounded, was 700, beside 3000 prisoners, including five generals.

This battle was followed by the rapid occupation of Jalapa and Perote, and the invaders advanced to Puebla, on the great road to Mexico, and, on the 15th of May, took possession of that city. Santa Anna himself returned to Mexico, to defend the city of Montezuma from the American invaders. He found it in a state of anarchy. The violence of faction, and the decline of his own popularity, prevented him from rallying, to the extent desired, his beaten and scattered forces. But, being still possessed of extraordinary powers, he seized and confined the most

Santa Anna's measures.

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turbulent chieftains and the generals most unfriendly to him. He then sent in to the Mexican Congress his resignation, which was neither accepted nor rejected. No action being taken upon it, and the public affairs being very critical, he withdrew it, and virtually became dictator. If any one could save the capital, it was he, and he exerted his utmost energies to collect troops and strengthen his defences; and such were his efforts that, by the end of July, he had under his command, around Mexico, according to Mexican accounts, 36,000 men and 100 pieces of artillery.

Preparations for the defence of Mexico.

Meanwhile, his preparations for the last stand of resistance were closely watched by the American commander at Puebla. In order to increase his strength, he gave orders to abandon Jalapa, while a new accession to his forces was made by the arrival of General Pillow, on the 8th of July, thus increasing his troops to 10,276, of all arms, although over 2000 remained upon the sick-list. On the 6th of August, his army was further increased by a force of 2429 men under General Pierce.

Advance of Scott upon Mexico.

During this pause at Puebla, General Scott collected all the information in his power respecting the different routes to the capital. On the 7th of August, Harney's cavalry and Twiggs's division marched towards Mexico, followed, the next day, by Quitman's volunteers, and, on the 9th, by Worth's division; while the remainder of the troops marched on the 10th, General Pillow's composing the rear. No opposition was made by the enemy, and, on the 10th of August, the advanced guard entered the Valley of Mexico.

A system of active reconnoissance was now commenced, and the different routes were closely observed. After much deliberation, the road round Lake Chalco, southeast of Mexico, was decided upon. The most direct route

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to the city was defended by El Peñon, a fortress seven and a half miles distant, and deemed impregnable, although that fortress might be avoided by a detour to Mexicalcingo, another strong position, a few miles southwest of it, and still nearer the capital. But the daring and skilful reconnoissance of the Chalco route, by Colonel Duncan, removed all doubt, and, on the 15th of August, the march was commenced.

So soon as Santa Anna was apprised of the fact that General Scott was advancing south of Lake Chalco, he withdrew most of his troops from El Peñon and Mexicalcingo, and fortified San Antonio and Churubusco, about four miles from the city, determining to make a strong defence at these points.

On the 17th of August, Worth, in advancing, seized San Augustin, about twelve miles from the city, from which reconnoitring officers examined the position of the enemy, and which became the key of operations.

Battle of Contreras

On the 19th and 20th of August was fought the battle of Contreras, which resulted in the destruction of the veteran division of General Valentia, who had been posted on the road to San Angel, to dispute the passage over the Pedregal, a vast field of lava, and entirely impracticable for cavalry or artillery, except by a single mule-path. The loss of the Mexicans could not have been less than 2000 in killed and wounded; four general officers were taken prisoners, and the whole train of artillery, with heavy stores of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. Not more than 60 Americans were killed and wounded.

Battle of Churubusco.

A vigorous pursuit of the flying enemy was made, and the advance brigade of the veteran division of Twiggs brought up at the post where Santa Anna had concentrated his forces, and the terrible conflict of Churubusco

Storming of Chapultepec.

commenced. The Americans suffered severely, 1000 of our bravest troops having fallen in that desperate encounter. But the Mexican loss was dreadful. It is supposed that 7000 were either killed or wounded. The panic was extreme, and Mexico was at the mercy of the conquerors.

The consequence of this decisive victory, which gave the most incontestible evidence of General Scott's energy and capacity, as well as the bravery of his subordinate generals, was, that an armistice was agreed upon, for the purpose of negotiating a peace.

Armistice agreed upon.

The commander-in-chief has been censured for this armistice, but it reflected immortal honour upon him, showing his great moderation in the midst of victory, and his earnest desire to avoid an unnecessary waste of life. But this armistice proved of no avail, and terminated on the 7th of September. At its conclusion, the effective force of the Americans amounted only to 8500.

Battle of Molino del Rey.

On the 8th of September was fought the battle of Molino del Rey, near the castle of Chapultepec, with a view of breaking up a foundry for cannon. The assault was committed to General Worth, and was gallantly performed. The place was taken, and the enemy fell back into the grove of Chapultepec, but were not pursued. This action was the most severely contested of the whole war. The force engaged was less than 4000, but of these 789 were either killed or wounded. The forces of the enemy were 10,000. No decisive results, however, followed this action.

Scott prepares to assault Mexico.

The American commander now directed the whole force of his genius to the reduction of the city of Mexico, into which the greater part of the defeated forces had retired. The reconnoissances upon the enemy's works were commenced on the 10th, and were pushed over the two main causeways which led to the city from the south, the most important of which was San Antonio, from which the

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Mexican generals anticipated the final assault upon the city.

Storming of Chapultepec.

But Scott resolved to begin with Chapultepec, a rock which rose 150 feet from the plain, and which was strongly defended, not only by important works, but also by a large garrison, under the command of Don Nicolas Bravo, one of the most celebrated of the Mexican leaders. On the 12th, the batteries were opened on this strong fortress; but the cannonade and bombardment not effecting much, the storming of it was ordered. This took place on the following day, and the assault was entrusted to General Pillow. After an hour of fierce contest, the American flag floated on the highest points of the castle, and the western defence of Mexico was in the possession of the Americans.

Fall of Mexico.

Generals Worth and Quitman pursued the flying enemy over the causeways, and before night succeeded in seizing the western gates and advancing a considerable way into the city. Santa Anna, during the night of the 14th, withdrew his troops, and the next morning the main plaza and the national palace were occupied by the American generals. Both the city and the valley of Mexico were now in undisputed possession by our troops.

The strength of the American forces which were engaged during these final operations did not exceed 6800 men, and the aggregate of losses in killed and wounded was 863. The great dependence of the Mexicans was upon the castle of Chapultepec, and when this fell, all confidence departed from them.

Reflections on the conquest.

That so small a body of troops should have successively beaten armies more than thrice their number, led by so able a general as Santa Anna, and entrenched behind defences that were deemed impregnable, and that, finally, the constantly diminishing army of the invaders, at last

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reduced to a handful of men, if measured with European conflicts, should successfully assault the capital of a great nation, is one of the wonders and prodigies of modern warfare. Great as is the praise due to the American troops in general, as well as to the gallant officers who led them on to victory, the chief merit belongs to Scott and Taylor themselves, by whose transcendent coolness, firmness, and judgment the great victories were won. They had the rare talent of grasping and weighing and understanding their whole field, and of directing the energies of their subordinates in the right channel.

Great merits of Scott and Taylor.

Movements of Santa Anna.

To the credit of Santa Anna, it must be said, he disputed his ground inch by inch, and fought bravely to the last; but it was his misfortune to lead dispirited and enervated troops, and to contend with Americans and such generals as Scott and Taylor. After the reduction of Mexico, he established his head-quarters in the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, but was without money and provisions. His last resort was to attack the communication of the American army, and accordingly he marched upon Puebla, where the campaign had been commenced; but, before marching, he resigned his presidency into the hands of the judges of the Supreme Court of Justice, and contented himself with the subordinate power of a general. He arrived at Puebla on the 22d of September, which was defended by Colonel Childs, with only about 500 effective men, 1800 being on the sick list. This city was already besieged by a party of guerrillas, under General Rea, and Santa Anna's arrival was the signal for an assault, which was, at intervals, continued until the 30th of September, without success. It being known that an American force was advancing from Vera Cruz, Santa Anna withdrew, with 4000 men, and continued to harass the Americans until the 12th of October.

Attacks Puebla.

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In the mean time, General Taylor, finding that his forces in the north of Mexico, after garrisoning Saltillo, Monterey, Camargo, and Matamoras, were not sufficient to advance upon San Louis Potosi, confined himself to defensive measures, and was in favour of sending all his surplus troops to the aid of General Scott. Having received, at his own suggestion, instructions to that effect, he despatched Generals Lane and Cushing to Vera Cruz, with about 2500 men. They arrived at that city on the 20th of September, and soon after marched towards Mexico, dispersing the various guerrilla parties to which the Mexicans were now reduced. On the 12th of October, General Lane entered Puebla.

March of Lane and Cushing to Mexico.

While these things were occurring, the main body of the Americans remained at the city of Mexico, waiting for the new Mexican government to enter into negotiations, now that the conquest of the country was fairly secured. After arranging the internal affairs of the city, General Scott turned his attention to preserve his lines of communication with Vera Cruz.

Occupation of Mexico.

As the Mexican authorities still refused to sue for peace, when all hope of gaining any important advantage was at an end, General Scott forbid the payment of revenues to the Mexican government, and imposed a system of contributions. Mr. Trist, the American commissioner, not giving satisfaction to his government, was recalled; and Generals Pillow and Worth, in consequence of unfortunate differences with the commander-in-chief, were arrested.

Arrest of Pillow and Worth.

However, before the recall of Mr. Trist was known to the Mexicans, a treaty was made at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2d, 1848. By this treaty the territories of New Mexico and Upper California were given to the United States, as indemnity for the war, while Mexico

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

released all claim to Texas. But, in consideration of these extensive grants of territory, the United States agreed to pay fifteen millions of dollars, and assumed the debt which Mexico owed to her own citizens, amounting to nearly five millions additional. Although these negotiations were made after Mr. Trist was recalled, still they were ratified by both governments, and Messrs. Sevier and Clifford were appointed commissioners.

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General Scott, in the mean while, was relieved from his command, and General Butler succeeded him. The government had nobly seconded General Scott in his measures to secure the conquest of Mexico, but, when this was completed, party animosities and rivalries between the leading chieftains recommenced, with their usual bitterness, and efforts were made to deprive the illustrious commanders, and especially the commander-in-chief, of the glory they had earned.

Scott relieved.

On the 12th of June, the treaty being duly ratified, the American troops yielded up to the Mexicans their capital, and commenced their march to Vera Cruz. By the end of July, the country was completely evacuated. The volunteers were discharged, and the regiments of the regular army disbanded, according to the laws of their organization.

Evacuation of Mexico.

Thus ended one of the most brilliant series of military successes in these modern times, the ultimate results of which, for good or evil, are beyond the power of mortal man to anticipate. This war was the chief event in the administration of Mr. Polk, and this alone will render it ever memorable.

During this administration, however, the country was in a very prosperous state, in a commercial point of view. The political troubles of Europe, and the distress of the Irish population, in consequence of the potato-rot and

State of the country

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other evils, caused an immense immigration, which again resulted in the settlement of the Western States. Iowa and Florida were admitted in 1846, and Wisconsin in the following year.

Election of Taylor.

In June, 1848, was held a great Whig convention, in Philadelphia, which nominated General Taylor for President and Millard Fillmore for Vice-President. The hero of the Mexican war was chosen by a considerable majority. On the 4th of March, 1849, President Polk retired to private life, but survived his retirement only a few months. He died, June 15th, 1849.

Death of Polk.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL TAYLOR.

Bk. VII. Ch. 6. A. D. 1849.

THE 4th of March occurring on Sunday, the inauguration of the new President was deferred to the following day. He made choice of John M. Clayton, of Delaware, for Secretary of State; William M. Meredith, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of War; W. B. Preston, of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, Postmaster-General; and Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, Attorney-General.

Taylor's Cabinet.

Discovery of gold in California.

The summer of 1849 has been rendered memorable by the settlement of California. In consequence of the discovery of gold, near Sutter's mill, in February, 1848, the immigration thither was enormous. By the articles of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed February 2d, 1848, California had become a territory of the United States. The settlement of this new territory, on the distant border of the Pacific Ocean, was unprecedentedly rapid, and has no parallel in the history of nations. The desire for the acquisition of gold was the inciting cause; and Providence made use of this universal passion as a means of colonizing one of the fairest sections of the globe, which, owing to its remoteness from the realms of civilization, might have remained unoccupied, except by Indians and casual adventurers, for centuries to come. Europeans, Chinese, and Americans, flocked to this El

Its consequences.

Bk. VII. Ch. 5. A. D. 1848.

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Taylor's Cabinet.

Discovery of gold in California.

The summer of 1849 has been rendered memorable by the settlement of California. In consequence of the discovery of gold, near Sutter's mill, in February, 1848, the immigration thither was enormous. By the articles of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed February 2d, 1848, California had become a territory of the United States. The settlement of this new territory, on the distant border of the Pacific Ocean, was unprecedentedly rapid, and has no parallel in the history of nations. The desire for the acquisition of gold was the inciting cause; and Providence made use of this universal passion as a means of colonizing one of the fairest sections of the globe, which, owing to its remoteness from the realms of civilization, might have remained unoccupied, except by Indians and casual adventurers, for centuries to come. Europeans, Chinese, and Americans, flocked to this El

Its consequences.

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Dorado, on the confirmation of the truth of this important discovery. The dreams of the Spaniards were realized: inexhaustible mines of the precious metals were at length found.

Results to civilization of the discovery of gold-mines.

It might be interesting to speculate on the results of this great discovery, but our limits forbid it. We will merely remark, however, in passing, that the main result was the colonization of a far distant land by the Anglo-Saxon race. The accumulation of hundreds of millions of gold has had the effect of increasing the cost of living in all parts of the world. Some kinds of property have appreciated more than others; yet, it cannot be doubted that, just in proportion as gold continues to be produced from the Californian and Australian mines, property of all kinds will increase in value, as will also the wages of labour. Commerce was stimulated for a while, and will, doubtless, continue to feel the effects of auriferous production; but the real wealth of the world is represented, as before, by farms, houses, merchandize, and industrial habits. Gold and silver are the medium of commerce and exchange, not substantial and permanent wealth. They are the indicia of wealth — not the reality. The settlement of California by adventurers will cause new channels of communication with the Pacific coast to be opened; the Rocky Mountains will be crossed by railroads, and the fertile lands at their base will be studded with farm-houses, and dotted with church-steeples. The United States will benefit by this rapid expansion, in the acquisition of greater power. It is to be hoped that the same melancholy effects which were once produced in Spain, by the sudden increase of gold, may not result to the United States; and that the precious metals may not be sent to European nations, to purchase follies and luxuries, which are enervating in their influence.

Real wealth not increased.

Commerce stimulated.

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On the first of September, 1849, the people of California voted for a State government, and adopted a constitution excluding slavery from the territory.

Assembling of Congress.

Congress assembled on the 2d of December, 1849; but no event of great importance characterized its proceedings, until the new Senators and Representatives from California presented a petition for the admission of that territory into the Union as one of the confederated States. That article of its Constitution which excluded slavery led to the most violent debates, during which Henry Clay proposed his celebrated measures of compromise. He was seconded by Daniel Webster, and other eminent statesmen; but it was not till late in the session that the Compromise Act became a law.

1850.

Death of Calhoun.

On the 31st of March, 1850, John C. Calhoun expired at Washington. During his brilliant career, he had held some of the highest and most important offices in the gift of the people; and, as a statesman and a citizen, he won from all classes the highest meed of praise for his talents and virtues. Unfortunately, during a period of great agitation and perplexity, he advocated nullification, which the State he represented was, at one time, disposed to follow out. But the vigorous measures adopted by President Jackson prevented an occurrence which might, ere this, have dissolved the Union, and plunged it into disastrous wars, of which no one could predict the end.

Death of Taylor.

On the 9th of July, a few months subsequent to the demise of Mr. Calhoun, while Congress was engaged with exciting debates on the slavery question, the patriotic and heroic President Taylor breathed his last. Never did a nation more sincerely mourn the departure of exalted worth than did the United States lament the loss of the man they had elevated, for his illustrious

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services, to the highest position to which American ambition may aspire. His death was regarded as a national calamity; although the time has come when the loss of individuals, however great and eminent, ceases to materially affect the current of events.

Accession of Fillmore.

By his death the administration of the government devolved on the Vice-President, who fortunately possessed and deserved the confidence of the nation. On the 10th of July, Millard Fillmore, of New York, became President of the United States. Thus Providence, rather than personal ambition, elevated to that high responsibility one who, four years previously, never dreamed of attaining so exalted a dignity.

CHAPTER VII.

ADMINISTRATION OF MILLARD FILLMORE

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The first important act of President Fillmore, after his accession to power, was the appointment of a new cabinet. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, became Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; A. H. H. Stuart, of Virginia, Secretary of the Interior; William A. Graham, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; J. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, Attorney-General; and K. N. Hall, of New York, Postmaster-General. William R. King, of Alabama, was elected President of the Senate.

Fillmore's cabinet.

The country was agitated, during the remainder of the session of Congress, by violent debates respecting the admission of California and the escape of fugitive slaves from justice. During four months these questions were debated. Finally, on the 9th of September, the Compromise Act was passed, which embodied several important measures; viz., that California should be admitted as a free State; that the Mormon settlements near the Great Salt Lake should be erected into a territory, to be called Utah; that New Mexico should also be admitted as a territory, and that $10,000,000 be paid to Texas as a settlement of her claims; that the slave-trade in the District of Columbia should be abolished, and that fugitive slaves should be arrested and returned to their owners.

Compromise Act.

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This celebrated act, called the Omnibus Bill, from the variety of the measures embraced in it, was received by the nation with varied and conflicting opinions, and led to great popular agitation and demonstrations.

Fugitive Slave Law.

Especially did that part of it which pertained to the restoration of slaves escaping from bondage, called the Fugitive Slave Act, produce great commotion in the northern States. Mass meetings were held in various northern cities, to express disapprobation of the law. Daniel Webster and Henry Clay made great efforts to conciliate the opposing parties, and, to a great extent, succeeded in allaying popular irritation. The President issued his proclamation, declaring it to be his intention to enforce the law, even though it should be necessary to employ the whole power with which he was constitutionally armed. A most tremendous excitement was caused in Boston by the denunciations of popular orators, such as Theodore Parker, William Loyd Garrison, Wendall Phillips, and other anti-slavery agitators; and at Detroit there was a riot. But great mass meetings were also convened to support the Constitution and the cause of law and order.

Popular agitation.

Congress adjourned on the 30th of September, and re-assembled on the 2d of December. The year closed with every indication of great prosperity.

1851.

New Post-office law.

Among the acts passed by Congress in the year 1851, was one making important changes in the general Post-office laws, chiefly in relation to letter-postage, which was reduced to three cents on a letter not exceeding half an ounce in weight. In this the United States copied after the English post-office improvements by Rowland Hill. Congress also passed acts to establish a territorial government in Oregon and Minnesota, and to found a military asylum for the relief and support of invalid and disabled

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soldiers of the United States. On the 3d of March, a joint resolution was passed by Congress, and approved by the President, to provide Louis Kossuth, the exiled Hungarian governor, with a passage to the United States, on one of the public vessels then cruising in the Mediterranean.

These were the most important acts of the National Legislature during the session of 1850–'51. But, meanwhile, other events of interest were transpiring. On the 3d of February, General Quitman, of Mississippi, was arrested, by the United States Marshal, for a violation of the neutrality laws, by aiding and countenancing a meditated invasion of Cuba.

Arrest of Quitman

This was the great event of the year, in a political point of view, although it did not lead to important and permanent national changes. During the summer, considerable excitement was caused throughout the country, by various concerted movements for the purpose of invading Cuba, with a view to its subjugation and final annexation to the United States, as in the case of Texas. The vigilance of the government was aroused, orders were issued for the arrest of all suspected persons, and the steamboat Cleopatra was seized in the harbor of New York. These events produced a great commotion, also, in Cuba, and 40,000 Spanish troops were concentrated on the island, with the view of defending it from the threatened invasion. General Lopez, one of the ring-leaders in the movement, endeavored to induce the people of New Orleans to aid him in his meditated expedition.

Invasion of Cuba.

The steamer Pampero, with 450 to 500 men, composing the expedition against Cuba, under General Lopez, left New Orleans, August 3d, and, on the 12th, the troops disembarked on the island of Cuba, at Cubanos, after encountering a trifling resistance. Lopez, with 323

Genera. Lopez.

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men, marched to Las Posas, leaving Colonel Crittenden with 120 men, to guard the stores and ammunition. On the 13th, Colonel Crittenden was attacked by 500 Spanish troops, and his forces scattered. On the same day, General Lopez encountered 800 Spanish troops at Las Posas, and succeeded in repulsing them, with a loss of about 30 men. He then directed his march to the mountains, but was again attacked, on the 16th of August, by 900 troops, who were likewise compelled to retreat with a loss of 320 men. On the 19th, the ammunition of Lopez was destroyed by a storm; and, on the following day, his decimated and dispirited troops were completely routed. After enduring great sufferings in the mountains, in his attempts to escape, Lopez was finally captured, and, on the first day of September, publicly garroted in Havana. The unfortunate men who accompanied Lopez and Crittenden were, when taken, condemned to ten years' labor on the public works in Spain. A part of the men, being Americans, were subsequently liberated by the Spanish government, and sent back to the United States.

Defeat of Lopez.

His execution.

Discovery of the magnetic telegraph.

About this time, the Electro-magnetic Telegraph was perfected, and messages were sent by it to various parts of the United States. This discovery will make the name of Morse illustrious in the records of science. During the season, the yacht America beat the yacht Titania, on British waters, adding a new laurel to American art and enterprize.

Agitation respecting the Maine liquor-law.

The summer of 1851 was marked by one of those periodical excitements, arising out of the discussion of moral questions, which, from time to time, have agitated the community. The Legislature of Maine passed a stringent law in reference to the sale of intoxicating liquors; and numerous prosecutions were commenced in

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Portland, and other large towns, against persons who had violated the law, which contemplated the suppression of intemperance by forcible measures. The Maine law was subsequently copied by other States; but a sufficient time has not yet elapsed to demonstrate the wisdom or the folly of the interference, by legislation, with what were once regarded as personal rights.

Copied by other States.

The census of the year 1850 computed the population of the United States to be 23,144,126 persons; a gain, in ten years, of over 6,000,000 — an increase unprecedented among the nations of the earth.

New census.

In October, 1851, the expedition, fitted out in New York the preceding year by Moses Grinnell, to make search for Sir John Franklin, returned, after an unsuccessful cruise in the high northern latitudes. Under the command of Lieutenant De Haven, of the United States Navy, it penetrated to the southern entrance of Wellington Channel, where the graves of three of Franklin's men were found.

Search for Franklin.

In December, 1851, Louis Kossuth, the exiled Governor of Hungary, visited the United States, for the purpose of securing material aid for his unfortunate countrymen. He was received everywhere with extraordinary marks of distinction, such as never had been bestowed on any foreigner, with the exception of La Fayette. All the great cities which he visited gave him banquets, and paid him high honours, and, at Washington, the leading members of Congress invited him to a grand dinner. His speeches excited the liveliest interest; but a great number were more astonished and delighted with his extraordinary eloquence than excited by sympathy for his cause. Still, he received every demonstration of respect, both for his own individual virtues, and the cause which he represented. He also obtained

Arrival of Kossuth.

Honours paid to Kossuth.

The reason.

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considerable "material aid." His progress through the Union was a continuous triumphal procession, except in some of the southern cities. But he and his cause were endeared to a great majority of the American people. His imprudences and his boldness of rebuke, in some measure lessened the enthusiasm with which, at first, he was greeted; and, as often happens, when the éclat of his name had somewhat diminished, thousands felt ashamed of the feeling they had at first expressed. Nevertheless, his visit was an event of considerable importance.

Congress met in December, 1851, at the usual date, but no measures of great national interest were carried through, except a modification of the postage law, and a provision for the better security of the lives of passengers in vessels propelled in whole or in part by steam.

1852.

Death of Clay and Webster.

In the year 1852, the nation sustained a great loss in the death of two eminent statesmen, who enjoyed a reputation as wide-spread as the limits of civilization. Henry Clay, the illustrious pacificator, died on the 20th of June; and Daniel Webster, whose intellectual powers, as a whole, have never been equalled in the United States, departed from the scene of his glory on the 24th of October. Both of these great men rendered vast services to the nation, and both were appreciated and honoured; but neither of them reached the goal of their ambition. They had, respectively, too many enemies, and they were also rivals.

Anticipated difficulties respecting the fisheries.

In the course of the summer of 1852, considerable anxiety was caused, for a short time, by an official intimation from the government of Great Britain, that orders had been given for the protection of the fisheries, upon the coasts of the British provinces, against the alleged encroachments of the fishing-vessels of the United States

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and France. It was at first feared that Great Britain intended to enforce some supposed rights which the government of the United States did not recognize. Although this intimation led to the despatch of Commodore Perry to the fishing-grounds, in an armed vessel, no cause of hostility transpired, and the question was finally settled by negotiation; Mr. Webster having, as Secretary of State, prepared the way before his death.

Commodore Perry sent to the fishing-grounds.

Difficulties also continued with the island of Cuba, in consequence of the refusal of the authorities, in several instances, to allow the landing of the passengers and mails—a precaution, on the part of the people of Cuba, very naturally induced by a fear of the introduction on the island of parties having revolutionary views.

Difficulties with Cuba.

Early in the year 1852, communications had been received by the government at Washington, from the governments of France and Great Britain, in which the United States were invited to join those nations in a disclaimer, now and for the future, of all intentions to obtain possession of the island of Cuba—which invitation was, of course, respectfully declined.

French and English intervention in Cuban affairs.

Among other events which occurred during the year, was the nomination of Franklin Pierce for President, and William Rufus King for Vice-President; which nomination was confirmed by the vote of the people, and by the largest majority of votes on record, in the political history of the country. During the summer, the government acknowledged the sovereignty of Peru over the Lobos Islands, valuable chiefly for guano, the wonderful properties of which, as a manure, had lately been tested.

Nomination of Pierce.

Guano.

During this year, $65,000,000 in gold arrived from California, and $90,000,000 were expended in railroads — indices of enterprize and prosperity. This year was also marked by great disasters — by railroad accidents,

Gold from California.

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steamboat explosions, and extensive conflagrations—property valued at $10,000,000 having been destroyed by a single fire in Sacramento City. Like casualties constituted the principal items in the domestic history of the country.

Edward Everett Secretary of State.

Edward Everett succeeded Daniel Webster as Secretary of State, on the 9th of October; and his short term of office was characterized by the production of able state-papers on matters of great complexity. John P. Kennedy became Secretary of the Navy on the 31st of July.

The second session of the thirty-second Congress commenced in December, at the usual time, but no important bills were passed — all such being left for the action of the next Congress, under a new administration. An assay office was established in New York, and many private bills were passed. Great debates, however, took place respecting the foreign policy of the government.

Expedition to Japan.

During the summer of 1852, an expedition, comprising seven ships of war, under the command of Commodore Perry, was fitted out for the purpose of securing greater commercial advantages from the empire of Japan. The result was highly satisfactory, many Japan ports being opened to the ships of the United States.

1853.

Organization of Washington Territory.

On the 2d of March, 1853, a new territory, called Washington, was formed by Congress out of the northern part of Oregon. This was the last event of importance which characterized the administration of Mr. Fillmore, who retired to private life, bearing with him the good wishes and the respect of the nation, for the signal ability and integrity with which he had discharged his responsible duties.

CHAPTER VIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL PIERCE.

Bk. VII. Ch. 8. A. D. 1853.

Inauguration of Pierce.

Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, entered upon his duties as President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1853. His Inaugural Address, delivered before an immense concourse of people assembled on the steps of the eastern portico of the Capitol, gave indication of considerable talent, and of a disposition to discharge the great trust committed to him to the best of his ability. He was the youngest man ever elected to fill the office of President.

His cabinet.

On the 7th of March, the Senate, in special session, confirmed his cabinet appointments. William L. Marcy, of New York, became Secretary of State; James Guthrie, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Robert McClelland, of Michigan, Secretary of the Interior; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, Secretary of War; James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; James Campbell, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General; and Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

Mexican boundaries.

The first object of importance which called for the attention of the new government, was a dispute between Mexico and the United States respecting boundaries. The Mesilla Valley was claimed by both governments, under the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo — a fertile region, 175 miles in length, and from 30 to 40 miles in width. The boundary commissioners

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assigned the territory to Mexico, but, on the 13th of March, 1853, Governor Lane, of New Mexico, although not authorized to do so by the General Government, took possession of the disputed territory, in the name of the United States, with the view of holding it provisionally, until the question of boundary should be definitely settled. The dispute was finally settled by negotiation.

Clayton Treaty.

On the 9th of March, Mr. Clayton, Secretary of State under General Taylor, entered upon an elaborate vindication of the treaty negotiated between himself and Mr. Bulwer, the English minister; in the course of which he discussed the Monroe doctrine, advocating the exclusion of European powers from further colonization of the American Continent, and insisted that it never should receive the sanction of the government of the United States in any form. Very animated debates followed, in which Mr. Mason, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Everett, were the most prominent participants. The latter gentleman, in a most able speech, urged that conciliation and forbearance should mark the policy of our nation in all such complicated questions.

Discharge of Thomas Kaine.

In the summer of this year an important legal decision was rendered respecting the surrender, to foreign governments, of alleged fugitives from justice. It grew out of the case of Thomas Kaine, charged with an attempt to commit a murder in Ireland. His surrender was demanded by the British government; but it was refused, by the United States Court, on the ground that the requisition should be made on the executive government of the United States. This not having been done, the prisoner was discharged.

Expedition to Asia.

In May, 1853, another exploring expedition, consisting of four armed vessels and a supply ship, was sent out by the United States government, with the object

of exploring the eastern coast of Asia, and thus facilitating navigation between China and the western ports of the Pacific. Different routes to the Pacific were also surveyed, in anticipation of the future construction of a railroad. An expedition to go in search of Sir John Franklin was fitted out by Mr. Grinnell, and placed under the charge of Dr. Kane, who sailed from New York on the 31st of May.

Kane sent in search of Franklin.

On the 14th of July, a palace of iron and glass, of beautiful proportions, and immense size, was opened in New York, in imitation of the Crystal Palace in London, in which, the year previously, was held the great exhibition of art and industry—one of the most imposing sights of modern times. The President of the United States honoured the inauguration of the edifice with his presence; but, in a pecuniary point of view, the exhibition was a failure; thus practically demonstrating the hazard of repeating experiments. The building still remains as an ornament of the city in which it is erected, and will doubtless be applied to many useful purposes.

The Crystal Palace.

On the 29th of August, Mr. Hulsemann, Austrian minister at Washington, addressed a letter to Secretary Marcy, demanding, in the name of his government, satisfaction for the shelter afforded to Martin Koszta, a Hungarian refugee, by Captain Ingraham, of the United States sloop of war St. Louis, lying in the harbour of Smyrna. Koszta had taken legal measures to become a naturalized citizen of the United States; and, while engaged in business in Smyrna, had been seized, by order of the Austrian consul-general, and conveyed on board an Austrian brig, with the design of carrying him to Trieste, as a rebel refugee. Captain Ingraham claimed him as an American citizen, and, on the refusal of the Austrian authorities to deliver him up, threatened to fire

The Koszta affair.

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on the Austrian vessel. The Austrians surrendered their prisoner, who then returned to the United States. The act gave great umbrage to the Austrian government, and Mr. Hulsemann threatened its displeasure, but the affair ended without further difficulty. Captain Ingraham was much commended for his zeal in defending the honour of the American flag, and Congress voted him a sword as an evidence of its approbation.

Calamities and casualties.

The summer of 1853 was marked by unusual casualties and public misfortunes. The yellow fever, at New Orleans, carried off 6442 persons; a steamship, on its route to San Francisco, was wrecked, with a loss of 200 lives; and a railroad accident at Norwalk, in Connecticut, destroyed 50 people.

Father Gavazzi.

During the summer, New York was visited by Father Gavazzi, an Italian refugee, who, by his intemperate denunciation against the Papal government, originated a series of useless agitations, which extended to Canada, and ended in disgraceful riots.

Kansas and Nebraska bill.

Congress re-assembled in December, at the usual time, but no question of absorbing national interest was discussed, until Mr. Douglas introduced his celebrated bill, which agitated the Union from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In this act, he proposed to incorporate those vast territories which lie west of the State of Missouri and of the Rocky Mountains, embracing one-fourth of the public lands of the United States, into two territories, called Kansas and Nebraska. In reference to these two territories, he proposed to abolish the compromises of 1820 and 1850, and allow the inhabitants to decide for themselves whether slavery should be admitted or excluded.

Abolition of the compromises of 1820 and 1850.

During nearly four months, the question was debated with great energy and talent in Congress, and also engaged the attention of public meetings throughout the northern States. No other subject gained the ear of the national representatives. Finally, after the most stormy debates known since the adoption of the Constitution, the bill, with some inconsiderable amendments, was passed by both houses, and received the signature of the President.

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Passage of the bill.

Boston riots.

A few days subsequent to the final passage of the Nebraska Bill, Boston became the scene of a disgraceful riot, and a deputy marshal was shot dead, while attempting, as was his duty, to enforce the law respecting fugitives from labour. The United States troops were ordered out, and the court protected in the discharge of its functions. A fugitive slave having been arrested and brought before the United States Commissioner, he decided in favour of the master, and the slave was conveyed to Virginia in a government vessel.

Seizure of the Black Warrior.

Contemporaneous with the discussion in Congress respecting the new territories, difficulties arose with Spain. The American steamer Black Warrior having been seized at Havana, Feb. 28th, 1854, the vessel and cargo were confiscated, on the pretence that a new invasion of Cuba was projected. There was no just ground for the seizure, although it is easy to account for suspicion on the part of the Cuban authorities. The United States Government immediately took measures to inquire into this outrage; and the perpetrators of it, becoming alarmed, agreed to give up the vessel and cargo on payment by the owners of a fine of $6000. The President of the United States discouraged the attempt of the fillibusters to invade the rights of Cuba, and his seasonable proclamations prevented any hostile expeditions from being fitted out.

Among the events of the year may be mentioned the

bombardment of Greytown, growing out of the perplexing questions respecting Central America.

So soon as it became evident that there was a means for establishing inter-oceanic communication across the Isthmus, a company was organized, under the authority of the State of Nicaragua, but mainly composed of citizens of the United States, for the purpose of opening such a transit by way of the river San Juan and Lake Nicaragua. This soon became a much-favoured route to California. In anticipation of the opening of this line of communication, a number of adventurers took possession of the old Spanish fort at the mouth of the river San Juan, in open defiance of the States of Central America. These adventurers changed the name of this port from San Juan del Norte to Greytown, gradually repudiated the control of the State to which this territory belonged, and, finally, attempted to extend their jurisdiction to adjacent territories, which were in possession of the Nicaragua Transit Company. A series of outrages was perpetrated by the adventurers; among which were an attempt to seize the captain of one of the steamboats in the service of the company, on a charge of murder, and the transfer of property belonging to the company, at their depôt at Punta Arenas, to Greytown. The plunderers were protected by the community at Greytown, and so insulting and unscrupulous was the conduct of the adventurers, that our government demanded reparation for the injuries inflicted; which requisition being unheeded, the sloop of war Cyane was despatched thither, to enforce submission. The town was bombarded, and the property of the residents destroyed. This transaction gave umbrage to some foreign powers, and was regarded by many of them as an act of unnecessary harshness.

Difficulties in Central America.

Nicaragua Transit Company.

Bombardment of Greytown.

Congress closed its session on the 4th of March, after having passed but few bills of great public interest; among which was one increasing the annual appropriation to the Collins line of steamers, from $385,000 to $850,000; which, however, was vetoed by the President, on the ground that the government would receive no adequate return for the outlay involved, and that it would give a check to the principle of free competition. Congress, at this session, reorganized the consular and diplomatic service, and fixed the salaries of ministers according to a graduated scale, taking as a basis the relative importance of their respective posts, and the expense of living. A bill was also passed, organizing a board to adjudicate claims upon Congress; and Judge Gilchrist, of New Hampshire, Hon. Isaac Blackford, of Indiana, and Hon. Joseph H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, were appointed judges. A bill to provide a retired list for the navy was passed, and also one to increase the army by the addition of two regiments of infantry and two of cavalry. Hiram Powers received a commission to execute some statuary for the Capitol; the postage bill was amended so as to provide for the registration of letters; and the President was authorized to confer the title of Lieutenant-General on the man most eminent for military services. General Scott received the honour of this appointment.

Appropriation to Collins' steamers.

Court of Claims.

Navy retired list.

Promotion General Scott.

During the preceding year, considerable effort had been made to secure the purchase of Cuba from Spain, and a conference of some of the leading ministers abroad took place at Ostend, with the view of advancing the project. But nothing was accomplished by it; in consequence of which, Mr. Soulé, United States Minister at Madrid, resigned. However desirable the acquisition of Cuba might be to the United States, there are so many

Ostend Conference.

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difficulties connected with its transfer, arising out of the jealousies of the European States, as well as party dissension at home, that there is but little prospect that it can be consummated.

Maine Law in New York.

About this period New York, in imitation of other States, passed a stringent law against the sale of intoxicating liquors, which was scarcely enforced anywhere. It was subsequently declared to be unconstitutional by the highest legal tribunal, and of course proved to be a failure.

Amendment to the Constitution of Massachusetts.

On the 19th of May, the following amendment to the Constitution of Massachusetts was passed by the Legislature of that State:—"That no person shall be entitled to vote, or be eligible to office in the Commonwealth, unless he shall be born within the jurisdiction of the United States, or unless he shall be the child of an American citizen born during the temporary absence of one or both of his parents from the United States." This amendment, passed with a view of diminishing the political influence of foreigners, was one of the features of the "Know-Nothing" movement, which agitated the country during the years 1855 and 1856, and which was at its height about this time, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut. This was one of the most transient excitements which ever modified the popular elections in the United States, and was soon lost sight of in the more absorbing agitation pertaining to slavery, which was aroused during the following year.

Colonel Walker's Expedition.

On the 27th of June, Colonel Walker sailed from San Francisco, and landed on the coast of Nicaragua, where, having been joined by 300 men, he took possession of the small town of Rivas, with a view of lending his aid to one of the aspirants to the presidency of that State. He had been defeated at Sonora, whither he had

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led a similar fillibustering expedition during the preceding year; but this last effort was destined to a still more disastrous termination—not, however, until Walker had achieved a most unenviable notoriety.

Return of Dr. Kane.

On the 11th of October, the expedition which had been sent out in search of Dr. Kane returned to New York, with the entire party, which had passed two winters in the high northern latitudes, and had penetrated farther toward the North Pole than any previous expedition on record. The results of this exploration have been beautifully presented by Dr. Kane in one of the most interesting narratives ever written.

Assembling of Congress.

Congress assembled at the usual time, but the House of Representatives was unable to elect a Speaker, until the 2d of February, in consequence of the violence of partizan spirit in regard to the great question then agitating the Union. The North and the South were alike jealous of all influences touching slavery, the great question on which was supposed to hang the issue of the next presidential election. The delay in the organization of the House, of course, prevented any attention to public business. Even the Message of the President was delayed until the 31st of December; and the delivering of it took everybody by surprise, in view of the apparent impropriety of recommending measures to an unorganized body. Its promulgation, however, relieved the public mind of much anxiety respecting our foreign relations. Much of the Message was occupied with a discussion of the Nebraska Bill, and the troubles in Kansas —altogether the most exciting in the memory of this generation, but of too recent occurrence to be more than alluded to in this connection.

Sectional jealousies in Congress.

Election of a Speaker.

All evils, however, at last come to an end. The House of Representatives elected a Speaker, Feb. 2d, on the

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139th ballot, after an unprecedented array of difficulties. Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr. of Massachusetts, was chosen by a plurality vote of 103, being 5 votes less than a majority.

Nomination of Fillmore.

On the 26th of February, Millard Fillmore was nominated for the Presidency by a Convention of the American party convened at Philadelphia. Mr. Fillmore was supported by the Southern delegates.

The debates in Congress during this session largely pertained to the Kansas troubles, and the questions originating out of them. On the 20th of May, Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts, concluded a long speech, in which he commented, with great asperity, upon Senator Butler, of South Carolina, which elicited sharp retorts from Messrs. Mason and Douglas. But these asperities did not end in the Senate Chamber. On the 22d, Mr. Sumner was attacked, after the adjournment of the Senate, by Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, a nephew of Mr. Butler, and a member of the House of Representatives. This attack created an immense sensation, and Mr. Brooks resigned his seat, but was re-elected by the people of his Congressional district.

Assault on Sumner.

Nomination of Buchanan.

The National Democratic Convention assembled at Cincinnati on the 2d of June, and, on the 5th, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was unanimously nominated for the Presidency, after the 17th ballot, and J. C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

Nomination of Fremont.

On the 17th of June, the Republican Convention met in Philadelphia, and nominated John C. Fremont for the Presidency.

The Presidential campaign, from this date until the election in November, completely absorbed public attention.

On the 18th of August, Congress adjourned, after having done little else than discuss the great questions which were agitating the land. The President vetoed several bills which had passed both Houses, appropriating money for internal improvements, some of which were subsequently passed by a two-thirds vote. Large appropriations of public lands were made in aid of western railroads, and $300,000 were appropriated for the maintenance of friendly relations with the Indians of Oregon. A bill was passed, raising the pay of members of Congress to $3000 a year, or $6000 for the entire Congress, the mileage remaining as before, with deductions in case of voluntary absence.

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Congressional appropriations.

Extra session.

Congress adjourned without passing the usual civil appropriation bills, in consequence of a proviso being attached to the army bill, in the House of Representatives, to the effect that none of the money should be appropriated for the prosecution of persons charged with political offences. The President immediately issued a proclamation, convening an extra session of Congress on the 21st of August, which passed the bills, without the proviso, by a small majority. Nearly $64,000,000 were appropriated during this session, exclusive of the lands granted to railroads.

Election of Buchanan.

The usual excitement attendant on a Presidential canvass was allayed by the election of Mr. Buchanan, on the 4th of November, by a majority of 52 electoral votes.

Meeting of Congress.

Congress met on the 2d of December, and the opening weeks of the session were chiefly occupied by general discussions on the slavery question and the doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty." Among the important bills passed during the session were the Indian Appropriation Bill, giving $700,000 to appease the natives of Oregon; a new Tariff bill, which considerably reduced the existing duties; and the Atlantic Telegraph Bill, appro-

1857.

Important bills.

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priating $70,000 per annum to the company. The House of Representatives expelled two of its members for bribery, and other members implicated sent in their resignations.

Inauguration of Buchanan.

The inauguration of James Buchanan as President took place on the 4th of March, and at 1 o'clock he delivered his inaugural address, on the eastern portico of the capitol. Having determined not to be a candidate for re-election, the nation had great confidence in the sincerity of the views which he advanced. The conservative temper which he had ever manifested, his vast political experience, his age and acknowledged abilities, led all classes to acquiesce peacefully in his elevation, and most people to rejoice in the anticipation of the removal of those evils which, for several years previously, distracted the land.

His cabinet.

He made choice of the following gentlemen for his cabinet:—Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; James H. Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General, and Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General.

CONCLUSION.

Conclusion.

With the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan, we bring to a close our History of the United States, regretting that our narrow limits will not allow any more extended notice of the numerous points of interest to which we have briefly alluded.

On the retirement of Mr. Pierce, the country was at

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peace with all nations, and general prosperity, more than at any previous period, distinguished the United States as the most favoured land on earth.

Extent of territory.

The government claims a territorial area comprising 3,221,595 square miles, inhabited by a population which cannot be far from 25,000,000 of people. This vast territory extends from latitude 25° 20′ to 49° north, and from longitude 67° 47′ to 124° 30′ west. The length east and west is about 2600 miles, and the breadth north and south about 1700 miles. It occupies the middle zone of North America. The frontiers measure about 10,000 miles, of which 4000 are sea-coast, and 1500 lake-coast. The territory of the United States extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, and from the British Possessions on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south.

Physical geography.

It is traversed by two principal chains of mountains — the Alleghanies on the eastern side, and the Rocky Mountains on the western side. The Alleghanies are a less continuous chain than the Rocky Mountains, and seldom have summits of more than 6500 feet in height. The Rocky Mountains are on a grander scale, and attain to an elevation of from 8000 to 12000 feet. The immense valley between these mountains is intersected by the Mississippi River, which runs nearly north and south through the centre of the country; and, with its tributaries, affords a steamboat navigation of 8000 miles. The whole country is well supplied with water; its vast lakes and rivers afford every facility for the pursuit of commerce; its climates, as a whole, are salubrious; its soils are the deposits of ages; its minerals are nearly all those which the art of man has hitherto made use of; its productions are the most valued fruits, grains, grasses, and trees, which grow in the temperate zones in any part of the world.

Original settlers.

The English, Dutch, and French, were the original settlers of this magnificent domain, but it is now populated by emigrants from nearly all the European countries. The Irish and German population is the most numerous, after the descendants of the primitive settlers.

Original States.

The original States were Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island. On the 4th of March, 1789, the present Constitution of the United States was adopted.

Eighteen new States have since been admitted, viz.:

New States.

1. Vermont, March 4th, 1791, which formed a part of the territory of New York and New Hampshire.

2. Kentucky, June 1st, 1792, which formed a part of Virginia.

3. Tennessee, June 1st, 1796, formed from the territory ceded to the United States by North Carolina.

4. Ohio, Nov. 29th, 1802. Formed from territory ceded by Virginia.

5. Louisiana, April 8th, 1812. Acquired, by purchase, from France.

6. Indiana, Dec. 11th, 1816.

7. Mississippi, Dec. 10th, 1817. Formed from the territory ceded to the United States by South Carolina and Georgia.

8. Illinois, Dec. 3d, 1818.

9. Alabama, Dec. 14th, 1819.

10. Maine, March 15th, 1820. Originally a province of Massachusetts.

11. Missouri, Aug. 10th, 1821. Formed from the French purchase.

12. Arkansas, June 15th, 1836. Formed from the French purchase.

13. Michigan, June 26th, 1837.

14. Florida, March 3d, 1845. Ceded by Spain.

15. Texas, Dec. 29th, 1845. Texas had been an independent republic for ten years.

New States.

16. Iowa, Dec. 28th, 1846. Formed out of the Louisiana purchase.

17. Wisconsin, May 29th, 1848.

18. California, Dec. 9th, 1850.

Besides these 31 States, there are the territories of

Territories.

1. Oregon, erected Aug. 14, 1848.
2. Minnesota, March 3d, 1849.
3. Utah, Sept. 9th, 1850.
4. New Mexico, Sept. 9th, 1850.
5. Washington, in 1853.
6. Kansas, in 1854.
7. Nebraska, in 1854.

Finances.

These confederated States and Territories have each an independent government, but they are also allied under one general government. The national capital is Washington. The expenses of the general government are chiefly defrayed by customs and the sale of public lands. The receipts for the fiscal year, ending June 30th, 1856, were $73,918,141.46. The expenditures were $72,948,792.02. The balance in the treasury, July 1st, 1856, was $19,901,325.45. The public debt, Nov. 15th, 1856, was $30,963,909.64. The value of foreign merchandise imported is about $300,000,000 yearly, and the exports about $250,000,000. About 9000 vessels, belonging to citizens of the United States, are employed in the commerce of the country, and their united tonnage amounts to nearly 4,000,000 tons. These vessels employ about 120,000 men. The aggregate number of acres of land under cultivation amounts to about 120,000,000, and of uncultivated, to about 200,000,000

Commerce.

Agriculture.

Productions.

of acres. The value of farms and implements of husbandry is estimated at about $3,500,000,000. It is calculated that there are about 5,000,000 of horses, 7,000,000 of cows, 12,000,000 of other cattle, 20,000,000 of sheep, and 30,000,000 of swine on the land. About 120,000,000 bushels of wheat, 600,000,000 bushels of Indian corn, and 3,000,000 bales of wool are annually produced. The value of animals slaughtered is over $100,000,000 yearly. The capital invested in manufactures is not far from $600,000,000, and the value of articles manufactured is double that amount. About 1,000,000 of people are employed in the various manufactories.

Material wealth.

The estimated value of real and personal property in the United States is about $8,000,000,000.

The coinage of the mint is about $50,000,000 yearly. The total amount of gold produced in California, to October, 1857, was over $400,000,000, of which $260,000,000 have been exported. At this date, it is probable that there are $150,000,000 more in circulation than in 1846.

Railroads.

There are about 18,000 miles of railroads within the United States, involving an expenditure of many hundred millions of dollars.

Schools and Colleges.

Of the population of the United States, about 4,000,000 are in regular course of instruction in colleges and schools. The teachers number 120,000. There are nearly 40,000 churches, owning property to an amount of more than $90,000,000. About 3000 newspapers are printed in the various States. There are about 300 colleges and higher seminaries of law, medicine, and theology. The societies for the advance of literature, science, art, and morals, can hardly be estimated.

At the present time the general government is embroiled in a difficulty with the Mormon settlers in Utah,

Difficulty with the Mormons.

growing out of the turbulent spirit of that people, who have heretofore set at defiance, not only the laws of the Union, but also those higher laws, recognized and respected by all civilized communities. The power of the Federal Government, aided as it is by the force of public opinion, must, however, necessarily compel these rebellious citizens either to acknowledge the supremacy of the laws or to remove to some other country.

Mexican affairs.

The unsettled state of affairs in Mexico may lead to some complication of our relations with that nation; but no doubt can be entertained that the wisdom and experience of our Executive are equal to any emergency, and that they will be fully exerted to prevent the occurrence of any serious difficulty.

Third invasion of Nicaragua by Walker.

Another attempt to interfere with the internal policy of the State of Nicaragua, made by Colonel Walker, about the close of the year 1857, was nipped in the bud by the energetic conduct of Commodore Paulding, of the United States steam-frigate Wabash, who seized the entire party, after they landed on the shores of Nicaragua, and conveyed them back to the United States. No action was instituted by the United States government against Walker for a violation of the neutrality laws; and, though the matter was, for some weeks, a subject of debate in both houses of Congress, it was eventually overslaughed by the more exciting questions relating to our own domestic policy.

The duty of every citizen.

In point of intelligence, energy, and internal resources, this nation acknowledges no superior in the world; and it should be the endeavor, as well as the pride, of every citizen, not only to maintain this high position, but also to promote still further progress in all the ennobling sciences and arts of civilization. The task would be an

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easy one, if the spirit of patriotism were the inciting motive; sectional questions would then cease to engross public attention, and the entire people would unite their energies for the benefit of the whole country.

Prosperity of the United States.

The United States, in fact, have become the most civilized of nations, if the welfare of the great mass of the people is considered. No nation has ever been more favoured by circumstances and by nature. Free institutions, mild laws, and abundant means of support, make this country the hope and the pride of humanity; and if moral and religious improvement should keep pace with material civilization, then no limits can be assigned to the expansion of American power and wealth — no reach of fancy can divine the future brilliancy of American destinies.

QUESTIONS

TO

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

PAGE 13. What was there peculiar to the latter part of the fifteenth century? What characterized the people?

14. What improvements took place in this period? What of sculptors, painters, scholars, poets, philosophers, and reformers? What, on the whole, made this epoch most memorable? Describe the progress of commercial enterprise.

15. What was the great problem of the age, and why was it? Who gave the most attention to it? What were the reasons which led him to infer the rotundity of the earth? What did he hope to accomplish by sailing west?

16. What were the ordinary passages to India? How was the project of Columbus received? Who encouraged him? What was the result? When did he discover America?

17. How was Columbus treated on his return? What effect had this treatment on him? With what reward must great benefactors be content? Who realized the idea of Columbus? What was the effect of Portuguese discoveries? What was the greater result of the discovery of America?

18. With whom does Columbus share his glory as a discoverer? By whom was Cabot patronized? What were the results of his voyages? Who competed with the English for the soil of America? What French navigator explored the coast?

19. Who first availed themselves of the discovery of America? What sections did they seek? Who conquered Mexico? What Indian Prince ruled the land? Describe his subjects. What excited the cupidity of the Spaniards? Describe the conquest of Peru.

20. When was Brazil discovered, and by whom? Were Spain and

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20. When was Brazil discovered, and by whom? Were Spain and

Portugal enriched to the extent anticipated? In what do true riches consist? Why? Were all nations equally infatuated? What did they expect to find? Under what circumstances was Florida discovered, and by whom?

21. What followed the discovery of Florida? Who was the first to ascend the Mississippi? When was it discovered? What results followed? What difficulties had the colonists to contend with? What was the consequence?

CHAPTER II.

23. What did the early navigators find on reaching the American shores? What was their appearance? What were their habits? How far were they barbarians? Of what were they ignorant? On what did they live?

24. What was the degree of their skill? Mention some of their peculiarities. How did they treat women? What were their dispositions? What was the leading trait of the Indians? How was this illustrated?

25. How did he treat friends and enemies? What were his religious notions? What of the Great Spirit? How did he differ from the Germanic barbarian, in his estimate of woman?

26. What was the great passion of the Indian? What was the next strongest passion? To what had he an invincible antipathy? What resulted from this trait? What was the state of the Indians on the first arrival of the Europeans? Who were the most powerful of the tribes? What other tribes did these include?

27. What was the second division, and what sections did they inhabit? What distinguished them? What was the third division? Who composed it? What were their mutual relations? What hence resulted?

CHAPTER III.

29. Who first dreamed of colonizing America? Who made the first attempt? The second? Under whose auspices? What discoveries were made? What prevented the success of the colony?

30. Who made the third attempt? What animated them? What fortunes attended them? What resulted to the colony? In whose reign did the English attempt colonization? What suggested it? Who obtained a patent, and when? What resulted from it?

31. What distinguished man obtained a similar patent? For what was he distinguished? What resulted from his patent? Why was the country called Virginia? How did the natives treat the strangers? Why did they abandon the settlement? Who arrived afterwards?

32. What was their fortune? What happened in 1602? What grant did the King of France make? What was it called? What

resulted from the expedition? How did James I. regard the movements of the French?

33. What did James do? What resulted from his encouragement? What evils were not at that time appreciated? Wherein had the promised benefits proved delusive? What moral do we hence learn? What did the navigators carry back to Europe? Who first introduced tobacco? Was it for better or worse?

BOOK II.—CHAPTER I.

34. What makes the history of America grand and romantic? What examples does its colonization afford?

36. Wherein is it of philosophical importance? What should be the aim of the historian? What causes led to colonization? Wherein were they different in different States?

37. What was the earliest English settlement? What was the character of its colonists? What the condition of England in the seventeenth century? What were the conditions of the patent granted by the King?

38. Wherein was the charter unfavourable to liberty? What was the aim of the company? Describe the band of colonists under Newport. Describe the voyage.

39. Who were the first governors? What Indian chieftain received them hospitably? What was the early condition of the colony? Who rescued it from destruction?

40. What were the previous adventures of Smith? Describe his capture by the Indians. What of Pocahontas? Describe the condition of the colony on Smith's return?

41. By what were they deluded? How was Smith a benefactor? What were some of his excellences? How was his government viewed by the company in England?

42. What was the result? Who was the first governor under the new charter? What was the character of the colonists who sailed with him? How did they regard Smith? What was the result of his return to England?

43. Who succeeded Lord Delaware? What was the condition of the colony under him? What domestic event of interest occurred?

44. Who was Rolfe, and whom did he marry? Describe the government of Dale. What oppressions were the colonists subject to?

45. What hence resulted? What was the character of Yeardley's administration? What was the germ of popular liberty? What political privileges resulted?

46. Describe the introduction of African slaves. What domestic calamity happened contemporaneously? What did the Indians resolve to do? Who headed them?

47. Who revealed the plot? Did it avert misfortune? When did the massacre happen? What resulted from it? How much were the colonists reduced?

48. Why did James subvert the Virginia charter? How did it operate? When did it happen? How did Charles I. manage? To whom did he delegate his powers?

49. What was the character of Harvey? Who succeeded him? What was his administration? What the condition of Virginia? What the political privileges under Berkeley?

50. How were officers chosen? What were the germ of aristocracy? What the germ of a plebeian population? What the influence of slaves? What still further increased aristocratic power?

51. Describe the aristocracy. What power did they grasp? How did they view the Restoration? What privileges did they give to Episcopalians?

52. How were the royal governors enabled to maintain power? What changes were made in the legislature? How were the liberties of the people assailed? Describe the growth of democracy.

53. What were the schemes of Bacon? Why was he opposed by the governor? What were the Indian aggressions?

54. What did the democracy desire? What did it demand? What did Bacon do? What were his successes? What effect had they on the governor?

55. What modifications were made in the government? What further resulted? Describe the conflict. What happened to Jamestown?

56. What was the effect of Bacon's death? What resulted from the suppression of the rebellion? How did Lord Culpepper administer the government? What was the condition of the colonists?

57. By whom was Culpepper succeeded? How did he conduct affairs? What effect had his rule on the colonists? Who succeeded him? What was his character?

58. What was the effect of the English Revolution? What was the population in 1688? What was the prevailing religion? What effect had slavery? How was literature cultivated? What the social and private life of the planter?

CHAPTER II.

61 What was the character of the Puritan settlers of New England? What the influence of their example and principles?

62. In what consist their claims to greatness? What led them to separate from the Established Church?

63. In what year commenced the settlement in Leyden? Who was the leader of the party? State the jurisdiction granted by King James

to the Plymouth colony. Was it the intention of the Pilgrims to settle in Massachusetts?

64. State particulars of the voyage to America in the Mayflower. When and where did the Puritans arrive in America?

65. Who was chosen their first governor? State the disasters of the Pilgrims on their first arrival at Plymouth.

66. What was the condition of the Indians when a treaty of peace was made with them? What was the number of the colonists at the end of the first ten years?

67. What constituted the basis of their government and laws? What was the nursery of American institutions? State the extent of the grant to Mason. When and by whom was it made? State the territory granted to Mason and Gorges. When and where did the first settlements under this grant commence?

68. Describe the particulars of the formation of the Massachusetts Bay Company. To whom was the executive government of this company entrusted? Describe the number and character of the settlers under the charter granted by Charles I.

69. State particulars of the settlement at Salem. What system of church government did they adopt? What resulted from the transfer of their charter?

70. Who was the leader of the colony which arrived in 1630? How many did the colonists number? What place became their capital? By whom was the elective franchise exercised? What were the discouragements of the colony under Winthrop? Name the principal emigrants who arrived in 1633, and their position.

71. State the length and events of Winthrop's administration. Why was Winthrop unpopular? Name his successor.

72. When did Hooker and his companions emigrate to Hartford? State the character of Roger Williams. What was the cause of his persecution?

73. Where did he and his companions go and settle? What principle did he adopt in the early settlement of Rhode Island?

74. State the cause of increased emigration in 1635 Name the principal emigrants. By what was the administration of Sir Henry Vane distinguished? What were the opinions of Ann Hutchinson, which caused her persecution? How were her doctrines esteemed by the clergy? What became of her, after the return of Vane to England?

75. Who founded the town of Exeter, in New Hampshire? State the origin of the Pequod war. What ravages did the Indians commit on the Connecticut?

76. How many Pequods fell in the attack of the colonists on their forts? What became of the Pequod warriors? What was the effect of the war upon the Pequods?

77. State the doings of the colonists in Massachusetts after the Pequod war. What three events distinguished this period? Who was governor of this settlement after the death of Winthrop and Dudley? In what manner did Cromwell favour the colonists?

78. What occasioned the decline of Puritanism on the restoration of Charles II.? What were the habits of the colonists at this period? What was the influence of the commercial restrictions of the mother country?

79. What demand did Charles II. make upon the colonists to propitiate the royal favour? Did they yield to the demand? By whom was the Half-way Covenant adopted? What privileges were secured by a profession of this covenant? What rights were granted to the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1662? What privileges were granted to the freemen of Rhode Island? What qualifications were required by the charter of Connecticut? Did New Haven accede to the charter?

80. Who was chosen governor of the consolidated colony in Connecticut? In what year? How long did he hold the office? What counties did this colony contain? When did the King send commissioners to Massachusetts, to examine into its affairs? How were they received? What was the procedure of the General Court? Was the disobedience of the colony published?

81. In what year did King Philip's War break out? What misfortunes did it occasion the colony? For what sum was the province of Maine purchased by Massachusetts? At what period was the purchase made? Why did the English merchants complain of the colony of Massachusetts? Who was sent from England to be Collector of Boston? What difficulties arose between the King and the colonists in 1681?

82. By whom was Charles II. succeeded? How was his accession received by the colonists? Who did he appoint governor of New England? What were the acts of Andros after his arrival in Boston?

83. State particulars of the insurrection, after James II. was deposed. What resulted from the confirmation of liberty in New England by the Parliament? What was the state of the colonies after the accession of William and Mary?

CHAPTER III.

85. In what year was the Dutch East India Company formed? Who discovered Hudson river? Who first controlled the Dutch West India Company? What was the name of the island on which the city of New York stands?

86. State particulars of the first settlement of New York. What was the colonization scheme first projected in Holland? How did the title of Patroon originate?

87. For what purpose was the island of Manhattan reserved? To whom did the most flourishing colony belong? Where was it situated? Where did the Swedish colony settle?

88. What resulted from the accession of Kieft as governor? In what year terminated the Swedish colony? What were the claims of the English to New Amsterdam?

89. When and to whom did Charles II. cede New Amsterdam? In what year was the name New York substituted for that of New Netherlands? What were the terms granted by the conquerors? What succeeded the conquest of New Amsterdam by the English?

90. In what year was New Amsterdam reconquered by the Dutch? What gave name to New Jersey? How much land was offered to the first settlers of New York? Who was the first governor appointed by the proprietors?

91. In what year did New Jersey and New York come into possession of the English? Who governed these colonies under the new patent? To whom was New Jersey sold in that year? Who were the purchasers of West Jersey? Who assumed the government in East Jersey?

92. In what year was East Jersey purchased by members of the Society of Friends? Name the governors of New York under James II.

93. When did the people of New York obtain a free constitution? When was Andros appointed governor? State the population of New York in 1680. Where were the principal settlements? State the character of their population at that time.

CHAPTER IV.

95. Why were the Catholics persecuted during the reigns of James I. and Charles I.

96. What was the character of Lord Baltimore? What territory was ceded to him, and when? What name did he give to this territory? What power was ceded to him by the charter?

97. In what year did Lord Baltimore die? By whom was Maryland colonized after the death of Lord Baltimore? What led to the prosperity of the colony? Was religious liberty enjoyed by the colonists? How did Virginia view the prosperity of the colony?

98. What was the conduct of the Protestants to the Catholic settlers of Maryland? What benefited the colony on the restoration of Charles II.? State the character of the governor, Charles Calvert. How many inhabitants did the province contain in 1676?

CHAPTER V.

99. Who projected the settlement of Carolina? In what year was it commenced? What caused a hostile expedition against the Hugue-

nots? How many of them perished? In what year was a patent granted by Charles I.?

100. State the extent of this patent. To whom was the territory conveyed? Where did the New England emigrants settle? By whom was the Albemarle settlement made? Who settled a tract on Cape Fear river, and when?

101. State the country included in the extended grant. State some of the privileges of the proprietaries of this territory. Who drafted their constitution?

102. What was it called? What future States did it include? What were the peculiarities of this constitution? Where did they place the executive power?

103. What was their form of religion? Was this system of jurisprudence popular? Where and when was Charleston settled? What was the foundation of South Carolina? Who succeeded Drummond as governor of North Carolina?

104. In what year did Stephens die? Who succeeded him? Who headed the popular insurrection? What occasioned it?

105. What characterized the administration of Sothel? State the neck of land selected as the site of Charleston. When was Yeamans appointed governor?

106. Who superseded Yeamans? By whom was West succeeded? How many governors were appointed in six successive years? When did the Huguenots arrive in South Carolina? What caused them to seek refuge in America? Whence did they emigrate?

107. How were feudal institutions regarded in 1688? State the temper and death of Seth Sothel. What led to the introduction of rice in Carolina? What is the second chief staple of that State?

CHAPTER VI.

109. What led to the settlement of Virginia? Who settled New York, and for what? Who settled Massachusetts? Maryland? By whom was Pennsylvania colonized? Who was the founder of the Society of Friends? What are those fundamental principles, called the "Inner Light?"

110. State the principles of George Fox. What were his views upon war, penal laws, and religious toleration? What fate attended his disciples in the seventeenth century? Who was an early and distinguished convert to Fox?

111. In what year was the grant of Pennsylvania made to Penn? State the extent of the grant, and the powers it conferred. In what year did Penn publish his frame of government? State the particulars of his famous treaty with the Indians.

112. Where and when did he first promulgate his principles of love?

How long was this treaty kept inviolate? What were the fundamental principles established by Penn?

113. State the negotiations between Lord Baltimore and Penn. Where did the latter lay out an extensive city, as a city of refuge? State the number of houses erected in Philadelphia in 1683. What privileges did Penn grant the colonists under him?

114. From what countries did emigrants settle Philadelphia? What was the growth of the city in three years? What was the object of Penn in returning to England? In what year was the present boundary of Pennsylvania settled? What forms the division between free and slave labour?

115. What discontent prevailed among the colonists in 1690? When did Penn return to his colony? What subject of disquiet arose after his return? What were the most striking features of the new charter for Pennsylvania? Who were the original settlers of Delaware, and where did they land?

116. What constituted the three lower counties as part of Pennsylvania? State the character of Penn as a reformer. State the population of the respective colonies in 1701.

117. State the imports and exports of the colonies at the same period. Their occupations and buildings. Their customs in respect to travelling, schools, manners, laws, and superstitions. What constituted the prominent traits of the colonists?

CHAPTER VII.

119. What motives led the French to settle Canada? When was Lake Champlain explored? In what year did the Franciscan priests discover Niagara?

120. What was Montreal in 1626? State the character of the Jesuit missionaries. What was the character of the Mohawks? State particulars of the discovery of the Mississippi.

121. Who discovered Lake Ontario? Who penetrated to the Falls of St. Anthony? Who took possession of Louisiana, and when? How did the name of Louisiana originate? State particulars of the fate of La Salle and his coadjutors.

122. What was the population of Canada in 1689? With whom was the province involved in war? What is said of the early enterprise of the French Canadians? What caused the decline of French dominion in America?

BOOK III.—CHAPTER I.

123. Advert to the leading causes which led to the settlement of the coast of North America.

24. What had effect upon the early prosperity of the colonies? State whether the Indian tribes were first united to expel the European from this continent. What restrained the Indians from repeated insurrections? How many people were massacred by the Indians in 1644?

125. State the Indian hostilities in New York. In what year were Mrs. Hutchinson and her family slain?

126. In what year did the Narragansett war break out? What was the character of King Philip?

127. What were his ravages on Connecticut river?

128. Describe the battle of Bloody Brook, and its result. What gave alarm to the frontier towns? Which was the most powerful tribe of Indians in New England?

129. Who attacked the Indians near Kingston, and in what year? What resulted from that engagement? What injuries were done to the frontier towns? Describe the league to destroy the Indians. What befel King Philip?

130. What caused the war against the Susquehannas? Who was the leader of it? Who were the principal sufferers by it? What was the character of the Indian warfare?

131. What occasioned the French and Indians to unite? In what year was Schenectady destroyed? What took place at Salmon Falls? What at York? Was the white man safe from the tomahawk of the Indians? When did the Indians attack Haverhill and Boston?

132. What legends are handed down of the sufferings of New England? Describe the intrepidity of Hannah Dustin. What was the effect of the hostilities of the Indians? What is related of these hostilities?

CHAPTER II.

133. What is the character of religious intolerance? Were the colonists affected by it?

134. Is intolerance universal? What strong minds have been affected with it? What feelings did the Puritans manifest on religious questions?

135. How did the Puritans conduct toward the Baptists and Quakers? What were the great mistakes of the Puritans? Did the Puritans reason when they were opposed?

136. Was the intolerance of the Puritans to the Quakers confined to one place? When did it commence? In what light did the Puritans regard the authority of the Bible?

137. What characterized the Quakers of New England? What edict was proclaimed against them? Did Rhode Island regard it? By whom were the Rhode Island Quakers joined?

138. Wha penal law was enacted against the Quakers? Who were sentenced under this law? Was it subsequently relaxed? What religious views prevailed under William and Mary? How were the Catholics of Maryland treated?

139. Relate what is said of Salem witchcraft. By whom was witchcraft made a capital offence? How did the Puritans regard witchcraft? What is said of Increase Mather and his son?

140. Who was governor of the colony in 1688? What part did he take in respect to this popular delusion? What cruelties were inflicted on supposed witches? How many innocent persons had suffered?

141. Where did this delusion mostly prevail? Were the religious views of the Puritans more liberal? Who adopted the Half-way Covenant? What name was given to the latitudinarian party? What place was under its special influence?

CHAPTER III.

What influence did English laws exercise over the colonies? What legislation of the English was detrimental to Virginia?

144. What was the influence of the Navigation Act of Cromwell upon the colonies? When was it passed? What were the restrictions of the Navigation Act of Charles II.? What was the date of its passage? To what extent did Parliament control the trade of the colonies?

145. How was this act considered by the colonies? Did it produce resentment in Virginia, and why? What effect had it upon the value of tobacco? What was the staple of Virginia?

146. What was the policy of England relating to articles grown or manufactured in the colonies? What act of Parliament had special relation to wool? What led to the poverty of the colonists at this period?

147. What other prohibitions of England depressed the colonists? Did the colonists dispute the right of England to impose restrictions? In what way did they manifest displeasure at the legislation of England touching these matters?

CHAPTER IV.

148. What were the subjects of complaint by the colonists? What did the people of these colonies want of the mother country?

149. What were the causes of discontent among the colonists? What has been the tendency of the colonists to increase democratic power? What has formed the basis of political institutions in the colonies?

150. Which of the colonies was most aristocratic? State the complaints and resistance of Virginians to royal governors? What were the struggles in Massachusetts against arbitrary power? What acts indicated the opposition of Massachusetts to royal governors?

151. What acts did the legislature of Massachusetts pass to resist encroachment? How did the colonists regard quit-rents to proprietors? Did they resist the enforcement of acts of trade? Was Pennsylvania satisfied with the state of affairs?

152. After the death of Penn, were the colonists free from collisions? What resistance was manifested in New York to royal edicts? What acts of the administration tended to fan the spirit of resistance? What sentiments were gaining ground? What made the colonists so conscious of their future prospects?

153. What was necessary before the visions of the colonists could be realized? How were the Indians incited to combine against the colonists?

CHAPTER V.

155. What acts of the French were obnoxious to the English? During whose reigns was England engaged in war with France? Why were the Dutch jealous of the French king?

156. Of what territories belonging to the French did the English endeavour to take possession? Who made destructive inroads into New England and New York?

157. What were the intercolonial wars, at the close of the reign of Queen Anne? Who incited the Penobscot Indians to hostilities, near Portland and Piscataqua? Who desolated the villages on the Mohawk and Hudson? Who was leader of the expedition against Canada in 1690? How large was the expedition under Phipps? Was it successful?

158. What was the consequence of the peace of Ryswick, 1699? What led to the re-commencement of the war? What caused the Spaniards and French to attack the English settlements? What colony was particularly exposed to hostilities?

159. Who headed an expedition against St. Augustine in 1702? Did it succeed? What resulted from the war in Florida? In what part of Massachusetts did the Indians carry desolation in 1702? What effect had the Indian tomahawk upon the people?

160. State the kind of retaliation adopted by the colonists. To what power did the garrison of Port Royal surrender? To whom was entrusted the expedition against Quebec? When did it arrive in the St. Lawrence? What disaster caused the failure of the expedition?

161. What important treaty terminated hostilities in 1713? What

was accomplished by the treaty of Utrecht? What did Spain lose? What did England gain? What nation was the greatest sufferer? What was the condition of the colonies at the close of the reigns of William III. and Anne?

CHAPTER VI.

162. State the reasons which accelerated and elevated the condition of the colonies at the commencement of the eighteenth century? What was the probable population of the different colonies respectively?

163. Which two colonies were most flourishing? Did the English claim the abstract right of taxation? Was it tacit submission to English legislation in the colonies, or the admission of the colonies of the right of England to tax them?

164. What opened the eyes of England to the strength of the colonies? How were the governors appointed in the respective colonies? Did Britain favour the cause of education in the colonies?

165. What college was founded by the bounty of England? Who established the colleges of Harvard and Yale? When was the first printing-press set up in Boston? What was the state of agriculture at this time?

166. What occasioned the disappearance of the Indians? Where were slaves imported from? Was the traffic in slaves tolerated? How did it happen that slavery was perpetuated in the South, and not in the North?

167. How many slaves had been imported into the colonies at the beginning of the eighteenth century? How many slaves did England take from Africa between 1666 and 1688? What was the action of the North American Congress, in 1776, in relation to slaves? What caused the British traffic in slaves before the declaration of American independence?

BOOK IV.—CHAPTER I.

169. State the conspiracy of 1715 against South Carolina by the Indians? Who was governor at the time?

170. What was the result of the contest? In what year did Carolina become a royal province? What acts did the Assembly decree? By whom was New Orleans founded? Describe the scheme called the Mississippi Company.

171. Who was John Law? What became of his bubble? What caused the depreciation of paper money? What was New England worth in 1738?

172. What did the English exact of Maine? Of Massachusetts? Of Pennsylvania? Of Maryland? What duties did Parliament assess on colonial produce, 1733?

173. What English philosopher visited the colonies? What was his object? What his benefaction to Yale College? Who was Jonathan Edwards? Who was his coadjutor in religious revivals?

174. Who was David Brainerd? Who founded Dartmouth College, and when? When were Columbia College and Nassau Hall founded? Who was editor of the first periodical magazine? Who, next to Washington, laid the basis of colonial independence? When was Brattleboro, Vt., settled?

CHAPTER II.

175. What causes led to the settlement of Georgia? Upon what principles was the colony founded? Who was its founder, and what his character and acts?

176. Was imprisonment for debt common in the eighteenth century? What caused reverses of fortune at this period? What was thought of misfortune in trade?

177. When was a royal charter granted to Georgia? What sum did Parliament grant in aid of benevolence? Who was governor, and who were coadjutors under this royal charter? What was the seal prepared for this colony? What production was intended in Georgia?

178. Where did the first company of colonists land in 1732? Of how many persons did this colony consist? What place did they select for a settlement? What was the substance of a code of laws adopted by them? Who emigrated to the new colony?

179. Who were John and Charles Wesley? Why did John Wesley return to England? Who afterwards emigrated to this colony? Was there any rupture between Georgia and Carolina, and for what?

180. What did the Moravians and Scotch Highlanders think of slavery? What involved England in war, 1739? How many negro slaves inhabited South Carolina at this time? In what place was a large army invested?

181. What armament was embarked to invade Georgia? What was the state of the colony in 1743? When did Georgia revert to the crown? Who was appointed governor? Was negro slavery introduced at this time?

CHAPTER III.

183. Describe the war of the Austrian succession. What aid did England render, and at what expense? Was this war confined to Europe?

184. To what countries did it extend? What was its effect? Was the claim of Maria Theresa to Germany the real cause of the war? By whom were colonies ravaged at this period? What was the proposed

attack upon Louisburg? What colonies rendered most assistance? To whom was the command assigned?

185. Of whom was this expedition composed? When did it embark at Boston? State particulars of the siege and capture of Louisburg. What honour was conferred upon Pepperel for this service? What was the moral effect of the victory?

186. What force was raised in the respective colonies to invade Canada? What caused the abandonment of the enterprise? Who paid the expenses? Was Louisburg restored? What indemnification did Massachusetts receive? What were the stipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle?

187. What were the real objects in dispute? What territories did the French claim?

CHAPTER IV.

189. What caused the final struggle between the French and English? What did Edward III. claim?

190. What force had the English in the colonies? What force had the French?

191. What act of the English encroached upon the rights of France? What act of the French was obnoxious to the English? In what year did France meditate a restriction of the growth of the British settlements?

192. What events increased the irritation of England? On what occasion did Washington make his first public appearance? What was his age? Who despatched him to the French commander on the Ohio? How did he discharge his mission?

193. Who commanded the forces against Fort Duquesne? How did the expedition of Washington terminate? What among the colonies familiarized the idea of federation?

194. When was Braddock sent to America? What three military expeditions were projected at Annapolis? What preparations did the French make on this occasion? By whom was the invasion of Nova Scotia meditated? Who commanded this expedition?

195. What difficulties attended Braddock's march to Duquesne? By what force was his van assailed near the fort? What happened to Braddock and his army?

196. What befel the expedition against Niagara? What the expedition against Crown Point? Who were among the slain? Who endowed a free school in Western Massachusetts?

197. When was Ticonderoga fortified? By whom were the colonies remunerated for their losses? What were the successes of the French in 1756?

98. How large a force retreated from Louisburg? How large a

fleet did the French anchor near that fortress? What other disasters befel the English? What celebrated man came into power in England at this time?

199. What measures were prosecuted under Pitt's ministry? How large an army composed the English and American forces? Who was commander? What expeditions were planned? When did Louisburg capitulate?

200. What resulted from the battle of Ticonderoga? What English General lost his life? What success attended the expedition of Gen. Forbes against Fort Duquesne? Who projected the invasion of Canada? What incipient measures were meditated?

201. What was the result to England of the campaign against Canada, 1759? What was the fate of Crown Point? Ticonderoga? Niagara? Who deserve the glory of conquering Quebec?

202. Describe the ascent of Wolfe to the Heights of Abraham. The battle of Quebec.

203. What were the effects of the conquest of Quebec? Who lost their lives? What reverses befel the French?

204. When was Montreal surrendered to the English? Why did the colonies exult in the defeats of the French? Describe the war with the Cherokees.

205. What became of the Cherokees after their defeat? What islands in the West Indies fell into possession of the English? What became of the French fleet? When did the death of George II. occur?

206. What were the stipulations of the treaty of Paris? How was peace regarded by the colonies? Did they continue prosperous?

207. What impulse was imparted by the conquest of Canada to the settlements of Maine? What benefits did peace impart to New Hampshire? To Massachusetts? What was the condition of New York in 1763?

208. What were the population and exports of Virginia? What was the state of literature and the arts in 1763?

BOOK V.—CHAPTER I.

209. What was the grand event of the eighteenth century? State for what the Revolution is memorable. What does unbounded national prosperity sometimes produce?

210. What was the condition of England at the peace of Paris? What did the arrogance of Britain lead to in respect to her colonies? What were the feelings of the colonists toward the mother country?

211. Why were the colonists dissatisfied with British rule? What led to the American Revolution?

212. What was the effect of commercial restrictions upon the colonists? What was the feeling of the colonists in view of a British army stationed in America? In what did the British interfere with the colonial trade?

213. In what light did British naval officers view a contraband trade carried on? Did the colonists refuse to purchase British goods?

214. What were the colonial views of English taxation? With whom did the scheme originate?

415. How did the English aristocracy favour the scheme of taxation? In what light did the colonists regard it? In what year was the Stamp-Act proposed to Parliament? Who took part in Parliament in opposition to the ministry?

216. State the reply of Barré to Charles Townshend. What was the vote in the House of Commons for and against the Stamp-Act? Was the Stamp-Act seriously opposed in the House of Lords? When did it finally pass? What was its effect in the colonies?

217. What Americans were most eloquent in opposition to it? In what places did it occasion popular riots? What did the colonists do to manifest their indignation? What was its effect on the British ministry? Who succeeded Lord Granville? When and by what vote did the Commons repeal the act? What American had influence in effecting this result? How was it received in America?

218. What English statesmen were conspicuous for their advocacy of the repeal? What odious act remained unrepealed? Who originated the scheme of colonial taxation?

219. In what did the "Great Commoner" of England mistake? What articles were first taxed in the colonies? Who introduced the bill to tax the colonies? What reception did the tax meet with in America?

220. Who in Massachusetts first pleaded the cause of freedom? Who were popular leaders in other States? Who was the author of the Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer? What changes now took place in the British ministry?

221. What produced new causes of offence in America? State the troubles in Massachusetts. Did the people of Boston furnish quarters for the British troops?

222. What did the House of Representatives do in the midst of an armed force? State the acts of the General Assembly of Virginia at this crisis. What course was adopted by the Legislature of South Carolina and other States? Was the right of American Legislatures to oppose the authority of Parliament advocated?

223. When did Lord North repeal the obnoxious duties, except on tea? What new disputes hastened the Revolution?

224. What acts of opposition did the colonists commit respecting the duty on tea? What was the nature of the Boston Port Bill?

225. When were English troops sent to Boston? Who expostulated against this measure? Did the colonists contemplate resistance? Who wrote a letter in favour of independence?

226. How did the disaffection of the colonists manifest itself? When did Congress assemble? Who was President of Congress? How many delegates composed that body? Who were its most distinguished members?

227. What was included in their declaration of rights? By whom was Boston Neck fortified? Who was at the head of the Committee of Safety?

228. What effort did Chatham make in the House of Lords? Who opposed him? Who were the leaders in the House of Commons in favour of conciliatory measures?

229. Who foresaw the blunders of Parliament? Were the expostulations of these men regarded?

230. What sentiment did Patrick Henry invoke at this crisis? What was the feeling in regard to independence?

231. Where was the first battle fought? Describe it. When did this battle occur?

CHAPTER II.

233. What was the effect of the battle of Lexington? Who raised a force to seize Ticonderoga?

234. Give the particulars of the fall of that fortress. What were the proceedings of Congress at this crisis? State the general officers appointed to the army. Who was Adjutant-General? Who were Brigadier-Generals?

235. Describe the battle of Bunker Hill. What were the respective forces engaged?

236. How many were killed and wounded in the attack? What distinguished American fell?

237. What measures were adopted by Congress for a vigorous prosecution of hostilities? What course was pursued by the English Parliament?

238. To whom was entrusted the invasion of Canada? Who commanded the army after the illness of Schuyler? What force had Arnold on his arrival at the St. Lawrence? What prevented his capture of Quebec?

239. What were the united forces of Arnold and Montgomery? When did they commence an attack? What distinguished officer was killed? Who wounded? What was the total loss?

240. What embarrassed Washington in the camp before Boston? What did Congress at this time? What additional troops did Parliament order to America? Who commenced the debate in Congress respecting independence?

241. Who opposed it? Who was its most conspicuous advocate? When and where was the Declaration of Independence proclaimed? By whom was it drawn? How was it received in America? How by the British? How many troops did General Howe land on Staten Island? What was the strength of the American army at this time?

242 When was the battle of Brooklyn Heights fought? What was the loss of the combatants respectively? To what place did Washington retreat from Long Island? Who did Congress appoint to negotiate with Howe? Where did the negotiation take place?

243. What was its result? What military preparations ensued? Where did the British army take position? How far from New York? Where did the American army retreat to?

244. State the circumstances of the fall of Forts Washington and Lee. To what place did Washington continue his retreat? State the successes of the English after the retreat of Washington. What was the condition of the American troops at this time?

245. What new powers were conferred upon Washington by Congress? When did he cross the Hudson? With what force? How many Hessians were taken by surprise?

246. At what time did the battles of Trenton and Princeton occur? Where did the American army retire for winter quarters? Where did Cornwallis retire? What were the results of this campaign? Who were Major-Generals of the new army? Who were the Brigadier-Generals?

247. What three commissioners were sent to France? What were the financial embarrassments of the country?

CHAPTER III.

249. Did Parliament vote supplies to continue the war? In what month did the campaign of 1777 open? At what point did the British commence operations? How large a force under General Tyson attacked Danbury?

250. What distinguished American officer was killed in this campaign? What was the fate of the expedition against Sag Harbor? What force under Howe marched into New Jersey? Where did Washington and Lafayette have an interview?

251 What other distinguished foreigner accompanied Lafayette? What occasioned the defeat of the Americans at Brandywine? Was a battle risked on Howe's occupation of Philadelphia? State the result of the battle of Germantown.

252. What is said of Forts Mifflin and Mercer? What was the Bri-

tish plan of invading the country? How large was Burgoyne's army at Ticonderoga? What disaster attended the retreat of St. Clair?

253. When did Burgoyne arrive on the Hudson? Who commanded the New Hampshire militia at Bennington? What course did Stark pursue upon the approach of the invaders?

254. What was the memorable saying of Stark when he attacked the British force? State the result of the victory. The loss of the Americans. The loss of the British? What was the effect of this victory upon the contending parties? Who superseded Schuyler? What was the force of Gates?

255. What were the circumstances resulting from the surrender of Burgoyne? What prospects encouraged the Americans at this crisis? What American officers were confident of success? What conciliatory measures did Lord North propose?

256. What effect was produced in France by the surrender of Burgoyne? What was the condition of the American army? Who were disposed to doubt the fitness of Washington for command? By whom was the commander-in-chief sustained?

257. What qualities of Washington secured the confidence of his country?

CHAPTER IV.

259. By whom was Washington assisted at Valley Forge? What were the pecuniary embarrassments of Congress? When was the treaty of alliance signed with France? What occasioned the retreat of Lafayette from Barren Hill?

260. At what time was Philadelphia evacuated? By whom? Who took the lead in attacking the British at Monmouth? What followed the retreat of Lee? What ended the military career of Lee? When did he die?

261. Who commanded the French fleet? How many troops were furnished to take possession of Newport? What happened to the French and English fleets? What was the situation of Sullivan at this time?

262. What frontier settlement was attacked by the Indians? What protected western Virginia from their incursions? State the incidents of the campaign.

263. What measures did Congress adopt to obtain money? What were the American forces in 1779, and where stationed? Did the British obtain possession of Georgia? Where were military operations chiefly confined? Who took command of the southern army?

264. State the loss of Virginia by the plunder of the British in 1779. Describe the expedition of Tyson into Connecticut. In what place was Washington employed in raising defences? What was Wayne's exploit at Stony Point?

265. Relate the disaster at Penobscot under Sewell. What was the force commanded by Sullivan and Clinton against the Indians? Were the Indians routed and compelled to emigrate? What prevented Sullivan from attacking Niagara? What did he do on resigning his commission?

266. Were the French and Americans successful in their plan for recovering Savannah? With what force did Clinton embark for that port? Describe the naval action of Jones on the coast of Scotland.

267. What were the difficulties and distresses of the Americans in 1780? What additional troops and money did Parliament grant the ministry? What was the first enterprise of the British at the South in 1780? What befel Charleston?

268. State the disaster of the investment of Charleston to the Americans. Did blame attach to General Lincoln? By whom was the royal authority re-established in South Carolina? With what force was Gates despatched to the South? State the defeat of Gates at Camden, and his losses.

269. By whom was Gates superseded? Relate particulars of the defeat of Ferguson in North Carolina? Relate the results of the campaign in 1780?

270. Relate the correspondence and treason of Arnold? Who communicated with Arnold? When and how did Arnold escape? For what was André executed?

271. What reward did Arnold receive for his treachery? Where was he employed by the British?

CHAPTER V.

273. What was the condition of affairs in 1781? By whom was financial aid obtained in this crisis? Describe the ravages of Arnold in Virginia.

274. Who formed the design to capture Arnold? How did it succeed? On what places were contributions levied by the English? Where was Morgan sent to harass the enemy?

275. How many men did Morgan lose by his defeat? Whither did Green retreat, on the 14th of February? What position did Greene take after recrossing into North Carolina? What was the character of the southern warfare?

276. Describe the battle of Guilford. What was the result of the attack on Rawdon? What were the results of the campaign? What sort of war was carried on by both parties?

277. How was Cornwallis employed in Virginia? When and where was he attacked by Lafayette? What places did the British General occupy in Virginia? What amount of property was destroyed by him?

278. Why was an attack upon Cornwallis contemplated? How did Washington pacify the American troops? Where did he obtain pecuniary aid?

279. Describe the battle of Eutaw Springs. What naval force made its appearance on the coast? Where did the French and American armies effect a junction? How large was the investing army at Yorktown? What was the British force?

280. When did Cornwallis surrender? What number of British troops were made prisoners? What was the effect of the surrender of Cornwallis? What was done with the American forces after the fall of Cornwallis? What distinguished the year 1782, during the campaign?

281. Describe the state of public feeling in England in 1782. Who succeeded to the ministry on the resignation of Lord North? What terms of peace were proposed? Who were the commissioners appointed by the respective parties?

282. When and where was the cessation of hostilities proclaimed? When did the British depart from New York? When did Washington resign his commission? What were his concluding remarks to Congress? Give a summary of the character of Washington.

283. What created dissatisfaction in the army? Describe the character of the American army? What was the character of the American Revolution?

284. What special agency should be acknowledged in this contest? How many soldiers were furnished for the war? How many were supplied by Massachusetts? What calamities resulted from the war?

289. What amount of debt was caused by the war? Which nation was the greatest sufferer? What were the moral results of the contest?

BOOK VI.—CHAPTER I.

86. Describe the condition of the country at the close of the war.

287. When and where did the delegates assemble to reorganize the government? Who were the most distinguished members of the convention? Who was its president? Who opened the business of the convention?

288. What chief difficulty arose in the debates? In what were the free States opposed to those which held slaves? What different opinions were held relating to the choice of the executive? What, in respect to his powers? What, in respect to the judiciary? What were the great questions of debate?

289. What great principles of compromise were adopted? What was deemed a concession to the commercial States? What to the small States? What to the Southern States? How long was the convention in session?

290. What was the great merit of this convention? What provision was made for amendments of the constitution? How many States represented in the convention agreed to the constitution? When was this instrument fully ratified?

Recite the objects of the constitution? Where is the legislative power vested? How often are members of the House of Representatives chosen?

291. What are the qualifications of a Representative? How are representatives and direct taxes apportioned? How often shall an enumeration be made after the first three years? How are vacancies filled? How is the Speaker appointed? What is the number of Senators from each State, and how are they chosen?

292. What are the qualifications of Senators? Who shall be President of the Senate? What branch of Congress tries impeachments? By whom is the mode of electing Senators and Representatives prescribed? How often shall Congress assemble? What constitutes a quorum to do business? At whose desire shall the yeas and nays be called?

293. How is the compensation fixed for Senators and Representatives? What are their special privileges? In what branch do bills for raising the revenue originate? After a bill has passed both Houses, and before it can become a law, what is required?

294. Give a summary of the powers of Congress.

295. What are the provisions relating to emigration? What in respect to the habeas corpus? To ex post facto laws? Taxes or duties? How shall moneys be drawn from the treasury? What provision in respect to titles of nobility? What are the restrictions upon the States?

296. In whom is the executive power vested? How long shall the President hold office? How is he elected? State the proceedings of the Electors. Of the House of Representatives.

297. When are the Electors chosen? State the qualifications of the President. State proceedings in case of his removal. What is his salary? His oath? What are his powers?

298. Who has power to convene Congress? When? How may the President be removed? How is the judicial power vested? To what cases does it extend?

299. In what cases has the Supreme Court jurisdiction? What original? What appellate? What rules regulate jury trials? What constitutes treason? How is it punished? What credit is given to the public acts of States? What arrangement is made for the delivery of fugitives from justice? What in case of persons escaping from service?

300. What are the provisions respecting new States? The public domain? What protection is guaranteed to each State? What are the

provisions in respect to amendments of the constitution? What is the supreme law of the land?

301. What are civil officers sworn to support? What is provided in respect to religious tests? How many States were required to ratify the constitution? When was the constitution ratified? Name the delegates from each State who signed the constitution.

302. What is stipulated in respect to civil and religious liberty? The right of assembling and of petition? Of bearing arms? Of quartering soldiers? What is provided in respect to search-warrants? What for the protection of person and property?

302. When and where, in criminal suits, is a trial by jury secured? What rights are secured to the accused party? What in suits at common law? What is provided in cases of bail, fines, and punishment? What are the powers reserved?

303. What is the provision respecting the election of President and Vice-President? Who is ineligible to the office of Vice-President?

304. What articles in the constitution were specially objected to? Who were the authors of the papers called "The Federalist?" State the origin of what was known as the Federal party. Who were called Democrats or Republicans?

305. What States adopted the constitution, and which did not? When did the Continental Congress cease to exist? When was the first election for President and Vice-President? Who was elected President? By what vote? Who Vice-President?

306. When and where did the first Congress assemble? Who was Speaker of the House? Who President pro tem. of the Senate? Who was chosen to inform Washington of his election? When was Washington inaugurated? Who administered the oath of office?

CHAPTER II.

309. What was the first subject which attracted the attention of Congress? What subjects were debated respecting the revenue? What policy did Congress adopt?

310. How was the collection of duties provided for? What is called the Department of Foreign Affairs? Name the principal and subordinate offices of the Treasury Department. By whom was the army and navy managed?

311. Describe the organization of the Supreme Court. The Circuit Court. The District Court. What salary did Congress allow to the President?

312. Who was Chief-Justice? Secretary of the Treasury? Secretary of State? Of War? Attorney-General? Postmaster-General? Name the first collectors of the principal ports. When did Congress

adjourn? Where did the President make his first tour? When did North Carolina adopt the constitution? When did Congress reassemble? How large was the foreign debt?

313. How large was the domestic debt? What became of the State debts? State the report on the anti-slavery petitions.

314. What was the disposition of this report? When was Rhode Island admitted into the Union? What was done with the national debt and tariff? State the act of naturalization. What was the patent act? What that on copyright of books? What was enacted respecting seamen? What relating to trade with Indians?

315. What was the criminal code of laws? What was fixed for the salary of foreign ministers? Who proposed a national bank, and when? By whom was the bank opposed, and why? What was the duration of its charter?

316. When was Vermont admitted into the Union? When did Washington select a site for the seat of government, and where? Who was the first minister to England? Who succeeded him? Who was minister to France?

317. Describe the defeat of St. Clair in 1791. Where did the second Congress assemble? Who were among its distinguished new members? What two great parties were organized? Who were the leaders of these parties? What were the opposing principles of each party?

318. Which party sympathised with the French? What financial measures were opposed by the Republicans? What was fixed as the ratio of representation? What was enacted to increase the revenue? What act was passed in reference to the currency? What was the impress upon our gold coinage?

319. What was the relative state of the parties at this time? What benefits resulted from Washington's first administration? Mention his principal measures.

320. Who was the second President? When was he inaugurated? Who was opposed to Adams as Vice-President? Which political party gained the victory? Who was then minister to this government from France?

321. What was our national policy toward foreign governments? Describe the character of Genet. What acts of his were offensive? Was his recall popular?

322. What acts of Great Britain were deemed arrogant? When did the third Congress assemble? By whom was Jefferson succeeded, on the expiration of his second term?

323. State the origin of the navy. What harbors were ordered to be fortified? What arsenals were erected? What were the British Orders in Council? Who was deputed special minister to England?

324. Give an account of the Whiskey Insurrection. In what State

did it originate? What action of the government caused its suppression? What good resulted from the prompt measures of the President?

325. What were the topics of the President's message on the reassembling of Congress? When was Jay's treaty signed? What were its stipulations?

326. Why was the treaty obnoxious to the South? Who distinguished himself in Congress by a memorable speech? State the effects of this speech. When was the treaty ratified?

327. How did Jefferson regard this ratification? What feeling generally prevailed among the Republican leaders?

328. Describe the policy of Washington in 1798. In what respects was he misrepresented?

329. What were the stipulations of the Indian treaty? Of the treaty with Algiers? Of the treaty with Spain? When was Tennessee added to the United States? After the recall of Morris, who was deputed minister to France?

330. By whom was Monroe succeeded? When did Washington issue his farewell address? When was John Adams inaugurated President? Who was his opponent for the office? What was Adams's majority?

331. What incidents attended the retirement of Washington? What are his claims to the respect and veneration of his country?

CHAPTER III.

332. What were our relations with France upon the accession of Adams? Who was Vice-President?

333. What obnoxious decree was passed by France? What seemed to be the coercive policy of that nation? How did she look upon this country?

334. Who were appointed envoys to France in 1798? Who was then Minister of Foreign Affairs in France? State the demands of the French Directory. Who was sent to negotiate? Was the offer accepted by our envoys?

334. How much American property was seized by France? What measures did Congress adopt at this crisis? Who was appointed commander-in-chief at this crisis? Did he accept?

335. Of whom was Adams jealous? What was the great defect of Adams? What course did the French government adopt to effect a reconciliation? Who was nominated by the President as minister to France? Was he rejected? Who were finally appointed?

337. What instructions were given to our envoys? What caused a rupture in the cabinet? What was the policy of the President in respect to France? What members of the cabinet differed from him?

338. What did Congress do upon the restoration of peace? What were the great events of Adams's administration? For what was the year 1799 memorable? When did Washington die? Who pronounced his eulogy?

339. What peculiarity marked the administration of Adams? What caused the hostility of the Federalists to him? Which party prevailed in the election of 1801? Who was elected President? Vice-President? Who were the unsucessful candidates? Why was the election of President carried to the House of Representatives?

CHAPTER IV.

341. State the condition of the country on the accession of Jefferson Who did he appoint to the chief executive offices? What acts did Congress repeal?

342. What important measure did Congress adopt in the session of 1801? Who commanded the squadron against Tripoli? What did it accomplish? Who commanded the next expedition against Tripoli? What caused the loss of the Philadelphia?

343. What bold exploit was performed by Decatur? What was done by General Eaton? Who secured peace with Tripoli? Give the particulars of the purchase of Louisiana.

344. What caused the duel of Burr and Hamilton? When and where was it fought? Who fell?

345. How old was Hamilton at his death? Describe his character. Who pronounced his eulogy? What happened to Burr? What secured the re-election of Jefferson?

346. When did Burr depart for the West? Whom did he entrap? Who was Blennerhasset? Who detected the schemes of Burr? Where was Burr arrested, and when?

347. Where was he tried? Where did he go after his trial? When did he return to America? How old was he when he died?

348. What were the British decrees against neutrals? Who claimed the right of search for British seamen? What measures did Congress adopt? When were the Orders in Council passed? What was their effect? What was the object of the Berlin decrees?

349. When were they issued? What were the Milan decrees? What led to the embargo? When was the embargo law passed?

350. Relate the circumstances attending the capture of the Chesapeake. When did Congress interdict trade with France and England? What was the policy of Jefferson?

351. Which of the two great political parties of the United States has generally been in the ascendency?

CHAPTER V.

353. Give a summary of the English aggressions? What course did Jefferson pursue? By whom was he ably supported? Who was inaugurated President in 1809? Vice-President?

354. What persons composed the cabinet of Madison? What act did Congress pass against the two belligerents? When was war declared against Great Britain? State the cause of the war. Who opposed the war, and for what?

355. What classes of citizens were hostile to the war? In what light was the war regarded by the people? Was the nation prepared for war? State the condition of the army, the navy, and the treasury. Describe our geographical position.

356. Who were appointed Major-Generals? Where was General Hull placed? What important post was first taken, and when? What disasters attended the invasion of Canada? When did Hull surrender with his army?

357. State the trial and sentence of Hull? What forces were collected to invade Canada? Who commanded the three divisions respectively? Describe the attack on Queenston Heights. What British General was killed?

358. Describe the campaign of General Dearborn in 1812. How large was his force? Give the particulars of the capture of the Guerrierre. When and by whom was the Frolic captured? The Macedonian? State the loss of the latter vessel.

359. Describe the capture of the Java. What was the moral effect of the American naval victories?

360. What measures were adopted by Congress about this time? Who was elected President? Vice-President? Who were appointed commissioners to negotiate a peace?

CHAPTER VI.

363. How did the campaign of 1813 open? Who was appointed to the command of the north-western army?

364. Give the particulars of the defeat of General Winchester. By whom were the Kentucky soldiers massacred? Who permitted the slaughter? What general officer commanded Fort Meigs? Who commanded the Kentucky volunteers? Was General Clay successful in pursuing the Indians?

365. What event opened the way to the capture of Proctor? When and where was Perry's victory gained? State the loss of the American and British forces in this engagement. What opened a passage to the territory surrendered by Hull?

366. In what battle was Tecumseh slain? What was the result of this battle? When and where did Harrison resign his commission? What was his military reputation?

367. Where and when did the British fleets arrive? State the condition of the American Navy at this time. Describe the depredations of the British on our coasts. What British Admiral encouraged these ravages?

368. State the particulars of the attack on Craney Island. Where is it situated? What outrages were committed? What general officer was selected to attack Kingston? Where is Kingston? What forces did General Pike command?

369. What occasioned his death? What British force took Sackett's Harbor? What was the character of Dearborn as a general? Who succeeded him? In what battle were Generals Chandler and Winder captured?

370. What enterprise was entrusted to General Wilkinson? How many men were under his command? What success attended the expedition?

371. Describe the massacre of Fort Mimms. What was its effect? Who received the command of the troops?

372. Who was conspicuous in the war with the Creeks? When did General Jackson return? By whom was he aided? Relate the career of General Pinckney, of South Carolina. What terms did General Jackson impose in his treaty with the Indians? Were the Indians capable of civilization?

373. When and where was the Chesapeake captured? Who commanded that vessel? Who commanded the Shannon? What were the memorable words of Lawrence? When and by whom was the Boxer captured?

374. Who was the leader in Congress in opposition to the war? By whom was Webster opposed? What coercive measures did Madison recommend? When was the embargo repealed? What loan was authorized in 1814?

375. How did the English contemplate the American navy? Was the navy popular in the United States?

CHAPTER VII.

377. What American officers commanded on the Canada frontier? What was the plan of the campaign? When did General Brown attack Fort Erie? What was the result?

378. What American officers were distinguished at Chippewa? How old was Scott? State the loss of the British, and of the Americans. Describe the battle of Bridgewater. What American Generals were wounded? On whom did the command devolve?

379. What American officers were distinguished in this battle? When did Drummond besiege Fort Erie? What was his force? Who commanded the sortie on the 17th of September? What officers were distinguished? What General was brevetted for his gallantry? Who commanded at Plattsburg? What was his force? Did Izard arrive in season? Why not?

380. Why did the Americans abandon Fort Erie? Who commanded the British forces in their advance upon Plattsburg? How large was their army?

381. Give the particulars of the battle of Plattsburg. What American naval officer distinguished himself? What American general officer was brevetted? What resulted from the victory on Lake Champlain?

382. When and by whom was the Essex captured? State the American naval victories in 1814. What was the last important naval action of the war? When did the British squadron enter the Chesapeake? Give the particulars of the battle of Bladensburg. Of the seizure of Washington.

383. Who was Secretary of War at this period? Why did he resign? Who succeeded him? What were the British designs on Baltimore?

384. When and with what force did Jackson storm Pensacola? How did Jackson fortify New Orleans, and when? What British general attacked New Orleans? What was Jackson's efficient force?

385. What was the loss of the respective armies? What was the consequence of the victory of New Orleans? When was the treaty of Ghent concluded? Who signed the treaty on behalf of the United States? State the stipulations of the treaty.

386. What were the effects of the war upon the United States? What moral lesson did it teach the nation? What were the financial effects of the war?

387. What was its effect upon manufactures? Who commanded the squadron against Algiers? What resulted from it? When was the national bank incorporated? What was its capital? Where was it located? What important act was passed in 1815? What by the fourteenth Congress?

388. What distinguished the close of Madison's administration?

BOOK VII.—CHAPTER I.

389. When did the election of Monroe take place? Name his cabinet officers. Who was chosen Speaker of the fifteenth Congress?

390. When was Mississippi admitted into the confederacy? What led to the invasion of Florida by Jackson?

391. When was Florida ceded to the United States, and for what consideration? When was Alabama admitted into the Union? What was the most important question during Monroe's administration?

392. When was Missouri admitted? Maine? When did the seventeenth Congress assemble?

393. Who succeeded Monroe in the Presidency? Who was Vice-President? How was Lafayette received?

394. Give a summary of the progress of the country about this period. What is said of steam navigation?

395. What religious question was agitated in New England?

CHAPTER II.

396. When was John Quincy Adams inaugurated as President? Whom did he select as Secretary of State? What event signalized the year 1826?

397. What is said of Adams's administration? Who succeeded him? What system commenced with Jackson?

398. What subjects did the President recommend to the twenty-first Congress? Who composed his cabinet? When was a bill passed to recharter the United States' Bank? By what majority? Did the President approve the recharter? How many bills were vetoed by Jackson?

399. State the circumstances attending the threatened secession of South Carolina. What distinguished citizen advocated the measure? What course did the President adopt? What was the object of the tariff of 1833? Who were inaugurated President and Vice-President in March, 1833?

400. Who directed the removal of the deposits from the United States' Bank? Did the House sustain the President? What was the action of the Senate upon this measure? In what year did Texas rebel against Mexico? What was the object of the rebellion? Who commanded the Texan troops? What distinguished member of the House denounced the insurrection?

401. To what place were the Seminole Indians removed? Who was their leading spirit? State the character of Jackson's administration. When were Arkansas and Michigan admitted into the Union?

402. In what year did commercial speculations prevail? State the effects of the land speculations? What was the loss by the great fire in New York in 1835?

CHAPTER III.

403. When was Van Buren inaugurated President? What caused the suspension of the banks? What was the effect of the bank suspension?

404. Did the calamity effect a change in the habits of the people? What is the true source of national wealth?

405. What important treasury scheme was recommended by the President? What success did it meet in the Senate? Did it pass the House? Upon what subjects were the political parties divided at this period?

406. What were the prominent measures recommended on the re-assembling of Congress? What troubles arose in Canada in 1838? What befel the schooner Caroline? When did the banks resume specie payments?

407. What divisions took place in the Presbyterian Church? What doctrines prevailed at New Haven? What caused the establishment of a theological school at East Windsor? How did the courts decide in respect to property owned by the Presbyterian Church? What were the movements of Dr. Pusey in the Episcopal Church?

408. What popular reforms were contemplated at this period? What were the doings of the convention at Harrisburg in 1839?

409. What two important acts did Congress pass in 1840? When did President Van Buren retire to private life? Where has he resided since?

CHAPTER IV.

410. Who were members of President Harrison's cabinet? When did he die?

411. Who succeeded President Tyler in the White House? Name the two first important acts of this Congress? Was a national bank established by Congress? Why did it not become a law?

412. What gave the name of repudiation to several States? Which member of Harrison's cabinet did not resign? Who constituted the new cabinet of President Tyler? What was the population of the United States by the census of 1841? What was the gain as compared with the census of 1830?

413. What was the great event of 1842? By whom was Mr. Webster aided in effecting the treaty with Great Britain? Who negotiated the treaty on the part of Great Britain? Who succeeded Mr. Webster? Who succeeded Mr. Upshur?

414. Did the Senate confirm a treaty for the annexation of Texas? Was the treaty with China confirmed? When was the bankrupt law repealed? Describe the troubles in Rhode Island. Why was the constitution of Rhode Island deemed treasonable? Who was then governor? What fate awaited Dorr?

415. What disturbances arose in New York? Who were the Anti-Renters? When was Texas admitted into the Union? Why did Jackson, Van Buren, and others, object to its admission? What war resulted from it?

416. Who was the Whig candidate for President in 1844? Who was the Democratic candidate? Which was elected? What is said of the popularity of Clay?

CHAPTER V.

417. Who composed the cabinet of President Polk? By what battle did Texas gain her independence? Was her nationality acknowledged? By what power?

418. Why did Mexico recall her minister from the United States? What was deemed the proper boundary between the United States and Texas? What did Mexico consider the proper boundary? When was the tariff law of 1842 repealed? What was the scale of duties of the new tariff? When were troops ordered to the Rio Grande? Who commanded the American forces?

419. Where was the main depôt of General Taylor? How large a requisition for troops did he make? Why did the Mexicans cross the Rio Grande?

420. When did the first important battle with Mexico occur? State its result. What was the result of the battle of Resaca? How much money did Congress vote to carry on the war with Mexico? How many men were to be raised?

421. When did Taylor arrive near Monterey? What was the result of the battle of Monterey?

423. What Mexican General submitted a proposition to capitulate? What munitions of war fell into the hands of the Americans? How long an armistice was agreed upon? Where were the head-quarters of General Taylor? Who of the Mexican Generals was recalled and placed at the head of affairs? How large an army did Santa Anna raise? What was the position of General Taylor at this time?

424. Describe the plan for the attack on Vera Cruz. What American General was to command the troops? Did General Taylor retire to Monterey?

425. What was his position? What were the movements of General Scott? Describe the advance of Santa Anna upon Taylor.

426. When was the battle of Buena Vista fought? Give an account of it. What force had Santa Anna in his retreat toward San Luis Potosi?

627 How large was the force of Scott when he advanced to Vera Cruz? What was the course of General Scott in his attack?

420. Describe the siege of Vera Cruz. When did the city surrender? What was the American loss? What American General was sent on in advance of General Scott to Mexico?

431. What force had the enemy at Cerro Gordo? On what day was that position attacked? What was the American loss? What was the loss of the enemy? What measures did Santa Anna adopt?

432. What preparations were made to defend the city of Mexico? Describe the advance of General Scott upon that city. Was any opposition made by the Mexicans?

433. What posts did Santa Anna fortify? Describe the battle of Contreras. Of Churubusco.

435. What was the effect of the victory of Churubusco? Why was the armistice granted by General Scott honourable to him? To whom was committed the assault upon Molino del Rey? Did any decisive result follow this battle? In what manner did Scott prepare to assault Mexico?

436. To whom was the assault upon Chapultepec entrusted? State the result of this contest. When did Santa Anna withdraw his troops from the city of Mexico? State the strength of the American forces at the termination of hostilities?

437. What reflections are suggested by the conquest of Mexico? To whom is to be ascribed the honour of the conquest? Describe the further movements of Santa Anna. What took place after his arrival at Puebla?

438. When did General Lane enter Puebla? Did the Americans continue in the occupation of Mexico? What awaited Mr. Trist, the American commissioner? Why were Generals Pillow and Worth arrested? When was the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo made? What were its stipulations?

439. By whom was General Scott succeeded in command? When did the American troops evacuate Mexico? What was the chief event of Mr. Polk's administration? What was the state of the country at this time?

440. When were the States of Iowa, Florida, and Wisconsin, admitted into the Union? Who were nominated at the Whig convention for President and Vice-President? Who was chosen? When did the death of President Polk occur?

CHAPTER VI.

441. Who composed President Taylor's Cabinet? What important discovery was made in California during the year 1848? What were the consequences of this discovery?

442. How has property been affected by the discovery of gold-mines in California? Has commerce derived any benefit therefrom? What will be the ultimate result of the settlement of California upon the territory lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean?

443. When did the people of California form a State government? When did the thirty-first Congress assemble? Was its session marked by any event of importance? What great statesman died during the year 1850? State what remarkable measure he once advocated? By whom was he prevented from carrying it into effect? When did President Taylor die? Was his death generally lamented?

444. Who succeeded General Taylor in the Presidency? When did he assume the duties of his office?

CHAPTER VII.

445. Name the individuals whom President Fillmore selected as his cabinet. Who became President of the Senate? What questions then agitated the country? Name the important act which became a law at this session of Congress. State what measures were embraced in it.

446. What was this act called? How was it received throughout the Union? What course did the President take? What occurred at Boston and at Detroit? At what date did Congress adjourn? When did it re-assemble? State what important acts were passed at this session.

447. What distinguished stranger was provided by this Congress with a free passage to the United States in a national vessel? Who was arrested, in February, by the United States marshal? What offence was alleged against him? Detail some of the circumstances connected with the Cuban invasion. Who was the ringleader in this movement? With what number of men did he attempt the subjugation of Cuba?

448. What was the result of Lopez's expedition? How did Lopez end his career? Did his followers share the same fate as their general? How was the cause of science advanced about this period? What measure of social reform was proposed and enacted into a law during 1851? How was it received by the community?

449. What was the population of the Union in 1850? State the gain in ten years. What expedition returned to the United States in October, 1851? How far did it penetrate north, and with what results? Name the distinguished foreigner who visited the United States in December, 1851. What purpose had he in view? How was he received, and what success had he in his mission?

450. When did the thirty-second Congress assemble? Did it orinate any measures of general interest? What two eminent statesmen died during the year 1852? How were they regarded by the public? State what is said of the difficulty with Great Britain respecting the fisheries on the coasts of the British provinces?

451. What naval officer was despatched to the fishing-grounds? How was the difficulty settled? What proposition was submitted to the government of

the United States by the governments of France and Great Britain? How was it received? What Republic was acknowledged by the United States to have jurisdiction over the Lobos Islands?

452. Who succeeded Daniel Webster as Secretary of State? Who became Secretary of the Navy? When did the second session of the thirty-second Congress begin? Were any important acts passed at this session? What expedition sailed from the United States during the summer of 1852? Who had command of it, and what results were derived from it? State what new territory was formed during this session of Congress.

CHAPTER VIII.

453. When did General Pierce enter upon his duties as President? Name the members of his cabinet. What difficulty arose with Mexico in the early part of President Pierce's administration? Describe the disputed territory.

454. How did the dispute with Mexico originate? How was it settled? What treaty was the subject of debate in Congress during March, 1853? State what important legal decision was given by the United States courts during the same year. What were the grounds on which the decision was based? What exploring expedition was sent out by the United States government in May of this year?

455. Who fitted out an expedition to search for Sir John Franklin? Who had command of it, and when did it sail? When was the Crystal Palace, in New York, opened? Was the project successful? What difficulty occurred with Austria in 1853? How did it originate?

456. What calamities marked the summer of 1853? Who visited the city of New York about the same period? What results followed his visit? What important measure was introduced into Congress in December? Who was its author?

457. State what occurrence succeeded the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act. What American vessel was seized, in 1854, by the Cuban authorities? On what pretence? What action did the government of the United States take regarding this affair? What was the final result?

458. When was Greytown bombarded by a United States vessel of war? State the circumstances which led to this act of severity. How was this transaction regarded by some foreign powers?

459. When did the thirty-third Congress close its labours? What acts were passed during its second session? What title was conferred on General Scott by the President, acting under the authority of Congress? What was the object of the conference held at Ostend? Who participated in it? Was anything accomplished by it?

460. When was the Maine Liquor-law passed in the State of New York? What was the decision of the higher courts regarding it? What amendment

was made to the Constitution of Massachusetts in the year 1855? What was the object of this amendment? When did Colonel Walker invade Nicaragua? From what port in the United States did he set sail? How many men did he take with him? What was his avowed purpose?

461. When did the expedition sent in search of Dr. Kane return? Did he accompany it? How long was he in the Arctic regions? What difficulty occurred in organizing the thirty-fourth Congress? What was the cause? When was the Message of the President delivered? Who was finally elected Speaker?

462. Who did the American party nominate for President? What subject engrossed the attention of Congress? By whom was Senator Sumner attacked? What led to this act? Did the constituents of Mr. Brooks censure his conduct? State who was nominated for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency by the National Democratic Convention? Who was nominated for the Presidency by the Republican Convention?

463. What bills were passed by Congress during this session? Why was Congress again convened in extra session? Were the appropriation bills passed? What was done with the proviso? How did the Presidential election result? What questions were discussed at the second session of the thirty-fourth Congress? What important bills were passed?

464. Why did the House of Representatives expel two of its members? Were others implicated? What course did they pursue? When was President Buchanan inaugurated? Who did he select as members of his cabinet?

465. What is the area of the United States in square miles? State the amount of its population? State the latitude and longitude of its extreme limits. What zone does it occupy? Give the length of its frontiers. How much of this is on the sea-coast, and how much on the lakes? What two principal chains of mountains traverse the United States? What is the altitude of their highest peaks? What is said of the valley of the Mississippi? Of the great natural advantages of the entire country? Of the climate, soil, and productions?

466. Who were the original settlers of the United States? Name the original States. Mention what new States have been added to the Confederacy, and the date of their respective admission.

467. Relate what is said of the State and National governments. What city is the National capital? How are the expenses of the general government defrayed? What were the receipts and expenditures for the year 1856? What is the value of the annual imports and exports? State the number of vessels employed in commerce, and their aggregate tonnage? How many acres of land are now under cultivation, and how many acres yet remain uncultivated?

468. State the value of farms and implements of husbandry. What is the estimated number of horses, cattle, sheep and swine in the Union? How many bushels of wheat and corn, and how many bales of wool, are annually

produced? Give the value of the animals slaughtered every year. What amount of capital is invested in manufactures, and how many persons are employed in manufactories? What is the estimated value of real and personal property in the United States? What amount of money is coined annually by the United States Mint? State the annual product of gold in California? What amount has been exported? How many miles of railroad are there in the United States? State the number of pupils in schools and colleges. The number of teachers. The number of churches and the value of church property. The number of newspapers printed in the different States. The number of colleges and seminaries for instruction in law, medicine, and theology.

469. Relate what is said of the Mormons. Of our relations with Mexico. What is said of the third attempt made by Walker to invade Nicaragua? What was the cause of its failure? Was Colonel Walker held to an account by the judicial tribunals of the United States? What is said of our intelligence, energy, and internal resources? What should be the highest aim of every citizen? What would be the result?

470. What has the United States become? Has any other nation been more favoured? What contribute to the exaltation of the United States? What will exercise a controlling influence on the American destiny?

THE END

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THE END

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